INTERACTION GOALS IN POLITICAL ACCOUNTS IN ISIXHOSA

BY

SEBOLELO AGNES MOKAPELA

Dissertation presented for the Degree of Doctor of Literature at the University of Stellenbosch.

Promoter: Prof. M. Visser

MARCH 2008

DECLARATON

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any University for a degree.

_____   _____

Signature   Date

ABSTRACT

This study deals with research that has been conducted within three government departments (Education, Health and Social Development) that form part of the social needs cluster in the Province of the Eastern Cape. Five portfolio committee members were interviewed in each department (six in the department of Health). Reproaches (failures and challenges of service delivery and policy implementation) were developed using information obtained from the "policy and budget speeches" of the afore-mentioned departments.

In response to these reproaches, committee members had to give accounts (responses, explanations and/or reason-giving). Four types of accounts (concession, excuse, denial and justification) which are typical political accounts have proved to be quite popular and focus has been given to them in the analysis. The focus on the analysis of the accounts was given to effectiveness, argumentation (reasons or arguments that are tendered in support of the accounts to establish the amount of persuasiveness) and politeness.

The conclusions of the findings in the interviews were focused on three elements:

- The interviewee: The analyses of the interviewees were discussed with regard to the accounts together with the number of arguments given. Each reproach was analyzed within an overview of the type of account with regard to three criteria: effectiveness, argumentation and politeness. The analyses of the interviewees were discussed individually with the help of tables of each interviewee. The focus was on the accounts of justification and excuses. The interview was judged on two parameters:

  i. The number of accounts each interviewee has used with regard to the three criteria above.

  ii. A comparison was made to establish the relative merit of the interviewees among themselves.

- The reproach: various reproaches in the three departments were discussed separately with regard to the number of accounts and arguments in each

reproach. The focus was mainly on the accounts of justification and excuse. A summary was given of the various reproaches with the four major types of accounts. The same criteria of effectiveness, argumentation and politeness were used. Judgment was given on the reproach or reproaches which have shown the most attention in the interviews with regard to the total number of accounts which have been used.

- The account: various justifications and excuses which have been used in the interactions were discussed with regard to effectiveness, argumentation and politeness. The judgment was made as to which type of account was mostly favored by the interviewees.

Implications of the research were discussed with regard to a comparative overview of the political accounts in reproaches with specific attention to the type and frequency of the account as well as possible reasons for this type of preferred account.

Four types of accounts have been used consistently in the interviews and among these four types, justifications (36.6%) and excuses (46.1%) are generally favored by all politicians who were involved in the interviews.

These accounts are quite popular among politicians because they work in their favor as they are employed to reframe the consequences of the act with the ultimate aim of changing negative perceptions about the policies of the department and/or government (justifications) and to deny any responsibility and/or causal link between the politician and the undesirable outcome of the policy and thereby implying that there is no need for reproach (excuse).

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie bevat navorsing wat in drie regeringsdepartemente gedoen is, nl. Onderwys, Gesondheid en Sosiale Ontwikkeling, wat deel vorm van die sosiale behoefte groep van die Oos-Kaap provinsie. Vyf portfolio komiteelede is ondervra in 'n onderhoud vir elke departement (ses in die departement van Gesondheid). Vrae is gestel oor mislukkings en uitdagings van dienslewering en beleidsimplementering, deur inligting te gebruik vanuit beleid en begroting toesprake deur amptenare van die genoemde departemente.

In respons op hierdie vrae, moes komiteelede 'n verslagdoening gee (verduidelikings en/of redes aanbied). Vier tipes verslagdoening, nl. toegewing, verskoning, ontkenning en regverdiging, wat tipiese politieke verslagdoenings verteenwoordig, het frekwent geblyk te wees en die studie se fokus was daarop. Die fokus en die analise van verslagdoening was op effektiwiteit, argumentasie (redes vir argumente wat aangebied word ter ondersteuning van die verslagdoening om die hoeveelheid oorreding te bepaal) en beleefdheid.

Die konklusies van die bevindings in die onderhoude het op drie elemente gefokus:

- Die persoon met wie die onderhoud gevoer word: hierdie persone is bespreek met verwysing na die verslagdoenings en die getal argumente aangebied. Elke navraag is ontleed saam met 'n oorsig van die tipe verslagdoening, ten opsigte van drie kriteria: effektiwiteit, argumentasie en beleefdheid. Die analises van die persone met wie die onderhoude gevoer is, is individueel bespreek. Die fokus was op die verslagdoenings van regverdiging en verskonings. Die onderhoud is beoordeel op grond van twee parameters:

  i. Die getal verslagdoenings wat elke persoon met wie onderhoud gevoer is, gegee het ten opsigte van die drie bogenoemde kriteria

  ii. 'n Vergelyking is gedoen om die relatiewe meriete te bepaal van die persone met wie onderhoud gevoer is.

- Die navraag ('reproach'): verskillende navrae oor die drie departemente is afsonderlik bespreek met verwysing na die getal verslagdoenings en argumente op elke navraag. Die fokus was hoofsaaklik op die verslagdoenings van regverdiging en verskoning. 'n Opsomming is gegee van die verskillende navrae

('reproaches') met die vier tipes verslagdoenings. Dieselfde kriteria van effektiwiteit argumentasie en beleefdheid is bespreek. Die bevinding is gege oor watter tipe verslagdoening voorkeur gekry het onder die persone met wie die onderhoud gevoer is.

Implikasies van die navorsing is bespreek met betrekking tot 'n vergelykende oorsig van die politieke verslagdoenings met spesifieke aandag aan die tipe en frekwensie van die verslagdoening sowel as die moontlike redes vir hierdie tipe voorkeur-verslagdoening

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my utmost gratitude to the following magnificent people:

- Prof. Mariana Visser, my promoter for her support and constant advice.

- Prof du Plessis my mentor for his immaculate guidance and insights. I will always be grateful to you.

- Mevrou Surena for all the assistance she provided and the time she spent organizing and printing this work. Thank you!

- My parents, Thabo and Matu for their unwavering support throughout my research.

- My husband Xolani and my two children, Minky and Ngcwengo for their understanding, sacrifices and steadfast support. I love you!

- Prof Annie Gagiano my Mellon mentor for her untiring support and willingness to listen to my whining every now and again.

- The Andrew Mellon foundation for making this dream come true.

- All my family, relatives and friends who were with me throughout this journey. May God be with you!

- Grace be to God, the Almighty Jehovah for making all this happen.

- The Eastern Cape Provincial Legislature for opening her doors for me to do my research, especially the MPL's of the Portfolio Committees of the Departments of Education, Health and Social Development who agreed to the interviews.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my husband Xolani Skhomo Mavela and my children: Minky Onwaba and Ngcwengo Onwabile.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

1.1   INTRODUCTION

The study on accounts is being undertaken with the intention of broadening research on communication in general and accounts in particular. Research on various themes in communication has received extensive coverage in various languages such as English but very little attention has been given to the African Languages and isiXhosa specifically. See i.a. Benoit (1995) for an overview of studies on accounts which focus on Image Restoration Discourse.

Secondly, this study will focus on the application and possible extension of theories of communication by implementing data from an African language (perspective).

Thirdly, the influence of a Xhosa culture on communication has not yet been dealt with but it is expected that culture may influence face threatening acts (FTAs) in politeness, in such a way that politeness phenomena may possibly show differences with other languages. It is expected that face will be of primary concern in accounts because reproaches or complaints are attacks on the face of a person.

Fourthly, there are serious deficiencies in Image Restoration theories such theories are usually applied in studies on accounts of which the theory of Benoit (1995) is an example.

The theory of Image Restoration of Benoit (1995) has two key assumptions: (i) that communication is a goal-directed activity, and (ii) that maintaining a positive reputation is one of the central goals in communication.

The first assumption concerning communication as a goal-directed activity will be considered below with regard to Wilson's (2003) Cognitive Rules model.

The second assumption above is related to the theory of politeness and specifically the maintenance of face. This issue will also be considered below with regard to Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness.

Central to Benoit's Image Restoration theory is the threatening of one's face through an attack on one's image, face or reputation. Such an attack is undesirable and the acceptance of responsibility for that action.

Benoit then developed five Image Restoration strategies to counter such attacks, i.e. denial, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness of event, taking corrective action and mortification. The concept of strategies within communication is now discredited because it has not been possible to place this theory within a theory of communication or a theory of message production or reception. Instead of such strategies, focus will now be on theories of politeness, speech acts and interactive goals.

1.2   PROBLEM STATEMENT AND FOCUS

The purpose of this study is to identify the features of an account in isiXhosa, i.e. an account which is a defense on an attack or a reproach. Such accounts will be studied within the assumptions of the following theories:

- Message production theories which focus on describing mental processes that give rise to communicative behaviour: the Cognitive rules model of Wilson (2003) and the Planning theory of Berger (1997) will be applied and possibly extended.

- Speech act theories which depend on performative verbs and are concentrated on the illocutionary force of an utterance.

- Politeness theories which focus on the maintenance of face.

These three theories are integrated in accounts in general: Message production will give the interaction goals necessary in accounts as well as the planning of such accounts. Speech acts will focus on those performative verbs that are extensively used in accounts such as apologise, deny. Politeness theory will give the accounter or account-giver an opportunity to defend his or her face.

1.3   GOALS

The study will be concerned with accounts in isiXhosa which focus on political issues in various government departments in the Eastern Cape Province, specifically the departments of Education, Health and Social Development. The situation or context will thus be political. Cognitive rules will then be assumed in such accounts, i.e. associations in long-term memory between representations of interaction goals and situations.

The assumptions of the study will be three-fold: theories of message production, speech acts and politeness.

Communication can be viewed as an information-based, message-centred process. Within this approach, theories of message production acknowledge the social nature of communication but they tend not to use social explanations. These theories view message production as psychological matters, focusing on individual characteristics and processes. The theory which will be relevant in this study, involves cognitive explanations which attempt to capture the mechanisms of the mind. These theories focus on the ways information is required, organised, how memory is used, how persons decide to act and how messages are designed to accomplish goals.

According to this approach, communication is a goal-oriented activity and the research on accounts will proceed from an assumption about the structure and processes underlying goal formation. The theory that will be prominent in this research is the Cognitive Rules model of interaction goals: speakers produce messages to accomplish goals (Wilson 2003).

Secondly, speakers develop and enact plans for pursuing goals (Berger 1997). Central to the Cognitive Rules model are the following assumptions:

- People have a goal-relevant knowledge which is stored within a hierarchical associative network of long-term memory which includes nodes that represent individual concepts such as people, roles, settings and desired outcomes.

- Patterns of association are formed between nodes that represent specific outcomes and nodes that represent situational features. A cognitive rule is activated by a match between perceived features of the current situation and the situational conditions represented in the rule.

- A rule will be triggered by the following criteria: fit, strength and regency.

This investigation on accounts will then proceed from identifying a specific kind of situation (political) and specific goals which are relevant to it.

Various interaction goals have been pursued within this model such as compliance goals, supporting goals, attacking goals, image goals and account-seeking goals.

These goals are relevant within obligation situations in which someone has failed to do something that one is obliged to do.

The planning theory in communication which will be followed is the one of Berger (1997). He assumes that plans are hierarchical cognitive representations of goal-directed action sequences, i.e. plans are mental images of the steps one will go through to meet a goal. They are hierarchical because certain actions are necessary to set things up so that other actions will work. Planning then, is the process of thinking up these action plans.

The combination of Wilson's (2003) Cognitive Rules and Berger's (1997) Planning theory is known as Goals-Plans-Action theories in which the two theories are amalgamated.

Communication expresses propositions with a particular illocutionary force and in so doing the account-giver performs particular kinds of actions such as apologising, denying or requesting, which have come to be known as speech acts. Such speech acts were first studied by the philosopher Austin (1962).

People do not only produce utterances following grammatical structures and words, they perform actions via those utterances. Such actions are called speech acts. The action performed by producing an utterance consists of three related acts: an elocutionary act, an illocutionary act and the prelocutionary act. The term speech act is generally interpreted to mean only the illocutionary force of an utterance. Thus, the illocutionary act is performed via the communicative force of an utterance. A distinction is made between explicit and implicit illocutionary force. In the former case, there is a specific linguistic signal whose function is to encode illocutionary force, for example: a lexical type which is distinguished through performative verbs. The effective face of an utterance may deviate from the overtly expressed force, for example: implicitly in specificity. The speech acts may be classified by means of the performative verbs under a small number of headings. This classification gives a range of functions that these verbs perform. Searle (1979) gave the following categories: Assertive, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives. Account-givers regularly use performative verbs such as these in their accounts e.g. forgive, excuse, apologise, blame, pardon, deny and others. This classification has received extensive attention in the literature.

The politeness principle was firstly expressed by Leech* (1974). It entails the following: choose expressions which minimally belittle the hearer's status. Politeness is thus a matter of what is said and not a matter of what is thought or believed. To this extent, politeness theories form an integral part of the research on accounts. The most influential of these theories was put forward by Brown and Levinson (1987). The central concept in their theory is "face ", i.e. face in the sense of reputation or good name. Within politeness theory, face is best understood as every individual's feeling of self-worth or self-image. This image may be damaged by a reproacher who requests an account and it may then be maintained or enhanced by the accounter. Face has two aspects: positive and negative. An individual's positive face is reflected in the desire to be liked, respected and appreciated by others. An individual's negative face is reflected in the desire not to be impeded upon or put upon, to have the freedom to act as one chooses.

Certain illocutionary acts (speech acts) are liable to damage or threaten another person's face: they are face-threatening acts. The possibility of damage to a person's face may be reduced by adopting certain strategies. Brown and Levinson (1987) distinguished four such strategies. In accounts, one specific strategy has to be examined in order to find its application, i.e. the performing or performance of a face-threatening act with redress (negative politeness). This type of politeness is oriented towards a hearer's negative face. A positive politeness strategy on the other hand, leads to an appeal to a common goal and even friendships.

The politeness principle is intended to be universal, i.e. not culture-dependent in its application. However, politeness strategies may give relative weighting in different cultures with the result that politeness phenomena in speech can have a very different superficial appearance. It will thus be necessary to examine this issue in the research on accounts because the universals for politeness are mostly based on non-African situations, and it may be possible that isiXhosa politeness may give rise to a diminution of strategies or even to the establishment of other strategies.

Lastly, specific attention in the analysis of the political accounts in Xhosa will also focus on the typology of political accounts which include excuses, justifications, refusals and concessions. As indicated above, account-seeking goals are seen as one of the objectives of this study. the objective of account-seeking goals is related to

discovering why the target is performing the behaviour which the message source desires to change (Wilson 1990:102).

1.4   RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The research method will depend on the sources of data. Data collection for this study will be determined by interviews and documents. Five people from each government department will be isolated, i.e. the departments of Education, Health and Social Development in the Eastern Cape Province. Interviews will then be conducted with each person. Such interviews will be structured on the long term planning of the three departments. It will be the aim to establish whether such long term goals have been met. If not, the focus of the interview will then be on an account why such a failure of goals has happened. It will also be necessary to consult with government officials (legislators) to establish possible failures in their departments which will give rise to accounts, either by the officials concerned or by the responsible political person such as an MPL who may be a chairperson or a member of the responsible portfolio committee.

In the interviews, it will be necessary to establish whether any documentation exists which may possibly form part of the account of a specific failure event.

These interviews will be conducted in isiXhosa and only documents which are originally written in isiXhosa will be consulted. It will thus be envisaged that fifteen such interviews will be conducted in the Eastern Cape.

The data which has been obtained this way will then be analysed within the framework of the three theories above. Firstly, it will establish which interaction goals are present in these accounts and how the account-givers have planned these goals. Secondly, an analysis of the isiXhosa texts will be done with a view to find the speech acts in these accounts and to establish the functions of these speech acts with regard to the accounts. Thirdly, politeness phenomena will be established to find out in what way the account-giver has been successful in maintaining his or her face.

1.5   CHAPTER LAYOUT

Chapter one presents the aim and purpose of the study and outlines the theoretical framework as well as the organisation of the content of the study.

Chapter two will focus on message production theories, speech acts and politeness.

Chapter three will give an overview of the account.

Chapter four will present the analysis of the political accounts in Xhosa.

Chapter five will present a synthesis of the main findings of the study.

CHAPTER 2

SPEECH ACTS, POLITENESS AND MESSAGE PRODUCTION

2.1   INTRODUCTION

This section will focus on speech acts as they were developed in Pragmatics and especially by Austin (1961). The next section will detail the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1978) as well as some criticism on this theory. Lastly, attention will be given to Message Production as developed by Wilson (2003) and others. These issues will be of relevance in the analysis of the political accounts in Xhosa in chapter 4 because the theories which will be explicated here, will be applied in chapter 4.

2.2   SPEECH ACTS

2.2.1 Yule (1996)

According to Yule (1996), people do not only produce utterances with words and grammatical structures instead they perform actions via those utterances. These actions are thus called speech acts. A speech act is an utterance used to perform an action and labels given to speech acts are those such as an apology, complaints, invitations, promises or requests. Yule provides the following illustrations as an example:

(1)   You're fired
(2)   a.   You're so delicious.
       b.   You're welcome.
       c.   You're crazy!

The first utterance is usually performed as an act of ending one's employment and is performed in a very dramatic and unpleasant manner, whereas (2a) is considered and valued as a compliment; (2b) performs an acknowledgement of thanks and (2c) is normally a performance of a surprise.

Yule argues that an utterance also caries along with it a communicative event, that is the speech event which is basically the speaker's communicative intention in producing an utterance. This includes the circumstances surrounding the utterance in

particular. The nature of the speech event determines the interpretation of an utterance as performing a particular speech act such as illustrated by the following example:

(3)   This tea is really cold!

According to Yule, this utterance could be interpreted as a complaint if performed on a very cold day and is said referring to a freshly made cup of tea. But, on a very hot summer's day, this very same statement (3) could be interpreted as a praise referring to a glass of iced tea. Yule states that what this means is that there is more to the interpretation of a speech act than can be found in the utterance alone.

Speech act

Yule suggests that there are three related acts to producing an utterance. The first one is <u>locutionary act,</u> which is the basic act of producing a meaningful linguistic expression as in a well-formed utterance. But then he also states that this practice is very unlikely if one is dealing with a foreign language or when he is tongue-tied.

He maintains that people don't just produce well-formed utterances just for the sake of producing them, instead there is a reason and this gives rise to his second related act which is <u>illocutionary act.</u> He postulates that this is a communicative purpose behind the produced linguistic expression and that it could be a statement, an offer, an explanation or any other communicative purpose.

His final related act is <u>perlocutionary act</u>, which is basically a production of a meaningful, function-based utterance that is intended to have an effect such as:

(4)   I've just made some coffee.

Yule observes that this utterance is produced with the assumption that the hearer will be able to recognize the intended perlocutionary effect of the speaker, which is to view the utterance either as an account for a wonderful smell or an invite for the hearer to drink some coffee.

Yule is therefore of the view that a speech act is dealt with as the illocutionary force of an utterance, which means that is it is what 'count as'. For instance:

(5)   A. I'll see you later.

Could count as:

    a.   A prediction "I predict that I'll see you later".

    b.   A promise   "I promise that I'll see you later".

    c.   A warning "I warn you that I'll see you later".

Yule thus points out that an utterance could have many illocutionary forces to it. This means that all what the speaker can do is to assume that the intended illocutionary force will be recognized by the hearer, something which can be done through the use of the illocutionary force indicating devices.

The Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDs)

Yule states that performative verbs (Vp) are the most obvious devices used to explicitly name the illocutionary force that is performed such as promise, warning and prediction as illustrated in the above example (5):

(6)   I (Vp) you that…

He argues that sometimes the speech act is not performed as explicitly as is the case in the above examples, but they can be describing the speech act as being performed as illustrated in the following example:

(7)   A: Can I talk to Mary?

        B: No, she's not here.

        A: I'm asking you—can I talk to Mary?

        B: And I'm telling you—SHE'S NOT HERE!

In this dialogue, Yule points out that speakers describe and have drawn attention to the illocutionary force-'Ask' and 'Tell' of their utterances.

In most cases the performative verbs are not mentioned and the only IFIDs used or identified are word order, stress and intonation such as in the following:

(8)   a.   You're going!   [I tell you Y—G]

        b.   You're going?   [I request confirmation about Y—G]

        c.   Are you going? [I ask you if Y—G]

Yule suggests that the use of these devices should therefore be used in an utterance in conventional conditions that count as having the intended illocutionary force.

Felicity conditions

Yule argues that these are the circumstances that are considered to be appropriate for the performance of a speech act to be recognised as intended, such as seeing to it that the speaker is a specific person in a special context. For instance, he suggests that saying:

(9)   I sentence you to six months in prison.

-is an utterance that can be said only by the judge in a courtroom and that in that situation such an utterance is considered appropriate and felicitous, and also when it is addressed or rather directed to an offender.

He also suggests that there are preconditions on speech acts. The following are such preconditions and this is what he has to say about them:

- ➢ **General conditions**. Here the participants really understand the language being used and that they are not play-acting or being nonsensical.
- ➢ **Content conditions**. The content of the utterance should consider the future events. As far as the promise is concerned, the future event requires that the future act should be that of the speaker.
- ➢ **The preparatory conditions**. Each illocutionary act has its own preparatory conditions. For example, a promise has two: the first one is that promising to do something will not happen on its own and secondly is that the event will have a beneficial effect. A warning on the other hand has three preparatory conditions: (i) the first condition is that it is not clear that the hearer knows that the event will occur; (ii) the second condition is that the speaker does think the event will occur, and (iii) the third condition is that the event will not have a beneficial effect.
- ➢ **Sincerity conditions** are the speaker's genuine intentions of carrying out the future action such as a promise. However, concerning a warning, the speaker thus genuinely believes that the future event will not have a beneficial effect.
- ➢ **The essential conditions** create an obligation, which covers the speaker's intentions of carrying out the action as promised.

The performative hypothesis

Yule states that underlying each utterance, there must be (i) a clause containing a performative verb (Vp) to make the illocutionary force explicit. He points out that this format is known as the performative hypothesis which goes as follows:

(10)   I (hereby) Vp you (that) U

According to this format, Yule argues that the subject must be first person singular ('I'), followed by the adverb 'hereby', which indicates that the utterance 'counts as' an action by being uttered. He also states that there should also be a performative verb (Vp) in the present tense and an indirect object in second person singular ('you'). This clause therefore always makes explicit what is implicit as indicated in the following illustrations:

(11)   a.   Clean up this mess!
       b.   I hereby order you that you clean up this mess.

Yule is of the view that examples like (11b) without 'hereby' are used by speakers as explicit performatives; whereas examples like (11a) are implicit performatives, which are sometimes referred to as primary performatives.

However, Yule observes that the practical problem with any analysis based on identifying explicit performatives is that, in principle, we simply do not know how many performative verbs there are in any language, instead classifications of the types of speech acts can be used to overcome or to counteract the problem as mentioned.

Speech act classification

Yule states the following as types of general functions performed by speech acts:

➢ **Declaratives** are speech acts that are performed by a speaker who has a particular institutional role and are performed in a specific context. Both these requirements make the performance of a declaration appropriate:

(15)   a.   Priest: I now pronounce you husband and wife.

➢ **Representatives** are speech acts that state what the speaker believes to be the case or not, such as statements of facts, assertions, conclusions and descriptions.

(16) a.   The earth is flat.

➢ **Expressives** are speech acts that state what the speaker feels such as psychological states, pain, happiness, sorrow, etc:

(17) a.   I'm really sorry.

➢ **Directives** are the kind of speech acts that are used by speakers to get someone else to do the 'job', expressing what the speaker wants. They come in forms of commands, orders, requests, suggestions and they can either be positive or negative:

(18) a.   Gimme a cup of coffee. Make it black.

➢ **Commissives** are used by speakers in order to commit themselves to some future action, expressing S's intentions. They could be promises, refusals, threats, pledges, etc., and they could be from S or from S as a member of a group:

(19) a.   I'll be back.
      b.   I'm going to get it right next time.
      c.   We will not do that.

Direct and Indirect speech acts

According to Yule, direct and indirect speech acts are distinguished through the structure of each of the three general types of speech acts and they are all related in terms of structural forms. These types are declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. In the following examples they communicate the following communicative functions: statements, questions, commands/requests:

(20) a.   You wear a seat belt.   (declarative)
      b.   Do you wear a seat belt?   (interrogative)
      c.   Wear a seat belt!   (imperative)

He argues that a direct speech act occurs when there is a direct relationship between a structure and the function. Indirect speech act on the other hand is when there is an indirect relationship between a structure and the function. He maintains that a declarative used to make a statement is a direct speech act, but if it is used to make a request is an indirect speech act. For instance, in the following example (21a) is a declarative and a direct speech act and (21c) is used as a command/request and that makes it an indirect speech act:

(21) a.   It's cold outside.
      b.   I hereby tell you about the weather.
      c.   I hereby request of you that you close the door.

He suggests that the most common types of indirect speech act have the form of an interrogative, but it is not typically used to ask a question. He observes that examples such as the following are normally regarded as requests instead of questions:

(22) a.   Could you pass the salt?
      b.   Would you open this?

Yule maintains that in English, asking about the hearer's assumed ability as in 'Can you?', 'Could you?', or about future likelihood with regard to doing something such as 'Will you?', 'Would you?' are normally counted for as requests to do that something.

Speech events

Yule suggests that an indirect request can be treated as being matter of asking whether necessary conditions for a request are in place. For instance, a preparatory condition is that the speaker assumes the hearer is able to, or CAN perform the action. Yule maintains then that a content condition concerns future action that the hearer WILL perform the action.

He then states that there is also a difference between asking someone to do X and asking someone if the preconditions for doing X are in place, such as in questioning a hearer-based condition for making a request which normally results in an indirect request. Asking about preconditions does not count as making a request, but it does allow the hearer to react 'as if' the request had been made.

Yule further observes that a request is an imposition by the speaker on the hearer and for that reason it is advisable for communicators in most social circumstances to avoid a direct imposition via a direct request. Thus, when the speaker asks about preconditions, no direct request is made.

The situation whereby one person is trying to get another person to do something without risking refusal or causing offence does not consist of a single utterance. Yule argues that this is a social situation that involves participants who necessarily have a particular   social relationship and who, on a specific occasion may have particular goals.

He is of the view that all this can be determined as the speech event. Speech event means an activity in which participants interact via language in some conventional way to arrive at some outcome. According to Yule, this outcome may include a central speech act which is obvious in most of the cases, such as saying "I do not really like this", as a speech event of complaining, but that will also include utterances leading up to and subsequently reacting to that central action. A request is an example of this outcome as we know that it is never made of a single speech act and it is typical of a speech event.

2.2.2 Mey, J. L. (2000)

History and introduction

On the history of speech acts, Mey (2000) focused on the works of philosophers such as Austin, J. L. (1962) based on his book 'How to Do Things with Words'. Austin's work had an enormous impact on linguistic philosophy and on linguistics in general as far as pragmatic variants are concerned. His philosophy was based on what came to be known as 'speech act theory' which was later developed by Searle, J. R. (1969)

According to Mey, this theory came with problems along with it which were based mainly on the limitations that were imposed on linguistic thinking by a semantics based on truth conditions. Mey's argument is that in the truth-functional tradition, philosophers restrict themselves to 'propositions' representing one particular set of sentences known as 'declaratives', which must contain some testable proposition among themselves in order for them to be true or false.

Mey suggests that if someone says:

It's cold outside,

We can simply go outside and test for ourselves the truthfulness or falsity of the declaration. But, if someone says:

Good luck! Or 'Congratulations',

Mey maintains that the only proof we have is that the speaker did pronounce the words but we cannot proclaim the truthfulness or falsity of the statement because we do not know about the truthfulness of the statement or that of a wish. Mey argues that the reason for this is that wishes are not propositions, but 'words with which to do things' or rather speech acts, according to Austin (1962).

The Language in use

According to Mey, the first problem with thinking that language is a set of correct sentences is that the theory does not pay attention to language as an activity which produces speech acts, which is defined by Searle (1969) as "the basic or minimal units of linguistic communication". Searle states that "The units of linguistic communication is not, as has generally been supposed, the symbol, word or sentence,…but rather the production of the symbol or word or sentence in the performance of the speech act" (1969:16).

Secondly, speech acts are not produced in the solitary philosopher's think-tank, but in actual situations of language use, by people who are having something 'in mind'. A production such as this naturally presupposes a 'producer' and a 'consumer', both human agents whose intentions are relevant and indispensable to the correct understanding and description of the utterances.

On this fact Searle suggests that:

> "When I take a noise or a mark on a piece of paper to be an instance of linguistic communication, as a message, one of the things I must assume is that the noise or mark was produced by a being or beings more or less like myself and produced with a certain kind of intentions. (Searle 1969:16) (Underlining my own)

Mey states that this intentional character of speech acts is among the most distinctive classificatory features, but as Searle highlighted, the most important issue is how to

establish the conditions of felicity, sincerity, etc. which make communication possible. It is therefore important to know how a speech act functions in a society.

Mey suggests that the third point to take into consideration is asking how a particular communicative act functions in a particular society as far as the conditions that hold for communication in that society are concerned. The language we use, particularly the speech acts we produce, are dependent entirely on the context of the situation in which such acts are produced. According to Levinson (1979) all speech is situated speech: a speech act is never just an 'act of speech', but should be considered in the total situation of activity of which it is a part.

Mey is then of the view that what matters most then is that we must not only take the circumstances of the individual utterance into account, but we must also incorporate the general conditions which allow and afford a particular act of speaking. Thus, while certain kinds of speech acts are forbidden in certain situations, others are demanded by the situations and sometimes even to the point where they are entirely predictable.

As far as the intentions or intentionality is concerned, Mey postulate that the relationships that exist among the individuals to whom the intentions are ascribed, and the ways they perceive others as 'intentional' beings in a greater, societal context is of utmost importance. This implies the fact that it is not what I say or intend to say that determines my speech act, but the way it fits into the entire pattern of acting as a social being that is typical of/for my culture.

Mey thus maintains that even though speech act is a constitutive component of human individual and social life, it is still part of a larger context or of an even more encompassing activity.

How speech acts function

Speech acts are verbal actions happening around the world. In uttering a speech act, you are actually doing something with your words; you are performing an activity that brings about change in the existing state of affairs. For example in uttering the words:

"I baptize thee 'in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost'" (cf. Matthew 28:19); the person in question will from now be regarded as a Forever Christian especially among those who embrace the power of baptism.

This view that words can change the world is not only of significance in a religious context, but it is an essential part of speech act thinking as well.

Austin (1962) came up with the distinction between the different aspects of speech acting. The first one is locutionary force which is simply the activity that communicators engage in when interacting with spoken words, such as saying:

It's cold in here.

These words are produced in order to make a statement and not a wish, promise, threat, judgment and so on.

The second distinction is known as an illocutionary force which in reality is related to the very form that the utterance may have or a point, such as wishing, promising, etc.

The final act called the perlocutionary effect depends on the particular circumstances under which the utterance is performed and this is the type of effect that is not easy to predict. For example, in saying:

It's cold in here

the speaker could be hinting the hearer to close the door or to turn on the radiator.

The perlocutionary effect further tells us something about people's motivation for using a particular speech act.

Mey suggests that speech act theorists have been mostly occupied by the illocutionary force as the conditions that obtain before a speech act can be said to have a particular illocutionary force are the most significant and those that 'count as' a particular speech act in the communication exercise. These conditions are what are referred to as felicity conditions and as such they have to be met before a speech act can felicitously happen and to prevent it from misfiring. Consider the following example:

I hereby pronounce this person dead.

The kind of conditions that have been fulfilled for above statement to be considered a valid speech act of 'pronouncing' is the following: (i) the person enunciating these words must be the one who actually has the power to do so; (ii) the circumstances for uttering the words has to be the right ones. It is absolutely infelicitous to pronounce

someone dead just because you had an argument with that person, since all you can do is to wish someone dead instead of pronouncing him dead except of course in one's imagination where everything is possible and seems true.

Therefore, in relation to the above example, the person pronouncing others dead could be a doctor, or a coroner.

Promises

A general problem with speech acts is that the wording of the act can lead to misunderstandings. Firstly, the word 'promise' is not a necessary element in the speech act of promising. Secondly, it is not always necessary to use the so-called 'speech act verb' to perform a speech act, and lastly, it is not evident whether people can be able to trust others' promises when they have not used the word 'promise'.

A promise like anything else only counts as something within a specified set of rules. Thus, if one says:

> There is a policeman at the corner,

that will only count as a warning if the words are uttered in a context where someone is engaged in some criminal activity. This utterance could also count as an assurance, a dare, and a hint as to where to ask for directions, a reminder not to put that car in the space for the handicapped, and so on.

There are therefore various ways of making a promise and it is only the context which can determine whether a particular expression counts as a promise or not. For instance, saying to a good friend:

> I'll be there at seven,

When making plans for to go to a concert together, counts as a perfectly good promise in the context of a wonderful friendship.

Thus, what constitutes the pragmatic act of promising is by no means limited to, or conditioned by the words uttered; other words may be used and even none at all.

A speech act's physiognomy: promising

Introduction: the problem

According to Mey, the first problem with speech acts is the way different languages deal with speech acting as far as the following aspects are concerned: (i) determining a speech act, (ii) the number of speech acts that are there and the way they are expressed in language, (iii) the relationship between a speech act and a pragmatic act and (iv) the presence of the universal speech acts.

The speech act of promising will thus be used as a model to explore the conditions and the rules governing its use.

Promises: conditions and rules

The first problem with this speech act is identifying the conditions that determine the speech act to 'count as' a promise. The second problem is knowing the rules that govern a successful use of the speech act. Searle (1969:57ff) suggests nine conditions which he enumerates for successful promising and they are:

Condition 1 Normal conditions must obtain for uttering and receiving a promise. Speakers must know how to deal with their language and they must not have any special handicaps such as deafness. Furthermore, they must abstain from 'parasitic use of language' according to Searle, such as jokes and acting.

Condition 2 The promise must have content as in:

> I promise I'll be there tomorrow,

This content is for the speaker to be there the following day.

Condition 3 The content of the promise must have a future possible action of the speaker, as it is not possible for one to promise something that has already happened. The same applies with promising something in another's stead, which is not the same as promising to try and make somebody else do something.

Condition 4 What is being promised must be to the advantage of the hearer or rather the 'promisee'. Most people use the word 'promise' when they actually mean a

'threat'. Thus, Searle (1969) describes a promise as "a pledge to do something for you, not to you… a threat is a pledge to do something to you, not for you" (1969:58).

Even though the promiser uses the words 'I promise', there is no promise unless it is to the advantage of the promisee; a threat remains a threat, even though the wording might be that of a promise. For example:

> If you don't behave, I promise you there's going to be trouble.

Condition 5 The content of the promise must not be something which is going to happen in any way. For instance, as suggested by Searle, "A happily married man who promises his wife he will not desert her in the next week is likely to provide more anxiety than comfort" (1969:59).

Condition 4 and 5 are called <u>preparatory </u>conditions and are those conditions that need to be met before the talk about promises begins.

Condition 6 Deals with the sincerity of the promiser in fulfilling the promise, and this is what is appropriately called the <u>sincerity </u>condition.

Condition 7 The promiser intends to put herself under the inevitable obligation of carrying out the promised act. This condition is essential to the act of promising, it is then called the <u>essential</u> condition.

Conditions 8 and 9 emphasize that the language used in promising must be the normal one that is according to Searle, the one that obeys 'the semantical rules of the language (1969:61) Furthermore, the conventions for using that language must likewise be normal, that is they must be pragmatically correct ones.

As far as the rules that govern the acting as discussed above, a general characteristic of the linguistic tools enabling the use of specific conditions for the speech act of promising, is in order and is given the name "illocutionary force indicating device (IFID). Secondly, the specific conditions on promising are conditions 1 through to condition 7. The following are then the five rules governing the use of promissory IFIDs:

Rule 1 The promissory IFID should only be used when the content of the utterance is about something which is to happen in the future. This rule is then called the <u>content rule</u> and it captures conditions 2 and 3.

Rule 2 The promissory IFID must only be used when the promise contains something that the promisee actually wants to happen to him or her.

Rule 3 An IFID for promising must be used only when the content of the promise does not concern the occurrence of an already scheduled, self-justifying or natural happening. Rules 2 and 3 are called <u>preparatory rules</u> corresponding with the preparatory conditions 4 and 5.

Rule 4 A promissory IFID must be used only if the speaker intends carrying out the promise. This rule is also known as the <u>sincerity rule</u> which corresponds with the sincerity condition 6.

All the above-mentioned and discussed rules are what constitute the 'regulations' for promising.

Rule 5 This is what makes a promise a promise. According to this rule, a promissory IFID must be used only on condition that the promise is uttered and recognized or accepted as creating an obligation from the promiser to the promisee. This rule thus is the 'count as' or rather the <u>essential rule</u> which corresponds perfectly with the essential condition number 7. This rule is the one that has to do with the very essence of the speech act.

The pragmatics of rules

Mey states that the five speech act governing rules that are discussed above are divided into two. The first four rules are called the 'regulative' rules and the final one is referred to as a 'constitutive' rule.

He maintains that a constitutive rule according to the game of chess is the one that makes up, constitutes the game as that particular game and no other. Without these constitutive rules, the very core of the game becomes impossible.

Regulative rules on the other hand, regulate the behavior of the players in the game. The rules can thus be changed at will and by mutual agreement, but the changes thus entered into do not change the nature of the game.

Furthermore, the constitutive rules of chess determine what counts as a move for the individual chess pieces, whereas regulative rules of chess could be that players are not allowed to 'undo' a move, that they can use a limited amount of time for a certain

number of moves, or that they are not allowed to touch the chess pieces unless they intend to make a move, hence "a touch it's a move".

On the speech act of 'promising', Mey states that it is vital to acknowledge the fact that once they are made or given there is no need for them to be renewed as they are sometimes broken even when they are renewed. It is therefore advisable by the pragmaticists that the focus be put more on the promiser and the promisee instead of focusing on the promise itself and by so doing one would be acknowledging both aspects of promising which are the constitutive and the regulative aspects. The constitutive aspect is focused on the promise as far as the pragmatic view is concerned, and the regulative aspect addresses the way in which promises are dealt with in an actual social context.

According to Austin, the IFIDs of speech act theory only indicate illocutionary force even though that force is not put into practice. To practice it, the speech act should be lifted out of the domain of abstract description into that of concrete action; and by so doing, the speech act becomes the pragmatic act. For this to work effectively, humans should use a perspective in which the role of the interactive user is no longer external to theorizing, but forms an integrated part of it. The conditions of using promises and those of setting up a promisee next to the conditions for securing a particular uptake, all form the framework of the pragmatic act. And as far as the speech act of promising is concerned, all this implies that humans can never talk of promising in the abstract; why because, every promise is a promiser's promise which is made to a real-life promisee. Thus, the pragmatic conditions of use for promises should include these users- the promiser and the promisee, as well as their conditions of interaction.

Mey further argues that the regulative and the constitutive rules are not as easily separable as implied by the summary above. For instance, the regulative rules define what the constitutive rules say they do; but the constitutive rules determine the weight that is given to those rules in their daily exercise. Giddens and other theorists want to abolish this distinction altogether and he has this to say about it, "all social rules have both constitutive and regulative (sanctioning) aspects to them" (1979:66). Giddens defies the fact that the constitutive elements of a speech act are almost totally subsumed under the regulative element.

According to Mey, these problems of elaborately distinguishing between constitutive and regulative rules have their roots in that even though the speech act theory in name and in pretension is a theory of <u>action,</u> in reality it is a philosophical theory of or about <u>propositions</u>. Bickhard and Campbell (1992) argue that: "Speech act theory focuses on the 'action' inherent in an utterance (e.g., Austin 1962; Searle 1969), but it is still an action (a message transmission, not an interaction) based on an encoded [abstract] proposition" (1992:428). The illocutionary devices that Searle recognizes as carrying the 'force' of the speech act are not strictly pragmatic in nature, as they are exclusively speaker-oriented and tie in with an abstract content; it is only (propositional) content of the speaker's act that is subject to the constitutive and regulative rules. Thus, Searle's IFIDs become purely abstract devices or "very general rules", not proper to any type of speech act, or to any concrete act of promising, requesting and so on:

> …some of these rules seem to be just particular manifestations as regards promising of very general underlying rules for illocutionary acts; and ultimately we should be able, as it were, to *factor them out*, so that they are not finally to be construed as rules exclusively for the illocutionary force indicating device for promising as opposed to other types of illocutionary force indicating devices. (Searle 1969:63).

Contrary to this abstract view, Mey suggests that a pragmatic view emphasizes that the nature of speech acting always varies according to various linguistic uses, not only across-language-wise, but also, and not least interestingly, within a single language. Thus, the study of the existing speech acts of a language is only useful as an approximation. Therefore the problems raised by speech act theory, particularly the difficult question of cross-language equivalencies and universal interlanguage inventories, cannot be solved within such a framework, but they require that we widen our perspective and consider speech acts under the angle that they rightly deserve: as pragmatic devices for human activity or pragmatic acts.

This discussion then takes us further to explore the problems of speech act verbs.

Speech act verbs

The number of speech act verbs

How many speech acts are there and how are they expressed in language?

Many suggestions have been offered as too the number of principal speech acts that any particular language has to offer. Classifiers such as Searle belong to a category which according to Verschueren (1979) is called the 'lumpers'. This is the category that lump their speech acts together in a few, large categories. The second category is called the 'splitters' who split up their speech acts in a great number of classes; the actual number may be "between five hundred and six hundred" (Verschueren 1979:10)

Yule argues that what is significant here is that languages have historically shown their preferences for certain, well-defined exemplars of the species, and express their preferences by bestowing honors to specific linguistic expressions on such acts, which are best known as speech act verbs.

Speech acts, speech verbs and performativity

Yule states that the expressions of linguistic activity that are found among the members of the category verb, which denote speech acts, are called speech act verbs (SAV). The verbs denoting 'real' speech acts are those that are doing something instead of merely producing candidates for 'truth' or 'falsehood', and for this reason Austin gave them a name 'performatives'.

He points out that there is a certain asymmetry in the relationship between speech act verbs (SAVs) and speech acts (SAs). Firstly, not all SAs are represented by SAV. They may be represented by several SAVs. What this means is that, the SA of 'ordering' may be expressed in various and often indirect ways; either by a direct ordering verb or by a normal verb in the imperative, or by a circumlocution. Consider the following example where all three utterances express the same order:

> I order you to shut the door.
> Shut the door!
> You will shut that door.

Secondly, not every SA has a corresponding custom-made SAV of its own. Thus, the act of pronouncing a jury's findings is called 'to render a verdict'; however, there is no SAV' to * verdict'. To sum, not all SAs are in par with regard to SAV status.

Yule argues that all this is clearly shown below in the use of the performative verbs which are best known as explicit performatives whereby the verbs are said or presumed to be performing something. For example this utterance:

I promise to come,

carries out two separate functions: (i) it tells the world that the speaker, which is 'I' has performed something called a promise of 'coming', and (ii) it binds the speaker to his promise: the utterance 'I promise to come', when uttered by the speaker, it explicitly establishes this "binding obligation" for the speaker and this is in accordance with Searle's (1962) essential condition.

In the past tense this same utterance:

I promised to come,

lacks the 'explicit performative' and for that reason, the sentence seeks to describe a state of affairs that had happened once upon a time and it is no longer a promising utterance, hence not an SA of promising irrespective of the use of the word 'promise'.

The same applies when one says:

He promised to come,

The speaker have not performed a promise for the person referred to by 'he' in any way.

With all this explanation in mind, one would say that 'explicit performatives' are the most extreme cases of SAVs, in that they can perform, and necessarily perform certain SAs for which they are designated, at least given that the proper conditions are met, among which are the use of the present tense and of the first person.

According to Yule, there are other verbs which are found among the more standard SAVs, and by this we mean those who always have the privilege of being quoted by the established speech act theoreticians; and they are 'to announce', 'to declare', 'to inquire', etc. The question therefore is; are these verbs always performing something? For instance:

I declare this bridge to be opened,

There would be some kind of performance that of opening a bridge only if the person uttering this statement has the authority to do so. But, saying:

He declared himself to be innocent/that he was innocent/his innocence?

This statement would not be said to be containing a performative verb as it is a known factor that any criminal would try to let himself off the hook by pledging innocence.

Yule argues that sentences such as the above may contain an adverb such as 'hereby' as in the following examples:

I hereby declare the bridge to be open.

The adverb has been used as a practical criterion for a true 'performative' SAV.

At the same time, one cannot felicitously utter sentences such as:

I hereby love you

Or:

I hereby know that the Earth is flat.

But, the fact that one can legitimately say:

I hereby declare my innocence

Indicates that the use of 'hereby' is an indicator of SAVs in general and exclusively of performativity; and in most cases SAVs and performatives do not coincide.

There is another category of verbal expressions that have the property of denying what they are doing or doing explicitly what they are denying. For instance:

I don't want to bother you, but could you please have a look at my program?

Or

I'm not threatening you, but if I see your face again around these parts…

The speaker here explicitly performs an act of not wanting to bother or threaten the addressee, while in actual fact he does precisely that. In cases like these, the use of

the same effect as in the above example, one would hardly consider utterances such as:

> I am (hereby) bothering you…

> I (hereby) threaten you…

Or even:

I (hereby) insult you (Thomas 1996:47)

as particularly expressive or performative of the acts of 'threatening', 'bothering', or 'insulting', and perhaps not even of anything at all.

In sum, performativity is a property that is not specifically bound up with SAVs, as Verschueren (1979) puts it: "we are dealing with a performativity 'continuum', spanning all the way from 'institutionalized' SAVs such as 'to baptize', to everyday verbs that occasionally can take on a performative character", such as the ones cited in the last two examples above.

Indirect speech acts

Recognizing indirect speech acts

For instance, if one says:

> Could you move over a bit?

What would you do? Would you say 'yes', or 'yes, perhaps I could' and end up not moving an inch? Under normal circumstances, this would be deemed inappropriate because this is not the kind of response that is expected even though the request had a format of a yes or no kind of a question. But, if the addressee responded by moving without uttering a word to answer the question, the addressor would be ecstatic with the addressee's reaction.

According to Yule, the above question was never intended as an inquiry into the physical or moral degrees of freedom of the interlocutor; what the speaker intended was for the hearer to move over and this was done indirectly: hence it is called an indirect speech act. There are various ways in which indirect speech acts can be recognized. For example, if one says to a friend:

Let's go to the movies tonight

And the friend answers:

I have to study for an exam.

The friend is telling her interlocutor that she is busy and thus she cannot be able to go with him to the movies that night. To this effect, Searle argues:

The problem seems to me somewhat like those problems in the epistemological analysis of perception in which one seeks to explain how a perceiver recognizes an object on the basis of imperfect sensory input. The question, How do I know that he has made a request when he only asked me a question about my abilities? May be like the question, How do I know it was a car when all I perceived was a flash going past me on the highway? (1975:82)

Yule maintains that the problem still remains; how can we know for sure that the second utterance in the above example is a rejection of the proposal contained in the first utterance, while seeming to be completely unrelated to it and not containing any overt or hidden expression of negation or rejection, or even a mention of the rejected offer?

He suggests that there are two ways in which this problem can be approached: (i) The philosophical-semantic way which is based on strict reasoning and certain basic principles of logic. (ii) The pragmatic way of looking at the problem by scrutinizing what the people actually say and do with their words. This way assumes that it cannot be just by accident that in the use of the language, indirect speech acts abound and that in many cases are far more numerous than direct speech acts.

The ten steps of Searle

Searle views indirect speech acts as a combination of two acts, a primary illocutionary act which is the same as rejecting the proposal in the above example, and a secondary one, the same as making a statement whereby the primary act operates through and in force of the secondary one.

The secondary illocutionary act is literal whereas the primary illocutionary act is not. Therefore, how does the listener understand the non-literal primary illocutionary act from understanding the literal secondary illocutionary act?

This ten-step pyramid of reasoning will thus answer the above question. A is the proposer and B is the rejecter and they are both assumed to be male.

Step 1   A has uttered a suggestion to go to the movies; B has uttered a statement about studying for exams. All these are the facts of the case.

Step 2 A assumes B to be cooperative in the conversation situation. Thus, B's answer is taken to be relevant in accordance with the maxim of relevance under the Cooperative Principle.

Step 3 Relevant answers in the situation at hand are found among the following: acceptance, rejection, counter-suggestion such as "why don't we make it tomorrow" and a few more, depending of course on the circumstances.

Step 4 None of the relevant answers in 3 matches the actual answer given, which makes B's answer not to be one of these.

Step 5 We assume that B means more or something entirely different by uttering his statement than what it says at face value. His primary intention is different from his secondary one.

Step 6 Everyone needs time to study and for that reason, going to the movies may result in precious study time being wasted or lose something that a diligent student cannot afford particularly at or pre-exam time. This is deemed a fact.

Step 7 It is likely that B cannot or doesn't want to mix his studies and pleasure, and this is an immediate consequence of the preceding step.

Step 8 Speech act theory teaches us that among the preparatory conditions for any speech act having to do with proposals are the ability and willingness to carry out such a proposed act.

Step 9 Thus, B's utterance is meant to tell that he cannot accept A's proposal.

Step 10 The conclusion is therefore that B's primary intention in mentioning his exam preparation has been to reject A's proposal.

The pragmatic view

According to Searle, indirect speech acts are the most common direct realizations of what we have come to know as 'illocutionary force'.

The study of the pragmatic aspects of the force would only concentrate on what users do. Users are part of a world of usage: they are never alone in their use of language, but use their language as members of a speech community that reflects the conditions of the community at large.

For this reason, Searle argues that it is crucial therefore to acknowledge the fact that the real performative value of a particular 'construed symbol', a linguistic 'prime' such as the speech act verb 'to baptize', is actually pretty restricted. The performance of the act of baptizing is closely bound up with the utterance of precisely the words "I baptize thee". This particular language both guarantees, and vouchsafes, the exercise of a highly specific speech act; however, it can only achieve this performance as the legalized embodiment of a highly institutionalized and institutionally empowered social function. But also in less fossilized, more normal situations, we find language use that relies heavily on interaction in order to be effective: institutional surroundings such as the court, the classroom, the hospital, the physician's office, etc provide ample space.

Some theorists have discovered that the power of language that is evident for example in a medical interview, depends on two factors which are: (i) the power that one 'brings with one' in virtue of one's status as either a physician or a patient; (ii) successful negotiation in the course of the interview. The latter is mutual in that the doctor has to rely on the patient for obtaining crucial information as much as the patient depends on the doctor for obtaining the remedy she seeks for her sickness.

Searle postulate that the case of the performatives is special and is actually removed from the normal language use. In real-world interaction, successful performance is not exclusively due to the power inherent either in the user or in his or her words or speech acts; this power resides in the society, but is mediated and negotiated through the use of 'pragmatic acts' in the institutional setting of a particular societal context. As far as questioning and answering questions is concerned in accordance with everyday language use, the only decent characterization of a good answer to a

question is: 'one which all the participants in a particular context of question-asking and answering find acceptable'.

Searle also argues that this does not mean that we may not perform things with words anymore; there are various ways in which things can be performed. Indirect speech acts are not 'abnormal' cases, instead the problem cases are those that were thought to be normal because they seemed to conform to the standards set for speaking with proper illocutionary force. With indirect speech acts, normalcy of speech acting can be a much more effective way of getting one's act together than using a regular SA.

Thus, when exercising our power of speech we should check what effects our speech acting has or can have when performed in the actual social surroundings. Searle concludes that this realization will make us revise whatever speech act classifications adopted and of their ways of being expressed, by placing greater emphasis on the ways the context creates the affordances for our societal and linguistic conduct.

Classifying speech acts

The illocutionary verb fallacy

Searle (1962) is unhappy about the fact that Austin apparently does not pay attention to the difference between speech acts and speech act verbs; the existence or non-existence of the latter cannot and should not be a criterion for the existence or non-existence of a particular speech act.

On the other hand, Leech (1983) criticizes Austin for committing the grave error of supposing that "verbs in the English language correspond one-to-one with categories of speech act": again a confusion of speech acts and speech act verbs.

All this results to what Mey (2000) calls the "Illocutionary-Verb Fallacy". With respect to the problems having to do with the different kinds of speech acting and their relationships to illocutionary verbs, Searle issues a general warning: "Differences in illocutionary verbs are a good guide, but by no means a sure guide to differences in illocutionary acts" (1977:28).

Searle's classification of speech acts

Searle enumerated twelve dimensions along which speech acts can be different. Out of this twelve, he uses only four:

- ❖ Illocutionary point, which according to Austin's terminology is the force of the speech act.
- ❖ Direction of fit, which is the way the speech act fits the world,
- ❖ Expressed psychological state of the speaker in which a 'belief' may be expressed as a statement, an assertion, a remark, etc.
- ❖ Content, which is what the speech act is all about, such as a promise to attend the party has the same content as a refusal, and so on.

Searle also suggests that there is a fifth criterion which is:

- ❖ Reference both to the speaker and the hearer(s) because they are the principal actors in the speech acting scene.

A sixth criterion is essential for a pragmatic understanding of speech acting:

- ❖ Contextual conditions of speech acting which are actually the societal framework in which a speech act has to be performed in order for it to be valid.

Searle (1997:34) establishes five speech act categories:

- ❖ Representatives or assertives
- ❖ Directives
- ❖ Commissives
- ❖ Expressives
- ❖ Declaratives

Representatives

According to Searle, these are assertions about a state of affairs in the world and they carry the values 'true' or 'false'. In order for them to fit, they should match the world in order to be true. They represent a subjective state of mind: the speaker who asserts a proposition as true does so in force of his belief. Thus, there seem to be many 'asserting' statements for which 'true/false' criterion does not hold. For instance, a complaint is said to be justified if and only if the content of the complaint

is truthful, that is if it represents the world in a true manner; but that is not the same as saying that the complaint is true.

Directives

Searle states that directives embody an effort on the part of the speaker to get the hearer to do something, to 'direct' him towards some goal, that of the speaker in most of the time. Their illocutionary point is that at the extreme end of this category, we have classical imperatives. As to the fit that these speech acts represent, there is also a clear direction, from the world to words: the adapted world is adapted to the uttered words. Thus, directives differ in force: from pious wish to peremptory, harsh order.

Commissives

According to Searle, commissives operate a change in the world by means of creating an obligation; however, this obligation is created in the speaker, not in the hearer, as in the case of the directives. For instance, the difference that can be established between a request and a promise is that a request is a directive and a promise is a commissive and they are both obligatives.

Expressives

Searle is of the view that expressives express an inner state of the speaker; the expression is essentially subjective and tells us nothing about the world. Using Searle's example, 'Excuse me' when stepping on someone's toe has nothing to do, causally speaking or in terms of consequence, with the act of stepping as such: the words 'Excuse me' do not change anything here, done is done, and both speaker (stepper) and hearer (steppee) will have to live with the change in world conditions that a stepped-on toe represent. For this reason, the criterion of 'fit' cannot be said to operate.

He also suggests that another issue is the 'truth' of the expressive speech acts or rather, the truth of the 'embedded proposition' called somewhat misleadingly, a 'property' of the speech act by Searle. If I congratulate someone on an exam, the presupposition is that there indeed has been an exam, and that the person has passed.

Declaratives

In the following example:

I declare the bridge to be opened

Searle suggests that the declarative speech act changes the state of affairs in the world with respect to the bridge. What was not-yet-opened bridge now becomes an opened bridge. The same applies in:

I declare you husband and wife,

The marriage candidates cease to be just an ordinary couple and become a married couple.

As far as the 'fit' between world and words is concerned, Searle argues that the declaratives seem to occupy a privileged place. Why, because even though 'declaring' that you've been fired may be a perfectly all right illocutionary act, but still it is not a declarative that changed your employment situation. That declaration has to obey other conditions such as being uttered by a person in power.

2.3   POLITENESS

2.3.1 Brown and Levinson (1987)

Brown and Levinson (1987:61-65) came up with two assumptions which they believed to be what constitutes the properties of persons involved in interactions. They argue that members of a society have a face as well as certain rational capacities.

Face

➤ Face is the public self-image or self-worth of a person. The emotional sense of self-image reflects the opinion about oneself which has been formed in the public mind and concentrates on the self-worth of a person, i.e. what value does a person give to himself in the public sphere. In this sense, face can be lost or maintained.

➤ Secondly, face also reflects a social sense of self. There is a social necessity to orient oneself to face interaction, i.e. face must be attended to in interaction,

people should show awareness of another person's face and they should cooperate in maintaining face in interaction.

Face as wants

➢ Face is considered to be part of our basic wants which are desired by everyone, but which may be ignored.

➢ The two components of face are the following:

Negative face: This is the want of every competent adult member that his actions are unimpeded by others, and the need to maintain non-imposition.

Positive face: This is the want of every adult member that his wants be desirable, ratifiable, and understandable to at least some others (Brown and Levinson 1987:62).

➢ Negative face reflects the need to be unimpeded upon and not to be imposed on by others, i.e. it requires that one should not be hindered and that one should not be taken unfair advantage of as it is cause for trouble. Thus, negative face has a need to be independent, to have freedom of action.

➢ Positive face on the other hand reflects one's wants as desirable. It emphasises the need to be accepted and even to be liked, understood, approved of and ratified by others and to know that one's wants are shared by others.

➢ Positive face may be interpreted in various ways as follows:

- One's wants may actually have been satisfied, i.e. for both non-material things such as love, values, freedom, etc. as well as material things such as cars, holidays, theatre, etc.

- The expressions of wanting may force an ambiguous interpretation for various situations.

- One's desires may be thought of as desirable by specific people only and not by everyone. These targets could be culture-specific, group-specific or they could be idiosyncratic.

Rationality

➢ Rationality is the type of reasoning that will allow one to pass "from goals to means that will meet and satisfy the specified ends" (Brown and Levinson 1987:64)

➢ To explain the practicality of this rationality, they gave the following example:
(Vote for Wilson!) Or (Vote for Heath!)
The goal is to vote and to pass from this goal to means- I should vote for either Wilson or Heath. Thus, the command to vote is then satisfied.

Politeness Strategies

Intrinsic FTA

According to Brown and Levinson, intrinsic FTAs are the kind of threats that intrinsically threaten one's face, and their nature intends them to contradict either the hearer's or the speaker's face.

Strategies for doing FTAs

They argue that due to the vulnerability of face, communicators would normally avoid the FTAs or else employ strategies of minimizing the face threat. This is done in consideration of the following: (i) the want to communicate the content of the FTA, (ii) the want to be efficient or urgent, and (iii) the want to maintain H's face to any degree. Thus, if want (ii) is greater than want (iii) then S would want to minimize the threat of his or her FTA.

S can choose either to do the FTA or not to do the FTA.

They also suggest that if S then chooses to perform the FTA, that she can do on-record or off-record. On-record is done only if the communicative intention that prompted the speaker to perform the FTA is clear to the interactants, and this is expressed unambiguously. Unlike the on-record strategy, off-record is performed or expressed ambiguously so that S cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent. The conclusion of X is thus solely left to H to make as to what S really means or wants to communicate. Metaphors ('Do not forget about us, hey?'), irony, and rhetorical questions thus stand out as clear examples of tools through which off-record politeness strategy is performed.

Brown and Levinson state the on-record politeness strategy can further be performed baldly without redressive action or with redressive action. When done baldly, it is in the most clear, direct, unambiguous and concise manner possible, and whenever S wants to do the FTA with maximum efficiency more than he wants to satisfy H's face, even to any degree, he will choose the bald-on-record strategy. As for the redressive action, S would try as much as possible to counteract the potential face damage of the FTA by showing that she recognizes H's face wants and that she wants them to be satisfied or the least to be achieved. In doing this strategy S is somehow trying to show that there are no intentions for the face threat. This understanding manifests itself through the performance of the positive politeness strategies and negative politeness strategies.

They also suggest that positive politeness addresses H's positive face and the positive self-image that he claims for himself. This strategy is approach-based in that S tries to give H's wants some acknowledgement by applying the in-groupness qualities to H, and in so doing S minimizes the potential face threat of an act. In contrast, negative politeness is avoidance-based in that it is characterised by the assurance that S recognizes and respects H's negative face wants and will not interfere with H's freedom of action. This strategy is oriented towards H's desire not to be impeded upon and FTAs targeted at H's negative face are redressed with apologies, impersonalization, deference and other softening mechanisms.

Positive Politeness

Positive politeness according to Brown and Levinson (1987), is a redress in which S (speaker) assumes that his desires or wants are somewhat similar to those of H (hearer) and that they are thought of as desirable. This redress is therefore directed to H's positive face and consists of working towards satisfying those desires or wants.

They argue that the redressive force of positive politeness is characteristic of a day-to-day intimate relationship, whereby interest and approval of each other's personality, implicit reciprocity of obligations, presuppositions indicating shared wants and shared knowledge, and the reflexivity of wants are routinely exchanged. The only difference between positive politeness redress and everyday intimate language is the element of exaggeration which is mostly eminent within the intimate language behaviour.

Thus, Brown and Levinson suggest that even if S cannot spell out with all sincerity that "I want your wants", she can sincerely indicate to H that "I want your positive face to be satisfied". The element of exaggerated expressions of approval or interest: 'How absolutely marvellous! I simply can't imagine how you manage to keep your garden so exquisite, Mrs B!', is then compensated for by the implication that the speaker sincerely wants Mrs B's positive face to be enhanced.

In sum, Brown and Levinson maintain that positive politeness utterances are used as a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy, claim common ground and the sharing of wants even between strangers who perceive themselves as somehow similar particularly for the purposes of an effective interaction. Positive politeness strategies are not only used or performed to redress the FTAs but mostly for the acceleration of the social involvement that is, indicating that S wants to draw closer to H.

Claim common ground

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), positive politeness strategies involve three broad and basic mechanisms whereby S is claiming common ground with H by indicating that both S and H belong to some set of persons who share specific wants including goals and values, and they are: (a) S may convey that some of H's want, goal or desired object is desirable and interesting to S too: (b) or she may stress on common membership in a group or category and by so-doing emphasizing that both S and H belong to some set of persons who share common wants: (c) lastly, S can claim a common perspective with H without referring to in-group affiliation. All the three aspects of claiming common ground are the producer of the following positive politeness strategies numbered 1-8.

Strategy 1: Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods)

This expression according to Brown and Levinson, suggest that S should take notice or heed of certain aspects of H's condition such as noticeable changes, remarkable possessions, or anything that appears to be calling out for S's approval or notice. This S can do by commenting and giving praises to H:

"What a beautiful vase this is! Where did it come from?"

Brown and Levinson suggest that in cases whereby H has committed an FTA against self such as a breakdown of body control or any faux pas, S should then notice that

and give an indication that he is not embarrassed by it as illustrated in positive-politeness strategies 4 and 7 below whereby S includes himself as part of the act.

"We ate too many beans tonight, didn't we?" S includes himself to avoid embarrassing H for not remembering what happened a day before.

Strategy 2: Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)

Brown and Levinson suggest that this strategy is often employed through the use of exaggerated intonation, stress and intensifying modifiers and other aspects of prosodics:

(a)   Exaggerate to show interest:
        "What a fantastic garden you have!"

(b)   Exaggerate to show approval:
        "Yes, isn't it just ghastly the way it always seems to rain just when you've hung your laundry out!"

(c)   Exaggerate to show sympathy:
        "How absolutely devastating!"

Strategy 3: Intensify interest to H

According to brown and Levinson (1987), this is another way in which S communicates the fact that he shares some of H's wants or interests. S's good intentions are actually dramatised through:

(a)   Telling a story using the vivid present tense or by switching between the present and past tenses:
        "I come down the stairs, and what do you think I see?- a huge mess all over the place, the phone's off the hook and clothes are scattered all over…"

(b)   Using a directly quoted speech:
        'I said to him: "I don't ever want to see your face again."'

(c)   The use of tag questions or expressions capable of drawing H to the conversation:
        "What do you think of that?"

"Isn't it interesting?"
"See what I mean?"

(d)   The use of exaggeration or to overstate the facts:
"There were a million people in the Co-op tonight!"

They (Brown and Levinson) are of the view that exaggeration in these cases may redress an FTA simply by stressing the sincerity of S's good intentions, but there is also an element of attempting to increase the interest of the conversational contributions by expressing them dramatically.

Claim in-group membership with the hearer

Strategy 4: use in-group identity markers

Brown and Levinson state that S can implicitly claim common ground or pledge solidarity with H through the usage of:

(a)   Address forms which are used to soften the FTA and they are divided into:

(i)   Honorific address forms which are used for people who hold senior positions or professions and they are performed using the French tu and vous (second person plural) pronouns to show or indicate respect and/or deference towards the distant altar (H).
"Prof." "Doc." "Sir", "Madam" etc.

(ii)   Generic names and terms of address are also used to convey in-group membership. Examples of such terms and names are:
"Darling, luv, sweetheart, Mom, etc." These are mostly used in close or intimate relationships.

(iii)   Diminutives and endearments (as in luv and mom in the above examples) are also used to soften the FTAs and to claim in-group membership:
"Help me with this bag here, will you luv?"

(b)   Use of in-group language or slang which manifests itself through:

(i)   The phenomenon of code-switching which involves switching from one language or dialect to another in bilingual or multilingual communities.

Sometimes the switch happens in situations where there are varieties or dialects of a language one of which is considered to be high and prestigious, and the other low and domestic. This is typical of English and most of the African Languages especially isiXhosa whereby you find that when people speak English they change even the accent to the American or the European accent. It is very unlikely to find the South African person switching between languages such as English and isiXhosa instead what they do is either use one or two English words within their sentences or to completely switch to English after saying one Xhosa sentence. For example:

"Hayi mna I doubt if ndiza kuhlala apha. Aba bantu abasi-appreciate moss and andiqondi ukuba they will ever appreciate us." [Example, my own]

"Uyazi yintoni! I don't even want to think about that, and please let's just drop the subject. Okay?" [Example, my own}

(ii)   Switching from a full-name to a nickname indicating a positive emotional involvement. At the same time, after a misunderstanding or argument between interactants nicknames are mostly switched back to full-names:

First call: "Come here, Johnny."

Second call: "John Henry Smith, you come here right away."

(iii) Change in the tu and vous pronouns indicating the withdrawal of emotional support on the part of S. Some theorists argue that code switching is associated with external relations which somehow indicate either an FTA accompanied with negative politeness or a withdrawal of positive politeness and its associated emotional support.

(iv) The use of the in-group terminology or slang terms also indicates S's involvement:

"No, don't worry. It is a very cool place and I promise you, you are going to have a wonderful jol there." [Example, my own]

(c)   Contractions and ellipsis

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the success of the use of ellipsis depends on the shared mutual knowledge of the context of the interaction and that makes the utterance understandable. The utterance of 'Nails' can only be

easily interpreted if S and H are both working together in fixing a cupboard or anything that requires nails. What this information implies is that the use of ellipsis and contractions is associated with positive politeness and it marks the utterance as being implicitly polite. Moreover, Brown and Levinson maintain that the use of conventionally indirect requests when marked by ellipsis, they cease to be negative politeness and become positive politeness:

"Mind if I smoke?"

"How about a drink?"

Contractions and ellipsis are also used to show endearment through the contracted forms of full- names to nicknames:

Liz, Jenny, Tom, Sam, etc.

(d)   Use of jargon or slang when referring to an object evokes all the shared in-group reliance, associations and attitudes that S and H have towards that object, and by so doing redressing the FTA:

"Lend us two bucks then, wouldya Mac?"

Claim common point of views, opinion and knowledge

Strategy 5: Seek agreement

Brown and Levinson (1987) postulate that seeking possible ways in which S can agree with H is another element of claiming common ground and it can be done through the use of:

(a)   Safe topics which allow S to stress his agreement with H in order to satisfy H's desire to be right and to be corroborated in his opinions. Examples of such topics are the weather, flowers and nature at large is a very safe topic for virtually everyone. To be able to accomplish this mission, S has to know more about H. Before making a request, most people normally opt for an interim small talk as a way of assuring H that they didn't come to exploit him by making a request. This kind of small talk is also regarded as an indication of S's general interest in maintaining a relationship with H:

"You know, if it continues like this, we are really going to die of heat. You would think that the ozone layer has ruptured. Em. I've been meaning to ask you if you can be able to lend me your lawnmower just for a day. I would like to have a lawn as beautiful as yours, man!" [Example, my own]

or you could say to your neighbour who has just bought a new car which you believe is pollution-producing:

"Isn't your new car a beautiful colour!"

(b)   Repetition is used to stress emotional agreement with the utterance, to show that one has heard correctly what was said and also to show interest and surprise. This S does by repeating parts or all what the preceding speaker has said:

A: John went to London this weekend!

B: To London!

A: I had a flat tyre on the way home.

B: Oh God, a flat tyre!

A: Did she go to hot country?"

B: She went.

Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement

Brown and Levinson states that S's desire to agree or to appear to agree with H leads to mechanisms of pretending to agree and they are characterised by:

(a)   Token agreement which according to Sacks' (1973) Rule of agreement is used to hide disagreement through utterances such as:

A: That's where you live, Florida?

B: That's where I was born.

A: Can you hear me?

B: Barely.

Or:

A: Yuh coming down early?

B: Well I got a lot of things to do. I don't know. It won't be too early.

This utterance is constructed according to Sacks' (1973) Rule of Contiguity which states that answers should follow questions but they are displaced to soften disagreement.

(b)   Brown and Levinson suggest that pseudo-agreement signifies itself by the use then as a conclusory marker whereby S is drawing a conclusion to a line of

reasoning co-operatively carried out with the addressee. This may refer to a genuine agreement entered into by the interactants,

"I'll meet you in front of the theatre just before 8.0, then.

or an actual agreement between S and H in which then is supplemented by So,

"So when are you coming to see us?"

or the pseudo-agreement marker could refer to the fake prior agreement.

"I'll be seeing you then".

(c)   According to Brown and Levinson, white lies are mostly used when S is confronted with a situation whereby he has to state an opinion, so to avoid damaging H's positive face S would rather opt for a lie. For example, H is borrowing a radio from S and in response, S says:

"Oh I can't. The batteries are dead."

(d)   According to Brown and Levinson, hedging opinions are normally the negative politeness feature but they also do have positive politeness elements. This option is used when S decides to be vague in stating his opinion to avoid disagreement and this leads S to exaggerate, use intensifying modifiers such as absolutely and completely and using them at the extremes of the relevant value:

"I completely agree with you and you are absolutely right" (when in effect S disagrees completely and H is in a way out of order)

Brown and Levinson suggest that in order for S to use hedges, he must be aware of H's position on the subject. Other hedges normally used are: *sort of, kind of, in a way, like, etc.* and they are all used to soften the FTA of criticising or complaining, to blur S's intentions and to avoid direct and exact communication of S's attitude or feelings as illustrated in examples 65 to 67 in Brown and Levinson's book:

"It's really beautiful, in a way."

Brown and Levinson suggest that these hedges may also be used to soften FTAs of suggesting or criticising or complaining, by blurring S's intent as illustrated in examples 70 to 73:

"You really are sort of a loner, aren't you?"

Strategy 7: Presuppose, raise or assert common ground

Brown and Levinson suggest that this is characterised by:

(a) <u>Gossip, small talk</u> which is also regarded as the element or mark of a very close friendship or an interest in H, giving rise to the strategy of redressing an FTA by talking for a while about unrelated issues. By doing that S is stressing his general interest in H and at the same time indicating that he hasn't come to H to do an FTA such as in a request, but bringing a present may make the intended FTA more obvious that making small talk or gossiping:

"Have you seen him? You would really think that he was run over by a car. His dignity has gone va-va-voom down the drain, I am telling you. Girlfriend, I forgot to bring coffee from home, can I have some of yours-a teabag would also do." [Example, my own]

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), this strategy of softening requests and discussing general shared interests with H, helps S in stressing the common ground that he shares with H such as common concerns and common attitudes towards interesting events.

(b) <u>Point-of-view operations or deitic centrings</u>. Sentences in natural languages encode point-of-view by means of deixis. Deixis have to do with the way in which sentences are anchored to certain aspects of utterance, including the role of participants in a speech event and their spatio-temporal and social location. Practically in an interaction, "I" refers to the speaker, "now" refers to time of the utterance and "there" refers to a place distant from the speaker unlike "here" which is closer to S. According to Fillmore's (1971b, 1974, 1975) hypothesis, the normal unmarked deitic centre is the one where S is the central person, the time of speaking also known as the 'coding time' is the central time, and the place where the speaker is at encoding time is the central place. Thus, Brown and Levinson maintain that temporal and spatial descriptions are understood relative to the time and place of speaking, the central reference point from which all other usages are departures that take their meaning by reference to this anchorage point. All such departures are called point-of view operations and they are:

(i) Personal-centre switch whereby S speaks as if H were S or magnifies the equality of knowledge between S and H and also through the use of inclusiveness, using the pronoun 'we':

"I had really hard time learning to drive, didn't I?"

S can also show empathy by asserting what only H can know as in example 82 in Brown and Levinson:

A: Oh this cut hurts awfully, Mum.
B: Yes dear, it hurts terribly, I know.

The parallel use of tag questions through the constant use of "you see" or "you know" in cases where H couldn't possibly know is another form of point-of-view operations.

"I really had a hard time learning to drive, you know."

(ii) Time-switch is indicated through the use of the vivid present tense to increase the immediacy and interest of the story and it is regarded as a distinctly positive politeness technique, as illustrated in examples 91- 93:
"And Martha says to Bill, 'Oh Heavens' and I says..."

(iii) Place-switch is illustrated through the use of the proximal rather than the distal demonstratives such as *here* and *this* instead of *there* and *that*, as much as the use of verbs of movement like *take, bring* and *go, come*. Example 95: (in reference): This/here is a man I could trust.

(iv) Avoidance of adjustment of reports to H's point-of-view which is done through the use of direct quotes with uninterpreted referring expressions, names, etc. According to Brown and Levinson, the use of direct quoted speech is associated by stereotype with the working class along with the use of names and references without explanation, and as a result direct quoted speech is generally used as a positive politeness device.

(c) <u>Presupposition manipulations</u> are actually referring to mutual assumption, presuming that something is being taken for granted. This is done as follows:

(i) Presuppose knowledge of H's wants and attitudes and by so doing, partially redressing the FTA, presuming a 'yes' answer to a question:

"Wouldn't you like a drink?"

"Don't you think it's marvellous!?"

(ii)   Presuppose that H's values are the same as S's and this applies in a situation whereby S and H's value judgement scales are the same such as judging people according to the scales of: tall vs. short, bad vs. good, beautiful vs. ugly, boring vs. interesting, etc.

(iii)   Presuppose familiarity is S-H relationship. This includes the use of familiar generic address forms such as 'luv', 'mate', etc. which both S and H are familiar with. Using these address forms to strangers might also soften or redress the threat of FTAs as illustrated in strategy 4 above.

(iv)   Presuppose H's knowledge by using terms of reference that are known to H. Thus, the use of in-group codes such as language, jargon, local terminology and slang, assumes that H understands and shares the associations of that code as indicated in examples 109- 113:

"Well I was watching *High Life* last night and…"

Strategy 8: Joke

Brown and Levinson suggest that this is the strategy that is employed when S wants to put H at ease and also when responding to a mistake performed by H and by joking then S minimizes the FTA. Jokes are mainly based on the shared mutual knowledge and values of the interactants, as illustrated in examples 114 and 115:

"How about lending me this heap of junk?" (H's new Cadillac)

Convey that the speaker and hearer are co-operators

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), strategies that fall under this class are based on the want to convey that S and H are co-operatively involved in the relevant activity. Therefore, if S and H are co-operators, then they share goals in some domain and to convey that they are co-operators can serve to redress H's positive face.

Strategy 9: Assert or presuppose the speaker's knowledge of and concern for the hearer's wants

This is basically the willingness on the part of S to fit in his own wants to and with those of H through:

(a) Requests: "Look, I know you want the car by 5.0, so should (not) I go to town now?"

(b) Offer: "I know you can't bear parties, but this one will really be good – do come!"

(c) Apology: "I know you love roses but the florist didn't have any more, so I brought you geraniums instead."

Strategy 10: Offer and promise

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that an offer is a statement and a promise is an imperative and they are both used to demonstrate S's good intentions in satisfying H's positive face wants, and to redress the potential threat of some FTAs:
"I will get quadriderm; it is very good for skin irritations." [Example, my own]

Strategy 11: Be optimistic

In this strategy, Brown and Levinson suggest that S assumes that H wants what S wants by giving optimistic statements. These optimistic expressions are capable of minimizing the size of the face threat and they imply that there is 'nothing to worry about'. For this strategy to be effective there must be co-operation between S and H. For example:
"I am going to use your PC just for a day, is that okay with you?" [Example, my own]

Strategy 12: Include both speaker and hearer in the activity

According to Brown and Levinson, this can be done through the use of the inclusive form 'we' which in actual fact refers to S and by so doing S is calling upon the cooperative assumptions to redress the FTAs. For example: "Let's have a seafood platter, it is so delicious you'll like it." [Example, my own]

Strategy 13: Give (or ask for) reason

Brown and Levinson suggest that this is employed as S's attempt of including H in the activity. Thus, by including H in his political reasoning and assuming reflexibility, H is thereby led to see the reasonableness of S's FTAs. In a nutshell, giving reasons implies that 'I can help you and you can help me' kind of an understanding and assuming cooperation by showing the kind of help needed. S can do this by making indirect suggestions:

"Why don't we go for a weekend getaway, say in Umngazi River Bungalows in Port St Johns?" [Example, my own]

Strategy 14: Assume or assert reciprocity

Brown and Levinson state that the existence of cooperation between S and H may also be claimed or employed by giving evidence of reciprocal rights or obligations obtaining or existing between the interactants. This is the kind of 'scratch my back and I will scratch yours' kind of a situation:

"If you buy me that baby blue nightdress we saw at Woolworths, I will go with you to your school function on Friday evening." [Example, my own]

"You went out of your way to make my birthday the one I will never forget, then let me spoil you on Father's day. No arguments." [Example, my own]

Fulfil H's want for some X

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), this positive politeness component involves a situation whereby S decides to redress H's face by directly fulfilling some of H's wants, thereby indicating that he (S) wants H's wants for H to a particular extent and respect.

Strategy 15: Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)

Brown and Levinson argue that S may satisfy H's positive face want by satisfying some of H's wants. The classic positive politeness action of gift-giving is not only of tangible gifts but human relation wants such as those illustrated in the above discussed strategies, the wants to be liked, admired, cared, understood, approved of, etc.
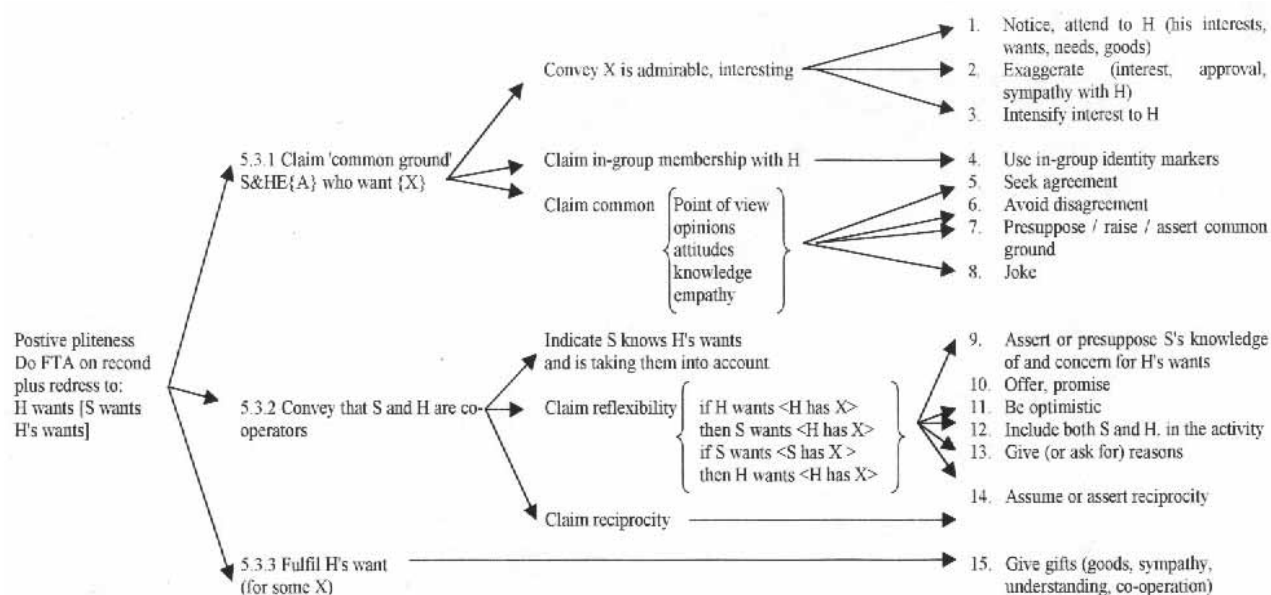
Fig. 3. Chart of strategies: Positive politeness

Negative Politeness

Brown and Levinson (2987) states that this is the redressive action addressed to H's negative face: his want to have his freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded. Negative politeness is the heart of respect behaviour just as much as positive politeness is the kernel of 'familiar' and 'joking' behaviour. They argue that negative politeness is specific and focussed as it performs the function of minimizing the particular imposition that the FTA unavoidably effects. Negative politeness is the most elaborate and the most conventionalized set of linguistic strategies for FTA redress, and it is the stuff that fills the etiquette books (but not exclusively- positive politeness gets some attention too. Its linguistic realizations are very familiar and as such they need no introduction. However, Brown and Levinson are of the view that conventional indirectness, hedges on illocutionary force and polite pessimism (about the success of requests, etc.), the emphasis on H's power are some of its realizations which are basically employed whenever S wants to attach a social distance during the course of the interaction. These wants and those outlined in Fig. 4 below are not the only motivations a speaker may have for using the linguistic realizations that are characteristic of negative politeness. The outputs outlined are all general useful forms for social 'distancing'.

Brown and Levinson observe that there are five components through which negative politeness strategies are spread across.

Be direct

According to Brown and Levinson (2987), this is one of the super-strategies of negative politeness and is used as the simplest way of constructing an on-record message although somehow it clashes with the need of redress as attached to H's negative face. However, there is an aspect in formal politeness that commands one to minimize the imposition by getting straight to the point and in so doing, avoiding further imposition of prolixity and obscurity, and as such R. Lakoff (1973a) argued that this is the most important feature of politeness. Lakoff's view in reality can only apply in circumstances such as bothering 'important people' for favours. Thus, although the desire to go on record provides a pressure towards directness and forthrightness, it is a desire that never issues in bald-on-record talk. For the other aspect of negative politeness intervenes, the need for negative-face redress, and some compromise is reaches in the hybrid strategy of conventional indirectness.

Brown and Levinson argue that the study of negative politeness as a politeness strategy shows a clash between the want to 'be direct' stemming from "Do FTA on record' and the want to 'be direct that derives from "Don't coerce H' and this clash warrants that there must be a compromise as a means of satisfying the conflicting wants. This mechanism is developed in the following discussion of negative politeness strategies.

Strategy 1: Be conventionally indirect

Brown and Levinson (1987) points out that when S is torn between being direct and the desire to go on-record, he may opt for conventional indirectness by using phrases and sentences that have contextually unambiguous meanings, by virtue of conventionalization which are different from their literal meanings. In this way the utterance goes on record and the speaker indicates his desire to have gone of record, to have conveyed the same thing indirectly. Conventional indirectness encodes the clash of wants, and so partially achieves them both.

Thus, there are degrees of conventionalization and also degrees of compromise in one direction that is, off-recordness and/or on-recordness. The speaker therefore has the following options of doing that:

(a)   Politeness and the universality of indirect speech acts. Indirect speech acts are the most significant form of conventional indirectness and they have received a

great deal of attention from linguists. Indirect speech acts are the kind of things that can be done by means of utterances and they manifest themselves through requests, assertions, imperatives and the use if rhetorical questions. Thus, syntactic questions are paradigmatically used to request information, assertions to make statements of fact, imperatives to command, etc. However, paradigmatic or direct uses are not the only 'illocutionary force': rhetorical questions can be used to make assertions, imperatives to make offers ('Have another cup of coffee'), and assertions to command ('you will all hand in your assignments tomorrow noon'). These cases are what constitute the problem of indirect speech acts or the conveyed illocutionary force.

Gordon and Lakoff (1971) drew attention to a systematic way of making indirect speech acts in English by stating or questioning a felicity condition. According to Searle (1969), a felicity condition is one of the real-world conditions that must be met by aspects of the communicative event in order for a particular speech act to come out as intended. For example, in order for a request to be felicitous or successful, the addressee should be thought of to be potentially able to comply with the request; the requester must want the thing requested, and so on. Gordon and Lakoff noticed that by questioning whether one can shut the door for example, ('can you shut the door?') or by asserting that S wants H to shut the door ('I'd like you to shut the door') and so on, one can construct readily understandable indirect speech acts. In many contexts these expressions are conventionalized to the extent that there can be no doubt of what is meant because they are on-record expressions. Thus, those that have a propositional content identical with that of the act they indirectly perform may be syntactically marked so that they cannot have their literal meanings or indirect illocutionary force.

Such transformations sensitive to conveyed meanings include the insertion of sentence-internal please:
"Would you please wait for me in the car meanwhile I am sorting out this problem."

Brown and Levinson suggest that this is only an indirect request and not a question about the addressee's potential abilities.

The insertion of exclamatory expressions or exclamatory stress and intonation pushes the challenge over to on-recordness:

"You people, do you ever get tired of partying?!" [example my own]

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), any communicative behaviour, be it verbal or non-verbal, that conveys something more than or different from what it literally means- which in context could not be defended as ambiguous between literal and conveyed meaning(s), and provides no line of escape to the speaker or the hearer, would serve the purpose as the more idiomatic expressions. For example, if:

(i)   "I am looking for the phone".

(ii)   "Help me with the phone".

is said to a shop attendant on record as a request without please or may I, even though these additions would make a request reading unavoidable in any situation. In fact, on-record and off-record are categories that do not precisely coincide with categories of linguistic forms, but only with linguistic forms in context.

Brown and Levinson suggest that if the clash of wants, that is being direct or indirect provides a motive for the existence of a class of conventionalized or idiomatic indirect speech acts, further politeness motives lie behind which individual expressions are conventionalized. What this means is that, speech acts standardly presuppose their felicity conditions. For instance, to question or to assert doubt about such a precondition on a speech act is (i) to indicate that S does not presume that the precondition is in fact met, where such a presumption may be rude, and/or (ii) to provide H with a line of escape through denial that the precondition is met. The point here is that indirect speech acts function as hedges on illocutionary force. *Which precondition* is questioned or doubted is highly relevant to whether the form is indeed polite in a particular context and to what degree.

As highlighted in Fig. 4, Brown and Levinson maintain that negative politeness is employed through the derivative wants of being pessimistic, assuming that H is unlikely to perform an act as instructed or by questioning or hedging that is, not assuming that H is able or willing to perform tasks as predicated to him. S may choose to convey the assumption that H is unlikely to do act A, and so

assert it, or to convey that he is unsure whether H can do A, and so questions it. These two strategies are mutually exclusive because if S questions the improbability of H's doing A, he wouldn't be assuming it. Majority ways of making indirect speech acts appear to be universal or to be independently developed in many languages. However, a cross-linguistic survey indicates that indirect speech acts are not restricted to those based on Searle's felicity conditions; hints of various less direct sorts proliferate empirically and are theoretically indefinite in number.

In sum, Brown and Levinson maintain that indirect speech acts have as their prime *raison d'etre* the politeness functions they perform. Secondly, their internal structure is best accounted for as conforming with the demands of particular politeness strategies. Lastly, indirect speech acts are universal and for the most part they are probably constructed in essentially similar ways in all languages. Thus, the universality of indirect speech acts follows from the basic service they perform with respect to universal strategies of politeness.

(b)   Degrees of politeness in the expression of indirect speech acts. This deals with the distinctions of polite and impolite categories such as what makes some conventionally indirect expressions slightly more or less polite than others. For example, polite offers are often bald-on-record imperatives:
"Excuse me, do you have a cigarette lighter for me please."

Brown and Levinson suggest that in a context where S is trying to be maximally negatively polite, we might get the following intuitive ordering of polite requests:
"Do you have change?"
"Can you give me some change?"
"I need some change can you give it to me?"
"Give me some change."

They maintain that the more effort S employs in face-preserving work, the more he will be seen as satisfying H's face wants. Therefore, the greater the number of compatible outputs charted in Fig. 4 utilized by S, the more he may be judged as trying to at least appear polite. Thus, the simple compounding of hedges and indirectness, particles and so on, increases the relative politeness of expressions.

They also maintain that the strategic choices which most satisfy the end or want to which they stand as means would be preferred over other strategies that satisfy the end to a lesser degree. Thus, the strategy "Be pessimistic" would be preferred to the Question, hedge strategy where they are incompatible.

Don't presume or assume

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), this negative politeness component derives from the aspect that redress be given to H's negative face. The ways in which such redress can be given by carefully avoiding presuming or assuming that anything involved in the FTA is desired or believed by H, is examined here. This includes avoiding presumptions about H, his wants, what is relevant or interesting or worthy of his attention- that is, keeping ritual distance from H. All this examination gives us the second negative politeness strategy which enjoins the speaker to question or hedge such assumptions. As indicated in Fig. 4, this strategy is given further motivation by wants stemming from the third derivative wants that: Don't coerce H particularly from the subordinate want that: Don't assume H is able/willing to do A, which is act required of him by the FTA. The following discussion will thus clarify the ways in which the multiple motivations for the strategic output work.

Strategy 2: Question, hedge

(a)   Question: has been dealt with under conventional indirectness above, strategy 1.
"Can you pass the salt please?"

Hedges on illocutionary force are divided into:

(i)   Performative hedges which are performed through the use of performative verbs that can also be analysed as adverbs representing the illocutionary force of the utterance. S must not assume that H is able or willing to do A (act) and at the same time he should avoid making minimal assumptions about H's wants.

(ii)   Hedges encoded in particles. They are used to encode hedges in the linguistic structure and they include tag questions, adverbs or modifiers and exclamatory or emphatic particles. All these particles are used as strengtheners and weakeners, and there is no clear literal meaning for

most of them, but what they manage to do is to indicate S's commitment towards what he is saying and by so doing, modifying the illocutionary force. Strengtheners act as emphatic hedges through the use of modifiers such as 'exactly' or 'precisely' or 'emphatically', and weakeners are those that soften or tentativize what they modify.

Examples of the usage of some strengthening particles:
"That is exactly what I like most about you."
"Precisely! my dear"
"Oh, yes please! Go ahead."

Strengtheners can also be used as modifiers of propositional content, 'only just', 'merely' or 'just':
"It's only just a matter of time and you'll have your PhD."
"Only invitation-card holders are allowed in the hall."
"This is merely a formality thing, nothing much to it."

The following are some of the examples of weakening particles:

The use of a concession with a finalizing note is said to be able to soften commands in casual speech through the use of 'all right':
"All right then, I'll wait for you here."
"You know, it is all right to go in time."

The use of this concession may also be used to soften farewells:
"It's all right; we'll see each other again very soon."
"It's all right, go well my friend."

The speaker may also use quantitative particles to avoid responsibility for believing in the truth of the utterance through the use of 'it is said':
"It is said that they are living town to avoid paying taxes."
"It is said that you were seen partying in town instead of being at work."

This quantitative particle may also be used to distance the speaker from a command by indicating as pretence or truly, that it is a third party command:
Here is your jacket, it is said that you should leave immediately."
"She said you shouldn't be here when she returns, here is the letter she wrote to you."

The possibility marker 'if', is the normal 'if' word but is also used to soften commands by including a notion of possibility in the command, turning it to a polite suggestion:

"You may come over to my house for dinner tomorrow if you want."

"You will very good grades if you read your books."

(b) dverbial clauses: There are various expressions that hedge an illocutionary force:

"We are going to get a day off tomorrow, in a way."

"Even if she doesn't make it for the meeting, I shouldn't be surprised."

"It seems as most community members are not interested in this new product."

She is the most smartly dressed woman in the department, in fact."

As far as the 'if' clauses are concerned, Heringer (1972) noted that felicity conditions may be suspended by putting them in 'if' clauses:

"Close the door, if you can."

"Close the door, if it closes."

"Close the door, if it isn't closed."

"Close the door, if you want."

"Deference' and 'politeness' are other felicity conditions as proposed by Heringer , that the speaker presupposes that he has the permission of the addressee to do the volitional acts predicated in the speech act, and that the addressee will not mind doing them. They are to account for:

"Would you close the door, if I may ask you?"

"Would you close the door, if you may forgive me for asking?"

"Would you close the door, if you want to help me?"

"Would you close the door, if you don't mind?"

These expressions have their own quasi-phrases with 'on not' phrases:

"Would you close the door, or do you mind?"

Parallels hold across the board in English, for all speech acts. For example:

"If you allow me, I declare the meeting closed."

"If we're all ready, I declare the meeting open."

Thus, just as felicity conditions can be seen as particularizations of Grice's Maxims to specific communicative intentions (i.e. to speech acts; see Levinson

1973), so Heringer's defence conditions can be seen as particularizations of face-preserving principles such as those charted in Fig.4.

(I'll take you out for dinner if you let me."

(c) Hedges addressed to Grice's maxims deal with the aspect of not assuming that H wants to co-operate and by assuming that S's assessment of what would be a contribution to the cooperative enterprise of talking is the same as H's. The communication of these non-presumptions or presumptions may be made by a set of hedges oriented to Grice's cooperative dimensions which include: Quality (non-spuriousness), Quantity, Relevance and Manner. These are the dimensions which when applied to the communicative intentions underlying speech acts, yield felicity conditions;

   (i) Quality of the message provides sincerity conditions and emphasizes that the cooperative condition has been met, or question if it has been met:

   "I was told that he is no longer going to be our section manager starting from next month."

   "I assume that you also want to go to the cinema this afternoon."

   "I believe you are addressing us."

   "I know that we are supposed to be playing against "The Sharks" this Saturday."

   Alternatively, these hedges may stress S's commitment to the truth of his utterance:

   "With complete honesty I can assure you that he will never do it again."

   "I absolutely promise that I will be there on your birthday."

   Or, they may disclaim the assumption that the point of S's assertion is to inform H:

   "As you know things have improved quite massively in South Africa."

   "As is well known, it is an offence to drive while talking on your cell phone."

   "As we both know, the poor thing doesn't know the difference between the truth and a lie."

(ii)   Quantity, not saying more or less of what is cooperatively expected:

"So, what you are saying is that you are not coming with us?"

"In short, she got what she deserved."

There are also expressions with clear politeness functions such as 'I'll just say' as in:

"I'll just say I got all what I was looking for."

and "you know' and 'I mean' (cf. Goldberg 1982) as in:

"Oh! I thought that you two don't know each other."

"I mean the truth will prevail at the end."

"Now is the time to declare everything out in the open."

(iii)   Relevance to the point in question. It is noted that because of the sensitivity of topic changes as imposition on H's face, such changes are often done off-record. Hedges that mark the change and perhaps partially apologize for it, include:

"Oh my word, I don't know what is going on."

"Oh my God, I don't know what is going on."

The use of 'now' interacts with the use of tense deixis making a claim for relevance, be cause it is a proximal deitic marker like 'here' and the past tense hedging a bit on the relevance:

"Now, I was hoping that you will accompany me to the Clinic."

The following assertions are the examples under the rubric fall hedges on whether the point or purpose of the speech is in fact relevant:

"If you don't have a copy of Brown and Levinson's book on 'politeness', I've got one."

"If you ask me where Minky is, she is at school in Bloemfontein."

"I'll have to go if you've nothing more to say."

"If you want to know how I am, I am cool."

There are also clauses that modify the performative verb by giving reasons why the speaker made the utterance, making thus an implicit claim to being relevant (cf. Davison 1973):

"I don't know how we are going to get to work as the taxi violence has

started again."

"You must put on some socks that office is a freezer."

(iv) Manner that is being neither vague nor ambiguous and includes hedges such as:

"If you understand my point you should change your ways."

"Don't mean to hurt your feelings you are useless."

The following expressions query whether H is adequately following S's discourse:

"Did you see what I was talking about?"q

"Do you understand this thing?"

Maxim hedges are used with great frequency in ordinary talk and have in most cases straightforward politeness applications. For instance, 'quality hedges' that weaken S's commitment may redress advice or criticism ('I think perhaps you should…') while those that strengthen are useful for making promises ('I absolutely promise to …'). 'Quantity hedges' may be used to redress complaints or requests ('Could you make this copy more or less final?'). 'Relevance hedges' are useful ways of redressing offers or suggestions ('This may be misplaced, but would you consider…'). 'Manner hedges' on the other hand may be used to redress all kinds of FTAs, for example, insults ('You're exactly thrifty, if you see what I mean').

(d) Hedges addressed to politeness strategies- this involves saying things on record that might have been said off-record or rather not said at all such as notices of violation of face wants as in criticisms ('You could have done a much better job than…'), bad news ('I don't like saying this, but…'), bragging ('If I say this myself…'), etc. All these hedges seem to signify that what is said on record might more properly been said off-record, or not at all.

(e) Prosodic and kinetic hedges- are used to indicate emphasis or tentativeness through verbal and non-verbal cues such as the raised eyebrow, earnest frown, the umms and ahhs, hesitations and they indicate S's attitude towards what is being said and mark the presence of an FTA even cross-culturally. The use of the highly conventionalized high pitch or falsetto seems to release the speaker from responsibility for believing the truth of what he says, so that the presence

of this falsetto in an otherwise normal conversation may well mark the presence of a social lie. This is the significant of the expression 'Who knows' normally uttered with hands thrown up and eyes raised to the heavens as if to invoke the gods in support of the speaker's total ignorance and innocence.

Don't coerce H

This is Brown and Levinson's (1987) another class of redressing H's negative face wants and they argue that it is used when the proposed FTA involves predicating an act of H such as when requesting an aid or offering something which requires his accepting. For this kind of FTAs, negative-face redress may be made by avoiding coercing H's response, and this may be done by explicitly giving him the option not to do the act (A). This higher order produces strategy 3 which involves S assuming H is not likely to do A, and as such making it easy for H to opt out; this yields output strategy 3, 'be pessimistic'.

Brown and Levinson maintain that avoiding coercion of H may take the form of attempting to minimize the threat of coercion by clarifying S's view of the P, D, and R values. Thus, he may claim Rx is small giving output strategy 4. S may also claim that H's relative P is great hence Implying that S is powerless to coerce H, thereby giving output strategy 5, 'give deference'.

Strategy 3: Be pessimistic

Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that this strategy gives redress to H's negative face by:

(a) Explicitly expressing doubt: that the conditions for the appropriateness of S's speech act obtain:
"I doubt if I will be able to make it, but I will try."

This want may also be realized through indirect requests with assertions of felicity conditions which have had a negated probability operator inserted as in:
"Could you possibly wash my car this afternoon?"
"Would you by any chance lend me your car for the weekend?"

(b)   Use of pessimistic hedges:
       "Maybe…", "Perhaps…", "Mhlawumbi…"
       "Perhaps you'd like to pay me a visit next weekend."

(c)   Negative usages such as the following are the examples of other encodings of
       polite pessimism in English:
       "I *don't* think there would be *any* chance of…"
       "I don't suppose that you can drive me to work tomorrow morning?"

Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition, Rx

Brown and Levinson suggest that the choice of a strategy encodes the perceived danger of the FTA, i.e. Wx- but it does not of itself indicate which of the social factors, D, P, or R is most responsible in determining the value of Wx. One way of defusing the FTA is to indicate that Rx, the intrinsic seriousness of the imposition is not in itself great, leaving only D and P as possible weighty factors. This may indirectly pay deference to H.

This strategy is thus delimiting the extent of the FTA and its conventional implicature by using expressions such as *just, a bit, a little, etc.* is the main feature of this strategy:
"I just want to know if you can be able to wash this car of mine."

Here, just conveys both its literal meaning of 'exactly', 'only', which narrowly delimits the extent of the FTA and its conventional implicature 'merely'.

Then there is:
"I didn't say I want that type of coffee, I just want an Espresso."
"I just want a **piece** of bread not a slice."
"A **little bit** of patience my dear, he will be here."

Strategy 5: Give deference

As far as the realization of deference is concerned, Brown and Levinson observe that S humbles and abases himself, and in another instance he raises H by paying him a positive face of a particular kind, namely that which satisfies H's want to be treated as superior. In both cases, what is conveyed is that H is of higher social status than S. By conveying directly the perception of a high P deferential , deference serves to

defuse potential face-threatening acts by indicating that the addressee's rights to relative immunity from imposition are recognised, and moreover, that S is certainly not in a position to coerce H's compliance in any way.

They argue that in cases where reciprocal deference occurs, what is conveyed is a mutual respect based on a high D value, but this seems to be an exploitation of the asymmetrical use of deference to convey an asymmetrical social ranking.

(a)   Honorifics relatively indicating the social status of many languages and has both the 'deferential' and 'humiliative' forms. To illustrate the more alien humiliative mode, in the Urdu of Delhi Muslims, the respectful way of inviting someone to your house is to say something that glosses as "please bring your ennobling presence to the hut of this dustlike person sometime", while forms glossing as 'slave' and 'government' do duty as first and second-person pronouns respectively. (Jain 1969:84-5)

They suggest that by honorifics in an extended sense, we understand direct grammatical encodings of relative social status between participants, or between participants and persons or things referred to in the communicative event.

(b)   Tu and Vous pronouns (plural). The use of the plural pronouns for singular addressees has a world-wide distribution in unrelated languages. This aspect is an honorific feature which like honorifics is derived from some frozen outputs of politeness strategies, indirectly conveying a differential status via the general strategy of pluralization in order for impersonalization.

(c)   Points of reference such as setting, bystander, referent, etc. According to Fillmore (1975), honorifics are properly considered part of the deitic system of a language. Just as the meanings of here and come are anchored by reference to the spatial properties of the communicative event, so *vous* and *Professor Fillmore* are anchored by reference to the social properties of participants in the event. This suggestion has two merits. On the one hand it gives some structure to the possible distinctions among kinds of honorifics, for example, it predicates distinctions like 'gestural' versus 'symbolic' usages of deitic terms in the social sphere. Secondly, it suggests limitations to the variety of honorifics; every kind

must be anchored to some particular aspect of the speech event- speaker, addressee, other participants or over-hearers, setting, and so on.

They maintain that there are therefore five points of reference with connecting axis: the speaker, referent, addressee, bystander and setting.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), referent honorifics involve the communication of the speaker-referent relation from which, given the relation between addressee and referent, presumably known to H, H may calculate by triangulation what S is communicating the speaker-addressee relation to be. This will be simple where the referent is directly associated with H such as his house, car, his kin, etc; where the referent is directly associated with S, the inference will also be straightforward although humbling than raising the referent will be appropriate. The appropriate raising or lowering of the referent by using an honorific or dishonorific label serves to give deference.

They postulate that this inferential process introduces a massive complexity into the use of reference terms for persons who are extraordinarily diverse and elaborated in most languages partly for this reason. Ethnomethodologists call this complex process 'formulation' (Schegloff 1972a).

(d)   Forms of address for strangers and the unfamiliars. Almost all the languages encode deference in generalized forms of address for strangers and unfamiliars. It therefore becomes more polite when one uses a form of address. Brown and Levinson suggest that the deference phenomena apply to social factors encoded in language structure as in the relationship between a manager (A) and her personal assistant (B):

A: Have you finished typing the program for the meeting?

B: I am almost finished, Mam. If you can give me just ten minutes you'll have it."

They point out that the humbling of one's self, one's capacities and possessions is done by sentences like the following:

"It's nothing much but I know it'll fill your tummy."

"I know it's not what you would have bought for yourself, but I know that it'll serve the purpose."

"Well, I try to do my job as perfect as I could."

Communicate S's want to not impinge on H

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) another way of partially satisfying H's negative face wants is to indicate that S is aware of them and taking them into consideration by communicating the FTA. S is thus communicating that any infringement of H's territory is recognized as such and is not undertaken lightly.

They suggest that there are basically two ways in which this can be done. The first one is to apologize straightforwardly for the infringement and this is output strategy 6, which involves recognizing the impingement and making amends for it. The second way and a less obvious one is to implicitly convey s reluctance on the part of S to impose on H. This is done by dissociating either S or h or both from the FTA. By implication, S conveys that it is not his wish to impose on H but someone else's or that it is not on H in particular but on some people generally that this imposition is made. By doing all this, S conversationally implicates that he is reluctant to impinge.

Brown and Levinson states that this dissociation can be achieved in various ways such as: making it unclear or generalizing who the agent of the FTA actually is, by being vague or non-designatory about who H is by phrasing the FTA itself as a general principle rather than a volitional act done by S, and by distressing the act of imposing by nominalizing the expression of the FTA. All these then give us negative-politeness output strategies 7 through to 9.

Strategy 6: Apologise

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) S apologizes for the infringement and for performing an FTA, indicating his reluctance to impinge on H's negative face and thereby partially redress that impingement. The deferential use of hesitation and bumbliness and many other expressions in common use are ways of showing this reluctance. There are then at least four ways of communicating regret or reluctance to perform an FTA:

(a) By admitting the impingement on H's face with expressions as the following:
     "You sure look very busy, but I really need to talk to you."
     "I know this doesn't look interesting but let us try it."
     "I hope this will not take much of your time."

(b)   By indicating reluctance. S can attempt to show that he is reluctant to impinge on H with the use of hedges as discussed above, or by means of expressions such as the following:

"I know I've come to the wrong office but I ask you to help me."

"I hate bothering you, but there is nothing I can do."

(c)   By giving overwhelming reasons. S can claim that he has compelling reasons for doing the FTA such as his own incapacity and as such implying that he wouldn't dream of infringing H's negative face:

"I can never manage to meet the target or deadline without your help. Can you help?"

"There is no one who could ever do this job but you."

(d)   By begging for forgiveness. S here may beg for H's forgiveness, or at least ask for acquittal- that is, H should cancel the debt implicit in the FTA:

"I was careless I admit. Would you please forgive me?"

"If I was there this couldn't have happened, excuse me."

"Please let me explain how this happened, and hopefully you will forgive me."

Strategy 7: Impersonalise S and H

Brown and Levinson argue that this is one way of indicating that S doesn't want to impinge on H by phrasing the FTA as if the agent were other than S, or at least possibly not S or not S alone, and the addressee were other than H, or only inclusive of H. All this is done through:

(a)   Performatives- This avoidance of the 'I' and 'you' pronouns may be such a basic desire that 'I' helps to explain the very general loss of overt reference to the subject and indirect object of the highest performative verb. The forms like:

"It is so."

"Do this for me."

are more expectable than the conversationally unusual forms like:

"I tell you that it is so."

"I ask you to do this for me."

In formal speeches explicit performatives are often retained as rhetorical devices (as for example: E.O. Keenan (personal comm…) reports for Malagasy).

(b)   Imperatives- In the direct expression of one of the most intrinsically face-threatening speech acts such as commanding, most languages omit the 'you' of the subject of the complement of the performative. For instance, in English, saying:

"You take that out"

Is marked as aggressively rude as compared to:

"Take that out."

This is itself too rude to occur in most normal social situations:

"Take out this thing."

"You take out this rubbish here."

Notably, in a many languages, the imperative inflection does not encode person and often not either the number where other inflections do.

(c)   Impersonal verbs- In many languages, agent deletion is allowed not only in imperatives but also in other verb forms that encode acts which are intrinsically FTAs such as the use of modals of necessity and obligations.

"It is necessary that you attend this meeting."

Normally, verbs taking dative agents are often used with the deleted agent:

"It looks like the weather is going to change."

"It is obvious that you are really annoyed by him."

However, Brown and Levinson suggest that some 'semantic naturalness' might be claimed for verbs taking such dative agents, the existence of near paraphrases with nominative agents which makes this dubious:

"I would like…"

In sum, we can then predict that in languages with dative-agent deletion but with restrictions on nominative-agent deletion, and person-number coding in inflection among the verbs which take such agents, will be those that intrinsically might threaten face; namely, modals of obligation, verbs of wanting and desiring (especially in cultures where notions of envy and witchcraft are pervasive), predicates of emotional and extreme physical states. If this is not the case in a particular language, verbs expressing such concepts could be expected to allow impersonal phrasing.

(d)   Passive and circumstantial verbs- The passive coupled with a rule of agent deletion is perhaps the means *par* excellence in English used in avoiding reference to persons involved in FTAs. It may be used to remove direct reference to the speaker as illustrated in the following example:

"It is regrettably to announce that petrol prices are going to go up again on Friday.'

"It is expected that all members will attend the meeting."

(e)   Replacement of the pronouns 'I' and 'You' by indefinites- Some languages have some standardized impersonal versions of pronouns such as one, someone, which serve as FTA purposes to good effect an in the following examples:

"One might think that you are dying."

"Someone came here looking for the manager."

"Others couldn't make it for the service."

(f)   Pluralisation of 'You' and 'I' pronouns- Generally, in most unrelated languages and cultures, the 'you' plural when used to infer to a single addressee could indicate deference power (P) or distance (D). But, Brown and Levinson's theory provide other possible motives for this phenomenon. The first one is that 'you' plural provides a conventional 'out' for the hearer, as observed by Lakoff (1973a). What this means is that, since it does not literally single out the addressee, it is as if the speaker were giving H the option to interpret it as applying to him rather that to his companions.

Secondly, in kinship-based societies, where a person's social status is fundamentally linked to membership in a group, to treat persons as representatives of a group rather than as relatively powerless individuals would be to refer to their social standing and the backing that they derive from their group.

These motives would then be little more speculative origins for stabilized T/V systems, where it is not for the fact one can find existing systems where stabilized pronominal honorifics exist but where plurality in pronouns is productively and strategically used to satisfy just such motives.

The pressures underlying the use of plural second-person pronouns as honorifics do not stop at second-person pronouns. They operate in other

spheres as well and these are also outputs of negative-politeness strategies which account for the person switches. Thus, use of the widespread phenomenon of 'we' to singular addressees is to indicate 'I' powerful:

"We feel that we should warn you about what you are getting yourself into."

In an inclusive/exclusive 'we' distinction, the inclusive 'we' is used as if everything were shared between members:

"Come on our daughter (mine) is turning twenty-one today, let's celebrate."

(g) Point-of-view distancing- exploitations of point-of-view operations to distance S from H or from an FTA such as tense switches and deitic place switches (this to that). One set of mechanisms involves manipulating the expression of tense to provide distancing in time. As tense is switched from present to past, the speaker moves as if into the future, so he distances himself from the 'here' and the 'now'. These negatively polite FTAs manifest themselves in requests:

"I was wondering if you could be able to help me with this project."

And also in questions:

"I was sort of interested in knowing how this whole thing started."

Strategy 8: State the FTA as a general rule

This is one way of dissociating S and H from particular imposition in the FTA and hence a way of communicating that S doesn't want to impinge but is merely forced to by circumstance, such as stating the FTA as general social rules, regulations or obligations such as pronoun avoidance. We get the pronoun avoidance by means of the first items rather than the second in the following sentences:

"Passengers should not lean against the door when the train is in motion."

"Do not lean against the door."

"The government regulation requires that each child should receive at least one decent meal at school, everyday."

"Each child will receive a decent meal at school on daily basis."

The imposition may be represented as merely a case of a general obligation:

"In a meeting situation, we don't chit-chat we listen."

This claims that the speaker is not imposing but is merely drawing attention to the existence of a rule of not chatting in a meeting, which is independent of both S and H. Consider:

"I am sorry, but late-comers are not allowed in."

This way, general phenomenon merges into indirectness.

Strategy 9: Nominalise

Ross (1972) suggested that rather than the age-old grammarian's syntactic categories of noun, verb, adjective, etc., the facts of syntax suggest a continuum from verb through adjective to noun. This is the question of syntax and is performed by nominalising the noun or subject and it is corresponds more to a continuum from syntactic volatility to syntactic inertness.

In English, degrees of negative politeness or rather of formality run hand in glove with degrees of degrees of nouniness, (Ross 1973). Thus, this formality is associated with the noun end continuum as illustrated in the following examples of ways through which this is performed:

(a)   Verb as an informal noun-

   (i)   "You performed well on your assignment." (Infinitive deverbative- use of familiar phrases)
   (ii)   "Your performing well in your assignment impressed us."
   (iii) "Your good performance impressed us."

The third example seems more formal and businesslike than (ii) which also seems a bit formal than (i). The first version (i) seems more of a spoken sentence whereas (iii) is much of a written one. Thus, as we nominalize the subject, the more formal the sentence gets.

(b)   Passive noun, deverbative-
   "…and that impressed us favourably."
   "…was impressive to us."
   "…made a favourable impression on us."

These are the degrees of nominalization in the verb phrase of the same sentence as discussed in (a) above, which give a nine-tiered hierarchy of formality for a large set of sentences with very similar meanings.

(c)   Active passive noun- These passives seem to have roughly adjectival status:
   "We urgently request your cooperation."

"You cooperation is urgently requested."
"An urgent request is made for your cooperation."

Through this, we thus get the hierarchy of formality of familiar phrases such as:
"We regret to inform you that your application was unsuccessful."
"It is regrettable to inform you that your application was not successful."
"It is our regret to inform you that your application was not successful."

If an expression is nounier, that distances S from doing or feeling something and by so doing S becomes an attribute instead of a predicate. As far as FTAs are concerned, with the progressive removal of the active 'doing' part of an expression, the least dangerous it seems to be; it is not objects that are dangerous but their trajectories.

Redress other wants of H's

A final strategy of negative politeness consists of offering partial compensation for the face threat in the FTA by addressing some of H's particular wants particularly those that address H's desire for territorial integrity and self-determination. For instance, if H is more powerful than S, then S will be likely to respect H's preserve and by so doing, H may be presumed to have the derivative want to be more powerful than S. Again, if S falls into H's debt, then S will fall in a certain domain into H's power and can then be expected to treat H's preserve with more circumspection. Also, the more S is in H's debt, the more careful S may be presumed to be about avoiding falling further into debt. Thus, for both reasons H may be presumed to want S to be indebted in certain respects to him to some degree.

This can be done by acknowledging that in doing the FTA that imposes on H, one has incurred a debt and perhaps added to already existing debts, and thus offering partial compensation for H's face.

Strategy 10*: Go on-record as incurring a debt or as not indebting H.**

S can redress an FTA by explicitly claiming or disclaiming his indebtedness to H by means of expressions conveyed through:

(a) Requests-
     "I'd be forever grateful to you if you would just…"

"I doubt if I can ever be able to repay for all what you are doing for me."

and

(b)   Offers-

 "I wouldn't mind doing it for you."

"No, that won't be a hassle I'd love to go to the bank for you."

Such redress is likely to have special force in cultures preoccupied with debt such as the Japanese, but is probably relevant to any culture for doing great FTAs.
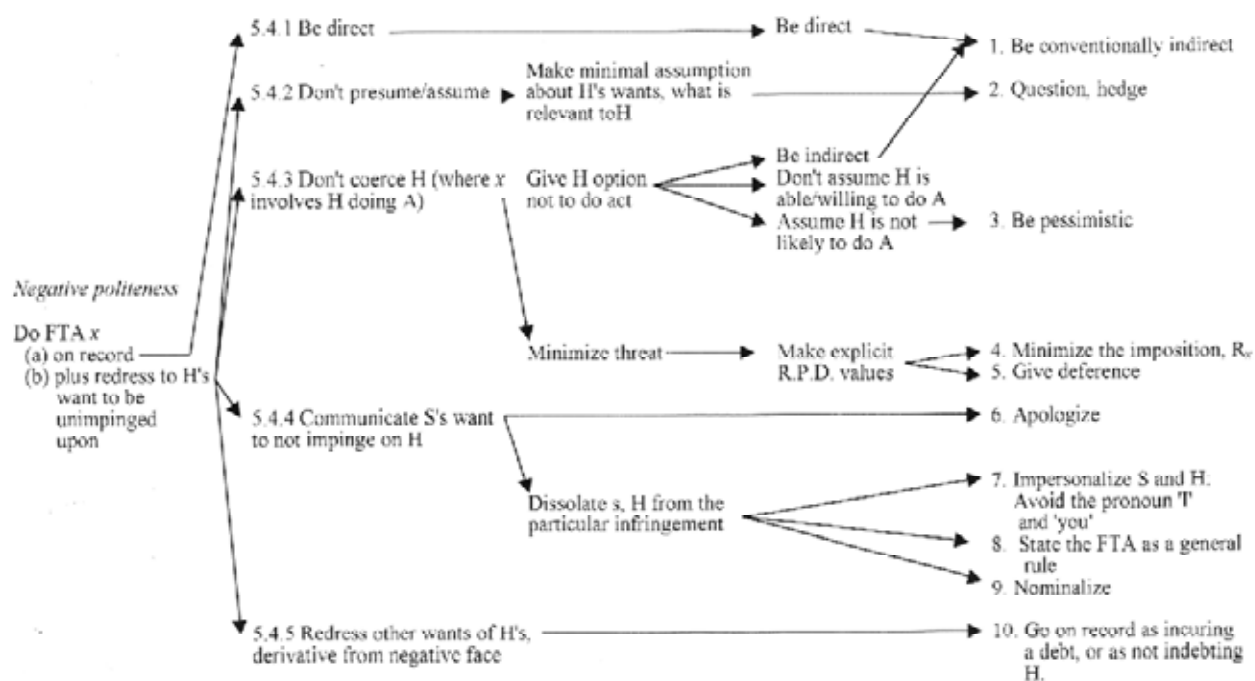
Fig. 4. Chart of strategies: Negative politeness

2.3.2 Criticism of Brown and Levinson's model of politeness

2.3.2.1   Lim and Bowers (1991)

In their criticism of Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness, Lim and Bowers (1991) discovered three major issues that: (i) their model focused more on the speech acts that threaten the other's negative face; (ii) the model has a very limited explanatory power and that (iii) it failed to distinguish between the two types of positive face.

➢ **The effects of the speech acts on one's face:**

Brown and Levinson paid more attention on speech acts that threaten the other's negative face such as requests and offers, and paid little or no attention at all on the speech acts that threaten the other's positive face such as criticism and disagreements.

➢ **The limited explanatory power:**

Lim and Bowers discussed two fundamental propositions within Brown and Levinson's model. The first proposition is that Brown and Levinson proposed the unidimensionality of the positive and negative politeness strategies, that both strategies are mutually exclusive. The second proposition is the approach-avoidance distinctions of the positive and negative politeness strategies in that Brown and Levinson rated the positive politeness as approach-based whereas negative politeness strategy was viewed as avoidance-based.

(i) <u>Unidemensionality proposition</u>

Brown and Levinson argued that positive and negative politeness are mutually exclusive and that negative politeness is more face saving than positive politeness. The problem with the unidimensionality proposition is that it is untenable as discovered by other researchers including Lim and Bowers (1991:418) in that both the positive and negative face wants are distinct human needs, which according to Scollon and Scollon (1983), makes positive and negative politeness different phenomena.

Brown and Levinson also maintained that positive and negative face are mutually exclusive in that communicators opt for negative politeness when performing an act that is highly threatening to the other's face, but what they failed to mention according to Lim and Bowers (1991) was that the use of the negative politeness doesn't necessarily minimize or alleviate strong threats to the other's positive face. For example the following utterance employs negative politeness even though it does nothing to ease the threat to H's positive face: "I'm sorry to say this. I know that I don't have any right to criticise you, but you did a poor job."

Thus, according to Lim and Bowers, since an utterance such as the one above threatens both the positive and the negative face of the other, S (speaker) must use both the positive and negative politeness to reduce the face threat; whereas if

S is performing an act that directly threatens the other's positive face he would have to use only positive politeness to reduce the face threat and use negative politeness for the face threat targeted at the other's negative face.

This conclusion is supported by Craig et al. (1986) and Shimanoff (1977) that speakers often use complex combinations of positive and negative politeness strategies when performing complicated communicative acts such as requesting someone to improve their performance.

(ii) <u>Approach-avoidance distinction</u>

Brown and Levinson also concluded that positive politeness actively gives positive face to the other whereas negative politeness passively avoids taking negative face from the other.

They argue that in an act that threatens a negative face only, a speaker may alleviate the threat to negative face by avoidance which minimizes the imposition and at the same time promoting positive face with expressions of in-groupness, affection, or respect.

Secondly, in an act threatening positive face, they argue that a speaker may alleviate the threat to positive face with both mitigating and promoting strategies. For instance, in criticising another's work, a speaker may both minimize the criticism and at the same time emphasizing in-groupness and/ or respect.

Lastly, in the two fundamental propositions of Brown and Levinson's model, the unidemensionality proposition and the approach-avoidance distinction reflects the limited function of the model which is basically explaining politeness as it manifests itself in FTAs that mainly threaten the negative face.

- ➢ **The types of positive politeness:**
  Lim (1988) argues that Brown and Levinson's emphasis on facework related to negative FTAs has caused them to underspecify the nature of the positive wants. According to Brown and Levinson, positive face is characterised by two distinct wants, (i) the want to be included and (ii) the want that one's abilities be respected.

Brown and Levinson argue that positive face is people's want that their goals, possessions, and achievements be ratified, understood, approved of, liked, or admired. Thus, positive face want, is then supported by expressions of understanding, affection, or solidarity and also by positive evaluation or formal recognition of one's qualities. They also claim that positive face is threatened by expressions of violent negative emotions, blatant noncooperation, contradictions or disagreements, and by disapproval and criticism.

Thus, positive face has two dimensions, (i) the want to be included as supported by understanding, affection and solidarity is threatened by violent negative emotions and blatant non-cooperation and (ii) the want that one's abilities be respected is supported by positive evaluation and recognition and is threatened by criticism. These two dimensions have one thing in common which is the presupposition of desirability. These two wants represent two different human needs which are:

1. The want for inclusion which is closely related to 'belongingness needs' as suggested by Maslow (1943) and Schutz (1971), and

2. The want for respect which is related to 'esteem needs' as suggested by Maslow (1943) and Schutz's (1971) 'need for appreciation', which is basically the need for appreciation by others of one's abilities and status.

In sum, Lim and Bowers suggest that students of facework should distinguish between the want to be included and the want to be respected, and also examine how these distinct wants along with the want for autonomy as in negative face, are supported or threatened in communicative interaction.

2.3.2.2   Sara Mills (2003)

She opens her argument with Watts et al.'s (1992) findings that politeness 'remains elusive. In her criticism of Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of politeness, she gave attention to two issues, the first one being that the model focussed on a very restricted concept of what constitutes politeness. Secondly, irrespective of the findings that speakers do use positive and negative politeness strategies, it has been discovered that politeness is a much more complex phenomenon. In their argument, Brown and Levinson view politeness as something of emotional value. They focused on the amount of verbal work that is utilised by speakers in their utterances to

counteract the level of potential threats to the face of the hearer. To this effect they contend that FTAs require a mitigating statement or some kind of verbal repair to curb communication breakdown, choosing from the four strategies they proposed which are: bald-on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record. This implies therefore that politeness is characterised as strategic behaviour which the speaker engages in.

Problems with Brown and Levinson's model of politeness

In Brown and Levinson's politeness model, Mills (2003) suggested eight (8) issues she found to be problematic with Brown and Levinson's model and they are:

- Sincerity
- Face threatening acts (FTAs)
- Reification
- Courtesy and etiquette
- Cooperation, aggressiveness
- Individuality
- Appropriateness, and
- Judgement

➢ *Sincerity*

In their model, Brown and Levinson assume that all politeness is sincere. They have a generalistic notion or perception that politeness is inclined or associated with being nice, considerate and thoughtful to and of others. In contrast to this, it is evident that speakers use politeness in a very manipulative and strategic manner, and to this point Sell (1991) argues that politeness "would connote, not a refinement in feeling, but only the most sinister refinement in lying" and as such politeness could be just some kind of "velvet glove within which to hide one or another kind of iron fist".

Research findings indicate that other people use politeness very manipulatively and insincerely and that is the reason why it is important to examine the level of sincerity or commitment of politeness and impoliteness.

➢ *Face Threatening Acts (FTAs):*

According to Brown and Levinson's argument, politeness is purely concerned with the avoidance of the FTAs. It is not always clear of what constitutes an FTA. For

instance, they argue that asking a stranger to pass you the salt at dinner constitutes an FTA which must be mitigated by the use of "Can you…' or 'please'. Thus, in most societies, asking someone to pass something constitutes what are considered as 'free gifts' and they are not face threatening as much as they do not risk involving the other in further conversation. As far as the request above is concerned, what the threat to the face could consist of: (i) talking to a stranger at all? Or (ii) asking someone to do something which has the potential for refusal?

Politeness may also function as a way of avoiding responsibility and it may be used as a way of hiding one's responsibility. According to Brown and Levinson, an 'apology' such as saying "I'm sorry for my behaviour last night" is an instance of negative politeness which would, in some way, restore the balance for a perceived indiscretion or problem. Thus, they argue that if 'a breach of face respect occurs, this constitutes a kind of debt that must be made up by positive reparation if the original level of face respect is to be maintained'. They also contend that: 'an apology is a debt that must be paid and cannot simply be annulled by a generous creditor' (1978:241).

However, in contrast to their conceptualisation, Mills argues that: in some senses an apology itself may also produce a certain degree of imbalance and impose an obligation on the hearer or recipient (Brown and Levinson, 1978:243). Thus, Mills suggests that being polite does not necessarily restore a mythical balance to conversation; instead, it may in fact be judged to be indebting the other party. She therefore argues that this notion of balance is much more complex than Brown and Levinson propose, and that each interactant might have a different notion of whether the balance has been achieved.

➢ ***Reification***:
Brown and Levinson used the type of model that reifies politeness that is they turned the somethingness of politeness into a thing. The reification of politeness is clearly seen in Leech's (1983) work in which he decided to add Politeness Principle to Grice's Co-operative Principle. Within the Politeness Principle, Leech suggested that there is a difference between what he terms absolute politeness, that is acts which are inherently polite no matter what the context and relative politeness, which consists of all the linguistic acts which are dependent on context for them to be considered polite or not. Contrary to this, Brown and Levinson

(1987) argue that the proliferation of maxims in Leech's work is unhelpful and that politeness operates in different way from the Co-operative Principle (CP). According to them, CP is an unmarked framework for communication, whereas politeness is a deviation.

Jary (1998) argues: 'for Brown and Levinson the communication of politeness is the aim of polite linguistic behaviour. But, if this is case, then politeness must always be communicated by the use of what are commonly called polite forms and strategies, or why else would the rational communicator employ them?' (Jary, 1998:7)

Furthermore, instead of assuming that politeness is recognised by all interactants, Jary suggests a model of politeness which focuses on the individual processing work required within an interaction and what the addressee might assume of the addresser's intentions.

Mills, therefore, proposes a model which will focus on the processing that an individual does in relation to the norms which he assumes exist within the community of practice and within the wider society. She also signifies the importance of acknowledging the constraints that those wider groupings would/could impose on the individual.

> *Courtesy and etiquette:*
  Brown and Levinson have separated politeness from other forms of linguistic behaviour such as courtesy and etiquette which are related to and constantly and massively overlap with the politeness behavioural traits.

On this concept, Watts (1992) argues that the history of politeness leads to certain types of politeness and views of politeness itself being 'fossilised' or associated with certain positions within society associated with power.

Ehlich (1992) on the other hand, argues that for some speakers, the range of class, and gender positions available to them determines that the notion of good breeding and social position make certain forms of polite behaviour more salient for them in terms of their self-definition, and stereotypes of gender particularly depend upon these associations.

Cooperation, Aggressiveness:

Brown and Levinson say that in interactions, humans are cooperative towards one another. But, politeness with a co-operative goal is only applicable to some interactions. Communications interactions with the police, in court or with politicians are not always very co-operative.

Brown and Levinson also say that humans mask their aggression towards one another through the use of politeness.

On the other hand Sifianou (1992) argues that politeness is like the means of "restraining feelings and emotions in order to avoid conflict" and more or less as "means of expressing" those feelings (p.82). She contends that politeness allows aggression which is a socially acceptable or mediated form of expression.

Brown and Levinson's view of communication that human beings are, in essence aggressive towards each other, and that politeness is what mediates this primitive aggressive drive, is ideological. Interactants in conversation at different times, according to their own perceived needs and pressures upon them will be aggressive or cooperative, but neither one of these responses needs to be seen as primary. Their (Brown and Levinson) claim should therefore be based on the variability of the speakers and the context in which they operate. Thus, Watts et al. contends "Politeness is a dynamic concept, always open to adaptation and change in any group, in any age and indeed at any time. It is not a social anthropological given which can simply be applied to the analysis of social interaction, but actually arises out of that interaction" (1992:11)

➢ *Individuality:*

Another problem with Brown and Levinson's model is that the focus is more on the individual speaker's intentions with regard to politeness instead of concentrating on the group, and this makes it difficult to analyse the way in which individuals are constrained in their behaviour because of expectations that they assume exist in their communities of practice. The proof of this is the use of the formulaic politeness elements such as the words 'please' and 'thank you' and the social rule of greeting someone when you meet them, something which is not at all decided upon by an individual, even though one can choose to or not to observe them. And to this view Harris Bond remarks: "When particular linguistic items are frequently used to perform a particular communicative strategy, they

become conventionally associated with that strategy… the speaker who uses one of these will not be taken to have communicated anything about his or her politeness, but rather simply to have fulfilled a social convention" (Harris Bond et al. 2000:68).

Again, Brown and Levinson have failed to acknowledge the fact that sometimes people perform politeness strategies just for the sake of being polite and not as a genuine gesture.

> ***Appropriateness:***
  Appropriateness of appropriacy, is a term which is generally employed to avoid analysis of the structural inequalities in conversation which lead to certain modes of evaluation being drawn on which favour the dominant group's norms.

  However, appropriacy is something that individuals formulate themselves in order to judge others' and their own utterances.

  On this notion, Mills argues that the sense of appropriateness is one which varies from speaker to speaker. That is, rather than appropriateness being imposed by society, or by the speech community of practice or class, or even by the context, appropriateness is something which each individual has to work out, by assessing their own status in relation to other participants in the community of practice, and by assessing what they think the context demands.

> ***Judgement:***
  The notion of appropriateness also entails seeing politeness not as intrinsic to particular speech acts but rather as a process of assessment and judgement. To this effect, Eelen (2001) argues that within Brown and Levinson's model: 'politeness is regarded as a unique and objective system that exists "out there" in reality, that can be discovered, manipulated and examined just as any physical object can' (2001:179).

  Mills argues that whether these norms exist or not, the focus must be on examining the way that participants assess whether the utterances of the other participants can be classified as polite or impolite, throughout conversations.

  Communicators must/should therefore be aware that judgement of politeness is something about which there is conflict. Thus, this judgement of politeness has to

do with whether it can be assumed that the other participants are acting in good faith, which is not exactly synonymous with the notion of 'face' or 'co-cooperativeness'.

In sum, politeness is in fact a question of judgement of utterances in relation to a hypothesised appropriateness, contrary to Brown and Levinson's model which suggest that politeness is a strategic behaviour on the part of the speaker.

The constituents of politeness

Mills raised three issues concerning problems with Brown and Levinson's constituents of politeness which are: positive and negative politeness, face and FTAs.

Brown and Levinson discuss politeness in terms of strategies and super-strategies whereby persons think first before acting, and they also listed acts to be considered positive and negative politeness that can be used when attending to the positive and negative face wants of the communicators.

As far as positive and negative politeness is concerned Mills has raised three main points, the first point relating to Brown and Levinson's argument that positive, negative and off-record super-strategies can be seen to be in ranked order with off-record being the most face redressive, followed by negative politeness and then the positive politeness. Blum-Kulka (1992) criticised this view arguing that there is no clear ranking of these strategies.

Secondly, if positive politeness is taken as being strategic, then communicators could as well ask themselves the very same question asked by Brown and Levinson: 'why then, given the dangers associated with FTAs, do actors not take out the maximum insurance policy and always choose the off-record strategy?' (Brown and Levinson, 1978:79) However, Mills argues that instead of seeing politeness as simply strategic, we need to consider politeness as the result of a range of different factors: it is clearly chosen strategically in some contexts by speakers, it is also used as part of the 'face work' that speakers perform, but it is also determined by their assessment of setting or the context and by personal habit or style.

The third point is that Brown and Levinson viewed negative and positive politeness as diametrically opposed strategies, but they also acknowledged the fact that these

strategies are not so much opposite tendencies but just different in kind. They also recognised the fact that positive and negative politeness strategies are different sorts of behaviour which perhaps, require different forms of analysis. However, it has been found that elements of positive and negative politeness are employed at the same time within the same utterance (Harris, 2000, 2001).

Face, like positive and negative politeness is another problematic issue. According to Bargiela (2000), Brown and Levinson have misread Goffman who overemphasized certain elements of the original Chinese conception of face. Brown and Levinson use an individualistic notion of face in contrast to the Chinese notion which consists of *mianzi* – reputation or prestige; and *lian* – respect of the group for the person with a good moral reputation. According to Fukushima (2000), *mianzi* is something which I strive for and *lian* is ascribed face. Thus, face as a whole, consists of a concern that one is conforming to or aspiring to a position in the group or wider society.

Secondly, according to the analysis of the computation of negative and positive face, it is only the individual's face wants that are considered in a fairly negative way. Negative face is thus considered to be freedom from imposition by others whereas positive face is considered as the self-image which is approved of by others. Thus, critics including Bargiela (2002) felt that the term 'face' as far as Brown and Levinson are concerned, has been over-extended and they limit the use of the term itself.

The third view or discrepancy on the notion of face is that it is not adequate to encompass the negotiations between people in conversations: although it covers the details of managing harmonious relationships, it does not deal with the negotiation of interests, manipulativeness, external pressures, and one's relation to the community of practice.

Fourthly, Held (1992) on the other hand argues that fear could be a more adequate notion than face in that: 'fear of disharmony in relationships, or the charge of wrong behaviour, of unjustified claims for self-realisation, a fear that the other person might "bite back' is more of a defining issue than that of face alone' (1992:145).

Spencer-Oatey (2000) raised the fifth and final problem with Brown and Levinson's constituents of politeness as far as face is concerned, arguing that communicators should not use the term face but rather use the term "rapport-management". She contends that 'the term 'face' seems to focus on concerns for self whereas the term

rapport-management suggests a balance between self and other. Rapport-management also examines the way the language is used to construct, maintain and /or threaten social relationships and including the management of sociality rights as well as of face' (2000:12).

Spencer-Oatety further maintains that 'Brown and Levinson's conceptualisation of positive face is underspecified…and the concerns they identify as negative face issues are not necessarily face issues at all'. She proposes that 'rapport-management (the management of harmony- disharmony among people) involves two main components of sociality rights.

C. As far as the conceptualisation of FTAs is concerned, Spencer-Oatey argues that FTAs are not simply about a threat to someone's image but they can also be considered as 'rights-threatening behaviour' in that they are about the general conception of what is appropriate and fair behaviour within a group (2000:16).

Mills also argues that politeness is not simply about the avoidance of the FTA. She discovered that Brown and Levinson's model has failed to consider the fact that there are other instances where politeness is not an FTA avoidance or mitigation. She thus suggests that it is vital to acknowledge that politeness, even when it is associated with FTAs, still allows the FTA to be performed and it does not erase the effect of the FTA.

Problems with Brown and Levinson's model of Communication

Mills raises two major problems with Brown and Levinson's model of communication which are concerned with the speech act theory and the level of inference.

A. With regard to Speech Acts theory, Brown and Levinson's model assumes that politeness is an aberration which can only be understood through a process of referring to a base speech act from which the utterance deviates, violating one of the maxims.

The second problem is that these strategies have become automatised and as a result of that they do not need to be 'worked out' in the way that Brown and Levinson have stipulated. Jary (1998) argues that a great many politeness formulas are unnoticed by participants when they are stressed, they become salient to participants.

Brown and Levinson also viewed politeness as a deviation from rational efficient communication which they based on Grice' Co-operative Principle (CP), stating that 'there is a working assumption by conversationalists of the rational and efficient nature of talk. It is against that assumption that polite ways of talking show up as deviations, requiring rational explanation on the part of the recipient, who finds in considerations of politeness reasons for the speaker's apparent rationality or inefficiency' (Brown and Levinson, 1987:4). This only holds if we assume that politeness is a deviation each time speakers find a polite utterance.

The fourth problem with this view of politeness as aberration from a set of maxims is that the number of maxims is potentially unconstrained and the maxims themselves are based on relatively ill-defined terms such as sympathy, which are insufficiently related to a linguistic function.

The final problem is the omission of the higher level organisation of speech and discourse in general. Brown and Levinson based their work on Speech Act theory and analysed only short stretches of speech: "speech act theory forces a sentence-based, speaker-oriented mode of analysis, requiring attribution of speech act categories. Their focus is only at the level of the sentence.

B. Brown and Levinson's model has failed to analyse the level of inference and as such it has been criticised by Culpeper (1996) who suggested that inference is the level at which a great deal of linguistic politeness and impoliteness occurs. Holmes (1995) argues on this view that, politeness cannot be said to reside within linguistic forms.

Secondly, a statement such as "Do you think it would be possible for you to contact Prof. Du Plessis today?" would be interpreted by Brown and Levinson as polite, if used by a boss to her secretary since mitigating features are included. However, this very same request might be interpreted as impolite by the secretary if said in a sarcastic manner or tone. Thus, the surface politeness of the utterance may be masking an underlying message, which H has to infer. Over-politeness in relation to assumed norms of this particular community of practice may be used strategically to imply criticism which may or may not constitute impoliteness.

2.4   MESSAGE PRODUCTION

2.4.1   Goals, Plans and Action (GPA) Theories

Wilson, Sabee (2003)

<u>**Goals**</u>

This study is basically about the way in which individual communicators formulate or rather form interaction goals. Wilson's (1990, 1995) Cognitive Rules (CR) model, firstly assumes that people possess cognitive rules or associations that are stored in the long-term memory, operating between representations of interaction goals and numerous situational features. For instance, a parent might associate the goal of "giving advice" with features such as "my child has not considered alternative actions sufficiently" or "I care deeply about my child's well-being".

Secondly, the CR model assumes that a spreading activation process operates in parallel on the associative network as discussed above to an extent that cognitive rules can be compared with ongoing perceptions of situations without substantial demand on processing capacity, and as such situations can activate rules for forming multiple goals- simultaneously.

The third point on CR model is that a cognitive rule must reach a certain activation threshold before it is triggered and thus forms a goal. There are three conditions through which a rule can be triggered and they are <u>fit</u>, <u>recency</u>, and <u>strength</u>. In most cases, communicators form goals when they have a perception that many conditions represented in the rule are present in the current situation, such as the fit condition. But, when it comes to the question of ambiguous situations whereby a large number of cognitive rules can be activated, these cognitive rules are most likely to be triggered only if those rules have been activated recently, hence the recency condition or the strength criterion when it comes to the past.

Lastly, several insights about goals and competence are interpretable within the CR model in the sense that speakers may be judged incompetent for pursuing goals that others evaluate and regard as <u>inappropriate</u> by some standard. These differences manifest themselves through <u>intercultural interactions</u>. Thus, from the CR perspective, acculturation necessitates associating goals with new a set of situational features in the sense that people entering a new culture might give advice when

native speakers view their goals as inappropriate or when they fail to give advice if it is obligatory. These occurrences are also imminent even within a single culture whereby speakers are judged as incompetent when pursuing goals that others regard as inappropriate. For example, there are regulative occurrences in which a speaker must correct another's problematic behavior (O'Keefe 1988). To this view, O'Keefe (1988) coded written regulative messages for the "design logic" or system of means-ends reasoning underlying the message, as well as for the number of goals pursued by the participant. Regarding the latter dimension, "multifunctional" messages were seen as pursuing two or more competing goals, "unifunctional" messages seemed to pursue one goal to the exclusion of others, and "goalless" messages did not seem to pursue any situationally relevant objective. As far as the goalless messages are concerned, the message producer has an unclear or empty set of goals.

Some speakers deliberately form and pursue goals that others judge as inappropriate because according to Wilson (1995) and Grant & Dwerk (1999), they possess a very strong rule that is easily triggered, such as the one that is chronically accessible. For instance, in uttering this statement: "You a-hole. I knew you wouldn't do your work. I am going to see that you are fired", the speaker might strongly be associating the situational feature of "being taken advantage of or for granted" with goals such as "not looking weak" or "getting even". Thus, differences in rule strength should be apparent in the goals people form within ambiguous situations.

Alternatively, speakers may seem communicatively incompetent for failing to pursue goals that others view as desirable or obligatory. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), actions such as asking for assistance, seeking and giving advice, attempting to change another's political views or offering criticism create threats to both the speaker's and hearer's face. Therefore, to appear oblivious to such threats is to risk appearing communicatively incompetent. On the other hand, speakers who attend to the face wants of both participants while pursuing their primary goals are typically perceived as more communicatively competent than those who appear concerned only about the primary goal. Another important point here is that speakers sometimes fail to form and pursue goals that others view as desirable and/or obligatory. The reason is that (i) speakers lack the perspective-taking skill which is needed in order to recognise the psychological implications of their actions; (ii) speakers may associate goals such as providing face support with an insufficient number of

situational conditions; (iii) they may possess rules for forming supportive goals that are triggered only by an almost complete match with perceived situational conditions because they reside in the low level of activation, and (iv) speakers may fail to mentally link rules for different goals, so that the triggering of one rule does not automatically trigger the activation to the rule of the second goal.

In sum, speakers may be judged communicatively incompetent for failing to alter their interaction goals across situations. Wilson (1990) suggests that people high in interpersonal construct differentiation when attempting to convince a target person to fulfil an obligation, varied their supportive interpersonal goals depending on why the target had failed to fulfil an obligation as well as on how close they were to the target. However, this does not apply to less differentiated persons as they do not vary their supportive goals to manipulations of attributions or intimacy, instead adaptability and flexibility are often described as critical components of communicative competence.

The CR model thus suggests a number of explanations as to why speakers fail to adapt interaction goals, Wilson (1990) argues that: (a) speakers often associate interaction goals with only a small number of situational conditions; (b) they fail to develop subcategories of a goal that applies to different situations and; (c) they overemphasize base-rate data and underemphasize individuating information particularly under conditions that promote heuristic processing.

<u>Plans</u>

Berger (1997) argues and stresses on the fact that speakers differ not only in their goals but also in their procedural knowledge or rather plans for coordinating multiple goals as well as skill at enacting plans. He describes them as knowledge structures representing actions necessary for overcoming obstacles and accomplishing goals, which include amongst other things, setting an appointment during office hours, explaining the situation that is unclear and discussing the next move. Contrary to this suggestion, Greene (1990) argues: "Plans are mental representations of actions, whereas strategies are overt behaviours exhibited by individuals".

According to Berger (1997), it is also advisable to acknowledge the fact that plans for accomplishing social goals vary in complexity and specificity. Thus, complex plans include a larger number of action units than simple plans, and they also include

contingencies to reinforce the primary plan. Specific plans on the other hand are just fleshed out in detail, whereas abstract plans provide only vague guidelines for action.

However, plan complexity and specificity should facilitate communicative competence in many situations. For instance, people with complex plans have multiple alternatives should their initial efforts fail, whereas those with specific plans already have considered how to implement abstract acts during conversation itself. According to Berger and Bell (1988), lonely and shy people have less complex social goals such as those of being able to make new friends and form intimate relationships than those who are not shy. Thus, plan complexity is positively associated with other's perceptions of whether a plan is likely to succeed or not.

Aside from this view that plan complexity and specificity facilitate communicative competence, the following should be taken into consideration:

- A complex plan is neither necessary nor sufficient for competent performance.
- Planning too many alternatives in advance can undermine smooth speech performance.
- The relationship between plan specificity and competence may vary depending on whether a culture values detailed, short-range plans as compared to flexible, long-range plans, or vice versa.
- Complex and specific plans must still be adapted in light of changing circumstances and unforeseen opportunities during interaction, although according to Berger, Knowlton and Abrahams (1996) such changes are taxing.

Thus, communicative competence is evidently not in the complexity of a person's plans, but rather mostly on the planning processes themselves.

In addition, planning occurs in advance of many interactions and a great deal of it occurs "online" as the conversation unfolds. As a result of this, most competent communicators are adept at monitoring and adjusting their plans online during the conversation.

In their investigations of how perceived communication competence is evident in people's online planning, Cegala and Waldron (1992) explored and analyzed the degree to which communicators used effective and appropriate information-seeking strategies. They used students and those who were rated as highly competent as compared to those of moderate and low competence, had a larger percentage of

plan-oriented thoughts during conversation, such as having thoughts about indirect means for acquiring information from their partner. Contrary to this, students who were rated as low in competence had a larger percentage of self-assessment cognitions. They argue that communicators who suffer from low self-esteem have proved to be incompetent and as a result they experience many conversations as stressful events, which lead to an "inward orientation that probably accounts for their ineffectiveness at accomplishing task goals" (p.119).

Moreover, problems with executive control [a set of higher order mental activities, including decisions about selection, regulation and monitoring] do hinder a person's ability to monitor plans during conversation. Appropriate executive control gives one plan confidence which in turn enables a communicator to predict whether one carries out his or her plans. In conclusion, communication competence is evident in people's ability to deploy, monitor and adjust plans efficiently during interaction.

Action

Wilson (1990, 1995) with his cognitive rules model and Berger's (1997) and Waldron's (1997) conversational planning processes on various aspects of message production process offered insights on communication competence. According to the perspective of the GPA framework, competent communicators possess an anticipatory mind-set. This framework argues that:

- Competent communicators foresee implications of their actions both their own and their interactional partner's identities, as well as potential obstacles to their plans that particular audiences will view as appropriate or inappropriate, desirable and obligatory within a specific situation.
- They pursue multiple goals
- Possess plans with multiple options for pursuing and integrating goals.
- They are able to adjust both their goals and plans in connection with relational, situational and cultural circumstances.
- Competent communicators devote periodic attention to monitoring their goals and plans online, and
- They are able to avoid mulling over negative thoughts and feelings about themselves and others, and adjust initial goals when necessary.

Thus, sources of communicative competence in this regard include:

- Overly accessible or inaccessible rules for forming goals (in)appropriate to the current situation
- Lack of knowledge about alternative means for pursuing or integrating goals, and
- Impairment of one's ability to monitor and adjust goals or plans, whether as a result of personal anxiety, fatigue or competing situational demands on processing capacity.

Aside from these insights, the GPA framework provides a number of strategies that can be employed and manipulated in order to improve one's communication competence. The first one is training aimed at teaching people how to identify "situationally relevant" goals such as teaching graduate teaching assistants (TAs) how to associate providing face support with a broader range of situational conditions, or to strengthen the connection between situational conditions and the goal of supporting face.

Secondly, the kind of training provided should focus on helping the teaching assistants TAs) learn and practice a broader range of actions relevant to pursuing goals, such as means for providing face support including identifying signs alerting one that the initial plans are not working.

Lastly, TAs should be taught how to identify, and when to alter when necessary the situational impediments to monitoring goals and plans.

2.4.2 Cognitive rules model

Wilson (1990)

According to Wilson (1990), people represent their knowledge about goals within an associative network model of memory which contains cognitive rules linking situational features and desired outcomes. He also argues that some communication scholars do frequently attribute variations in communication performance to differences in interaction goals, many theorists view message production as beginning with the formation of interaction goals. Therefore, to formulate an account of goal formation, the following questions should be taken into consideration: (i) What are the cognitive structures and processes through which people form interaction goals? (ii) Which features of situations constrain or magnify individual differences in goals? In an attempt to address these issues, this section will then outline a CR (cognitive rules) model of goal-formation, and evaluate the predictions about how

situational conditions will interact with a priming manipulation and construct differentiation of influence goals at the same time.

Clark and Delia (1979) and Canary et al. (1987) argue that people possess knowledge about a wide range of instrumental and interpersonal goals, and also about various situational features which are relevant to each goal. It is believed therefore that this goal-relevant knowledge is stored in a hierarchical associative network of long-term memory, and is composed of nodes which represent individual concepts like people, roles, character traits, possessions, settings, relational qualities and desired of course outcomes. There is a pattern of association between nodes and goals (both of outcomes and those of situational features) and it is created through socialisation and problem-solving experiences. For example, in a verbal setting, a cognitive rule might read as follows: "If conditions X, Y and Z are encountered, then set A as a goal".

Wilson (1990) suggests that people retrieve the relevant knowledge about goals through the activation process, which could be either direct or indirect. What this means is that a cognitive rule is activated directly by a match between perceived features of the current situation and the situational conditions represented in the rule. He maintains that almost the same situation applies when the CR is activated indirectly by spreading from one node to other nodes which are associatively linked. All this occur in parallel meaning that situations can simultaneously activate rules for forming multiple goals.

Wilson points out that it is very important though to acknowledge the fact that not every rule activated results in goal formation. The CR model suggests that rules have an activation "threshold" which states that: a goal is not formed unless a certain level of activation is reached, and once that level is reached, the rule is "triggered" and forms a goal. Thus, there is a probability that a rule will not be triggered and that is influenced by the three important criteria, named: fit, strength and recency and they vary depending on the situation at hand.

Determinants of Rule Selection in Obligation Situations

According to Wilson (1990) a system of rules is organized in relation to specific situational conditions and this is the reason why investigations of goal formation begin by identifying specific kind of interpersonal situation and specific goals that are

relevant to it. As far as obligation situations (a situation in which someone has failed to do something she is obligated to do) are concerned, they are complex and as such require multiple goals. In a situation like this, at least five types of interaction goals are in order and might be pursued thereof. They are:

1. Compliance goals

They are basically about the desire to persuade the message target to fulfil the obligation. The goals' objectives are related to the source's attempts to elicit desired outcomes or behaviours from the target.

For example: "I would try to convince my friend to start coming to work on time."

"I would talk to Chris about changing her tendency of not repaying money for a long time."

2. Supporting goals

Wilson (1990) argues that these goals are result or cause of the desire to protect, repair or enhance the other's relationship or identity. They deal with objectives related to protecting, repairing or enhancing the parties' relationship and/or the target's identity. He states that these goals include purposefully preventing relational damage; avoiding or mitigating attacks on the target's face; emphasizing the target's positive qualities or actions; expressing concern for the target's welfare; expressing cooperative intentions or disclaiming negative intent.

For example: "I would be tactful- we've been friends for a long while- and it's hard to keep friends for a long time."

"I would ask her nicely so that I wouldn't embarrass her."

3. Attacking goals

According to Wilson (1990), attacking goals are aimed at threatening or damaging the other's relationship or identity. He suggests that their objectives are related to threatening or damaging the relationship and/or the target's face or identity. These goals include purposefully inducing unpleasant states; accusing the target of improper intentions; attributing undesirable qualities to the target; emphasizing the target's subordinate position; reducing intimacy; expressing antagonistic intentions or blaming the target for negative consequences occurring to self.

For example: "I would convey to him not to take advantage of our friendship."

"I would tell him how bad it is that he keeps [my money] so long."

4. <u>Image goals</u>

Wilson is of the view that Image goals seek to create or sustain a desired self-presentation. They include objectives related to creating or sustaining a desired self presentation, either in the eyes of the target or those of the third parties.

For example: "I would tell him that the employees are noticing his lateness too, and I don't want them to think he is getting special attention from me."

"I'd also look like a jerk if I jumped all over Pat the first time he was late."

5. <u>Account-seeking goals</u>

Wilson suggests that the desire of the Account-seeking goals is to learn more about the target or the other's reasons for failure to fulfil the obligation as prescribed. The objectives involved here are those related to discovering why the target is performing the behaviour which the message source desires to change.

For example: "I would find out why he was late-maybe it was a situation beyond his control."

"I would try and find out if Chris had a legitimate reason for not paying me back."

Wilson concludes that particular features of obligation situations should thus influence whether communicators form these goals.

Attribution, Power and the Fit Criterion

On the question of fit, Wilson suggests that situations vary in terms of the number of situational conditions they instantiate. For instance, some situations are typical of the conditions stipulated in the rule and others are not. Another fact as far as fit is concerned is the question of ambiguity in which situations vary. It is a known fact that certain situations are ambiguous and as such they are open to multiple interpretations, and they do match and activate a larger number of rules.

Aside from this, Wilson postulates that it has been discovered that when the level and clarity of fit are high, situational features are sufficient to trigger rules, but, when fit is moderate and ambiguity high, strength and recency are more important determinants of goal formation. Thus, in obligatory situations, people assess their perceptions of at least two features of fit which are: (a) the causes of the target's

failure to comply, also known as attributional ambiguity and (b) the distribution of legitimate power in the situation.

Attributional Ambiguity and Fit

Research on the study discovered that the causes for a target's failure to comply or fulfil an obligation are situational features which are associated with supporting and attacking goals. Thus Wilson states that by varying the degree of attributional ambiguity, the degree and clarity of fit between situation features and cognitive rules can be manipulated.

H1:   Individuals report the most supporting and the fewest attacking goals when situational features are unambiguous and consistent with an attribution for failing to fulfil an obligation to external circumstances; individuals report the most attacking and the fewest supporting goals when situational features are unambiguous and consistent with an attribution for failing to fulfil an obligation to internal and intentional causes.

But, variability in the frequencies of supporting and attacking goals should be vast under the conditions of attributional ambiguity.

H2:   Variability in reported frequencies of supporting and attacking goals are greater under conditions of attributional ambiguity, and less when the target's failure to fulfil an obligation can be attributed to either internal or external causes.

Legitimate Power and Fit

According to Wilson (1990) legitimate power could be used as the second feature in influencing the fit of rules to obligation situations. For instance, Searle (1979) contends that institutional differences in authority are associated with greater rights to make requests and greater obligation by targets to comply. This view thus suggests that when the message sources have high legitimate power relative to their target, the obligations to the target will be clearer which means that there would be less need for politeness as stipulated by Brown and Levinson (1978). However, if the obligation is clear and a target still fails to comply, then sources may perceive that their authority is being challenged or threatened and hence form attacking goals.

H3:   Individuals report more attacking and fewer supporting and image goals when they   seek compliance with obligations from a position of higher power as compared to equal legitimate power situations.

Construct Differentiation and the Strength Criterion

Wilson (1990) argues that this criterion deals with the strength of the associations between its situational conditions and goal, as well as between the rule and other rules in the network. Strength is then directly related to the frequency of prior activation of the rule and as a result, when strength increases- the rules become chronically accessible. Studies on message production suggest that interpersonal construct differentiation is one of the determinants of the strength of certain rules, particularly those involving supporting goals and this is believed to be reducing the differences in the politeness of the interactants' compliance-gaining messages. Another research finding is that construct differentiation may facilitate the formation of multiple goals within only certain situations as it is the case within moderate positive relationship between a construct differentiation and frequencies of supporting goals among individuals seeking compliance with an obligation (Wilson, 1989). In sum,

H4:   When obligation situations are characterised by low attributional ambiguity, persons who differ in construct differentiation report equal numbers of supporting goals; in obligation situations characterised by high attributional ambiguity, highly differentiated persons report more supporting goals than less differentiated persons.

H5:   when obligation situations are characterised by high legitimate power, persons who differ in construct differentiation report equal numbers of supporting goals, whereas in obligation situations characterised by equal legitimate power, highly differentiated persons report more supporting goals than less differentiated persons.

Priming and the Recency criterion

In his CR model, Wilson argues that once a node or rather a rule has been activated, it takes some time for the activation to dissipate. Thus, a rule that has been activated by a recent prior event will temporarily retain a degree of residual activation and the importance of this recency effect has been demonstrated through the use of the

"priming paradigm", in which the activation of a cognitive structure by an earlier task affects performance on a subsequent, ostensibly unrelated task.

According to the research that has been conducted, Wilson discovered that priming effects influence impressions and attributions, and the effects of priming are transitory hence the activated cognitive structure recedes back to its resting level as the activation induced by priming dissipates. What all findings suggest is that priming the situational conditions represented in cognitive rules should increase the likelihood that the same rules will be triggered in a subsequent obligation situation. For instance, Applegate (1987) argues that an intimate relationship is often associated with supporting goals and as such the probability of forming supporting goals should be higher if message sources complete a task priming the domain of "relationships" just before they respond to a compliance-gaining situation. It is therefore very significant that these priming effects should be transitory and as such inserting an interference task should reduce or eliminate priming effects. Thus:

H6: When obligation situations are characterised by low attributional ambiguity, persons exposed to a priming task report equal numbers of supporting goals in an interference or control condition, whereas in obligation situations characterised by high attributional ambiguity, persons exposed to priming report more supporting goals than those in an interference or control condition.

H7: When obligation situations are characterised by high legitimate power, persons exposed to a priming task report equal numbers of supporting goals as persons in an interference or control condition; in obligation situations characterised by equal legitimate power, persons exposed to priming report more supporting goals than those in an interference or control condition.

The question arises from these findings and their hypotheses, and it concerns the joint effects of rule strength and recency or constructs differentiation and priming, basically on goals. The question is: *Are the effects of construct differentiation and priming on supporting goals additive or interactive*?

The second question addresses the interrelations among types of goals and it is conceivable that the circumstances which activate rules for one goal type inhibit other goals from being formed. Contrary to this, rules for different interaction goals could be modular structures sharing few associative links, and therefore do not act either to

activate or inhibit each other. The question is: *Are there significant relationships in the reported frequencies of the five types of goals?*

Discussion on the CR Model Research

Wilson (1990) is of the view that the CR model offers explicit assumptions about how people form goal with interaction situations. This model argues that it is the people's goal relevant knowledge that is represented as cognitive rules, which link situational features and desired outcomes within an associative network. Wilson suggests that when this knowledge has been drawn to form specific goals during interaction it is a function of the fit, strength and recency criteria, and the variables affecting the recency and strength criteria are believed to influence people's interaction goals when the degree of match between rule conditions and situation perceptions is ambiguous.

He points out that a priming paradigm and construct differentiation has been used to evaluate these assumptions and they are both predicted to affect reports of interaction goals when important situational features such as attributions and legitimate power are ambiguous.

The following discussion thus focuses on the implications of both the predicted and the unexpected findings for the CR model of interaction goals, and probably for future research on the subject.

<u>Criteria Determining Selection of Cognitive Rules</u>

According to Wilson (1990), it is assumed that people form goals depending on the accessibility of cognitive rules. Through the use of priming manipulations on relational intimacy which was believed to be one of the situational features associated with supporting goals, priming exerted an interactive effect with construct differentiation on supporting goals- particularly within attributionally-ambiguous situations. In a nutshell, people were likely to form supporting goals if a situational feature associated with those goals had been recently activated, and by so doing- making the relevant cognitive rules accessible.

Wilson's second assumption is that the recency and strength criteria are more important determinants of goal formation when key situational features associated with goals are ambiguous. Thus, priming and construct differentiation affected

supporting goals in attributionally ambiguous but not in attributionally clear situations. The situation variable can therefore affect the interaction goals by exerting main effects- when they match situational features represented in cognitive rules, or by exerting interactive effects, when they ambiguate the degree of fit between rule conditions and perceptions of the situation. O'Keefe and colleagues (1988) presumed that differentiation enhances people's propensity for forming multiple goals in all complex communication situations, but the recent research discovered that differentiation affected goals only in situation where the cause for the target's failure to fulfil an obligation and the target's intent were ambiguous.

Modularity of the Cognitive Rule Network

According to this view, cognitive rules for different interaction goals are represented as modular structures that do not inhibit one another. This correlation applies to all five goal categories.

Legitimate Power

Research findings suggest that there are no significant effects that involve the manipulation of legitimate power on compliance goals. The hypothetical findings were based on the reasoning that manipulating the level of the message source's legitimate power would ambiguate situational features associated with supporting and attacking goals- such as the target's obligation to comply. The level of power versus the clarity of situational features relevant to goals has not been clarified or rather distinguished.

Moreover, legitimate power is associated with instrumental goals than personal. According to Baxter (1984), intimacy and gender exerted much larger effects on face support than did legitimate power, and in so doing- distinguishing the interaction goals and contextual features that are relevant to specific types of interpersonal situations.

Construct Differentiation and rule Strength

According to Wilson's findings, ambiguity and priming failed to exert any effects on supporting goals for less differentiated people as far as equation of construct differentiation and rule strength is concerned. There is a perception that all message sources have the same kind of rules and that some people have rules which are

more accessible, but this has also proven to be ineffective as the less differentiated message sources may possess different rules from those employed by highly differentiated sources.

2.4.3 A theory of planning

Berger (1997)

Plans and Planning:

Berger (1997) contends that every human communication or interaction is a goal-directed activity and as such conscious and careful planning is of utmost important for the interaction to succeed. He argues that this is an intrapersonal phenomenon mostly influenced by interpersonal aspects of individual planning processes, which makes it an imperative of all humans to engage in a conscious forethought before one performs a particular goal-directed action sequence. This activity thus allows or rather enables each interactant to anticipate potential responses of the interaction partner and also to rehearse counter responses that could facilitate goal achievement. However, it is of utmost significance to acknowledge the fact that in the heat of an interaction, situational demands may make it difficult to carry out the detailed conscious planning. Thus, having plans makes interpersonal coordination possible and by so doing reducing uncertainty and decreased levels of interpersonal coordination.

Berger (1997) states that confusion often arises as to what is the difference between the concepts of plans and planning. To allay this confusion, definition of each concept will thus be given:

According to Miller, Galanter and Pribram (1960), "a plan is any hierarchical process in the organism that can control the order in which a sequence of operation is to be formed…Moreover, we also use the term 'Plan' to designate a rough sketch of some course of action, just as major topic headings in an outline, as well as the detailed specification of every detailed operation" (pp. 16-17).

Schank and Abelson (1977) argue, "A plan is made up of general information about how actors achieve goals. A plan explains how a given state or event was prerequisite for, or derivative from, another state or event…Plans describe the set of

choices that a person has when he sets out to accomplish a goal…A plan is a series of projected actions to realize a goal" (pp 70-71).

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

As it has been highlighted above, all these definitions from different scholars converge on the same notion that plans are hierarchical cognitive representations of goal-directed sequences. They are mental representations of action sequences that can be formulated at a number of different levels of abstraction and may contain alternative action sequences and choices for attaining goals.

Planning on the other hand is viewed as a process that produces a plan as its end product. Various scholars came with the following definitions:

Hayes-Roth and Hayes-Roth (1979) argue: "Planning refers to formulating an intended course of action aimed at achieving some goal…" (p.1)

Wilensky (1983) suggest: "Planning concerns the process by which people select a course of action-deciding what they want, formulating and revising plans, dealing with problems and adversity, making choices, and eventually performing some action".

Wilensky (1983) adds: "Planning includes assessing a situation, deciding goals to pursue, creating plans to secure these goals, and executing plans" (p. 5).

According to these scholars, planning is a multi-staged process that produces a plan to be implemented in action and most importantly taking into consideration the situational assessment and goal selection in the planning process. In dealing and explaining these processes, this study advances to the panning steps, which includes formulating and revising plans, dealing with problems and adversity, making choices and forming actions.

The Genesis of Plans

The social actor has two potential sources from which to derive a plan in order to attain a social goal or rather goals and they are: (i) a long-term memory and (ii) current information inputs. But, this does not necessarily imply that whenever an

actor is confronted with achieving a goal he or she will equally utilize the sources of knowledge. It is therefore proposed:

> When persons derive plans to reach goals, their first priority is to access long-term memory to determine whether an already-formulated or canned plan is available for use.

By <u>canned plans</u> scholars refer to plans that have been enacted numerous times or mentally rehearsed in the past. The above proposition postulate that individuals have a general tendency to expend as little effort in processing information as possible, because it is less taxing to retrieve plans from long-term memory than it is to formulate them consciously either before the interaction commences or online as the interaction continues.

A collorary from the first proposition asserts:

> When individuals fail to find canned plans in long-term memory, they will resort to formulating plans in working memory utilizing potentially relevant plans from a long-term storage, from current information inputs, or both.

He suggests that what this collorary implies is that if there is a very close fit between the desired goal state and canned plans, a minimal amount of modification needs to be done by accessing other relevant plans or by integrating current information inputs via a working memory. However, when the fit is not good the planner is then forced to search memory and current experiences to formulate a plan. This is a very time-consuming process though and should most probably be reserved for those goals that are of a relatively high priority for the actor.

<u>Plan Formulation</u>

According to Berger (1997), plan formulation is or rather can be broken down into the following components:

1. Top-down and bottom-up planning. This is a critical process of creating plans to attain goals when the canned plans are unavailable or inaccessible though it is time consuming and energy intensive. There are therefore two extreme views of the plan generation process: The top-down view suggests that plans are first formulated at a relatively high level of abstraction, and the action details are filled

at a progressively lower levels of abstraction until concrete courses of action are generated. The other extreme view is the bottom-up approach which argues that people process action as it unfolds, and from that data derive more abstract plans. This approach is also known as an opportunistic planning.

2. Contingent planning. This component is more about creating possibilities to planning or plan formulation. For instance, interactants as part of their detailed plans may only lay out a specific course of action and may also anticipate events that might interfere with the successful completion of their plan, and thus explicitly plan for these contingencies. It is a known factor that one can only be able to formulate partial plans as it is not always possible to anticipate all contingencies and as a result of this, most contingencies have a relatively low probability of occurrence to an extent that it is not worthwhile to plan for them. What people can do in situations like these is to develop detailed plans that include sub-plans to be deployed if high probability, plan-thwarting events occur. There is but one important contingent response that is always available to planners, and that is to abandon pursuit of their goals in the event of goal blockage.

3. Desire and plan complexity. Plan complexity is: (i) the <u>level of detail</u> at which planning occurs. According to this meaning of plan complexity, plans may consist of a few abstract steps or they may contain detailed behavioural descriptions of the concrete actions to be taken to realize a plan. Thus, an extreme level of planning produces a very complex plan. Another meaning of plan complexity deals with the <u>number of contingencies</u> that plans include. For example, the more the number of contingencies included in a plan, the more complex by default the plan becomes. The following is a proposition about the construct of complexity which includes the level of detail and the number of contingencies included:

> As the desire to reach a social goal increases, the complexity with which plans are formulated also tends to increase.

Desire as cited in the above proposition according to Brand (1984): "…can be satisfied by luck or through the efforts of other persons, as well as through one's efforts. But an intention is fulfilled only if the agent contributes in some essential way to the end-state" (p.124). On the other hand desire can vary with respect to strength but intending cannot, and the strength of desire can change over time,

whereas the strength of intending cannot. Desire is not a species of intention and as such it is not part and parcel of plans.

4. Knowledge and plan complexity. The level of knowledge a planner has about the planning domain is another determinant of complexity. It is also possible that people might lack the knowledge about a specific issue being argued but have a considerable amount of general knowledge about changing others' opinions. Under these situations it is thus possible to distinguish between general knowledge that might be used to change opinions on any issue and knowledge that is specific to the focal issue of a particular persuasion episode.

    There are three principal means influencing the social goal of acquiring personal information from others which are also viewed as abstract categories of strategies that are capable of creating arguments or counterarguments in persuasion, and they are: (a) interrogation, (b) disclosing information about the self to encourage reciprocal disclosure by the other, and (c) relaxing the target person to promote self-disclosure. These strategies do not individually indicate what questions to be asked, what specific information about oneself should be proffered to the other, or what specific behaviours should be enacted to relax the target. Thus, the distinction between general strategic knowledge within a domain and knowledge that is more specific to the local goals being pursued may generalize across social goals. The two types of knowledge as mentioned above (<u>strategic domain knowledge</u> and <u>specific domain knowledge</u>) are a proof of the hierarchical nature of plans and they include the third type, the <u>general planning knowledge</u> which is in actual fact the individual's ability to engage in planning activities in general whereby some individuals have proved to be more planful than others. Thus, general planning knowledge exerts influence over the ability to develop plans in certain domains. For instance, on one extreme level individuals may not be cognizant of the necessity for planning to reach goals or somewhat less extreme, people may set goals that they cannot possibly reach, and by so doing rendering their plans useless. On the other level, individuals may be acutely aware of the variables that might influence the development of an action plan.

    Berger (1997) argues that to avoid avoidance and disappointment, planners can use the general planning knowledge to sensitise themselves about the necessity of assessing the potential achievability of goals before expending the effort to

plan for their attainment. In sum, the relationship between general planning knowledge and plan complexity is difficult to postulate straightforwardly the relationship between strategic domain knowledge, specific knowledge and plan complexity as highlighted in the following proposition:

> Increases in strategic domain knowledge and specific domain knowledge tend to produce increases in the complexity of plans within that domain.

This proposition suggests the following corollary:

> Maximally complex action plans will be generated when high level of both strategic domain knowledge and specific domain knowledge obtain. Low levels of strategic domain knowledge or high level of strategic domain knowledge with low levels of specific domain knowledge produce plans with lower levels of complexity.

To the fact that there are situations whereby there is a strong desire to reach a particular goal but little knowledge to support the planning effort and thus a strong desire by itself is not enough to promote the generation of complex action plans. The following proposition is on the interactive relationship of desire and knowledge on plan complexity:

> Strength of desire and levels of strategic and specific domain knowledge interact too produce differences in plan complexity. High levels of desire and high levels of knowledge produce more complex plans. Low and high desire levels coupled with low knowledge levels should produce less complex plans.

5. Meta-goals and plan complexity. Meta-goals of efficiency and social appropriateness are very significant in shaping plans for the attainment of social goals. It is argued that interactants might be prone to develop a plan that they believe will work and that is efficient enough but still the one that may not be optimally efficient enough. But, planning for tasks such as running errands, the concept of efficiency and optimality are considerably more conceptualised and operationalised. Among the pressures that come with developing efficient plans to achieve social goals, is the social appropriateness of the actions taken towards pursuing social goals.

From Plans to Social Actions: The Hierarchy Principle

<u>Thwarted Goals and Iterative Planning</u>

Berger (1997) postulates that the path to achieving the goals of the well-thought-out plans may be blocked for various reasons. In the social interaction contexts, there are two principal sources of goal blockage and the first one being that events that are <u>external</u> to the interaction may interfere with goal attainment. For instance, it is normally for gossipers to continue with their gossiping when the party they were gossiping about appears or joins them.

He suggests that the second source of blockage is <u>internal</u> to the interaction in that co-interactants may resist each other's attempts to change their opinions, or interactants may repel ingratiation attempts. Both these sources may be detected and catered for in the development of contingency plans prior to the interaction itself. It is also significant to take heed of the internal sources of thwarting hence the strength of desire is believed to be sufficient in order for thwarting not to induce goal abandonment.

<u>The Hierarchy Principle</u>

The question arises as to what happens to action choices when plans are thwarted considering the hierarchical organisation of plans. Berger (1997) points out that in this situation, one might be driven by the desire to change the other's opinion, and the other supposedly resists the opinion change, and it is assumed that the persuader's plan has alternative actions for achieving the goal and are all presented at different levels of abstraction in the hierarchy.

He maintains that the presented scenario contains several possibilities for the thwarted planner. The first possibility is that the planner may continue to repeat the same argument, varying some of the aspects of paralanguage which have the potential of lowering the levels of the plan hierarchy, or increasing vocal intensity. Secondly, the planner might invoke another specific argument and in so doing altering the plan to a more abstract level of hierarchy. Finally, the planner could modify more abstract plan elements and the order in which they are enacted. Thus, instead of arguing, the planner might challenge the target to advance arguments and in so doing raising the possibility that the planner could refute these arguments.

He argues that the difference between the last two options involves the difference between a change in specific domain knowledge that invokes a new argument, and a change in strategic domain knowledge which instantiate a new abstract plan unit, refuting opposing arguments.

<u>Goal Failure and Affect</u>

This part deals with the affective consequences of goal thwarting. According to Srull and Wyer (1986), when a goal is attained, positive affect tends to be generated. In contrary, when planned actions are thwarted, communicators are likely to experience negative affect.

He mentions the following as the conditions that are likely to affect the magnitude of negative affect which is felt when progress toward a goal is interrupted:

$\Rightarrow$ The more important the goal being pursued, the greater the intensity of the negative affect displayed.

$\Rightarrow$ The closer the individuals feel they are to the superordinate goal, the more intense the negative affect. (This factor deals with the psychological distance from the superordinate goal at which the interruption occurs, but if there are contingency plans available that enable the planner to circumvent the interruption, then the intensity of the negative affect generated should be reduced).

$\Rightarrow$ The third determinant is the level of investment of time and energy toward reaching the goal, in that high investment levels tend to produce more intense negative affect when failure occurs.

CHAPTER 3
THE ACCOUNT

3.1   AIM

An overview will be given below pertaining to the results of research on accounts in the literature. Various aspects of the account will be looked into, such as the definition of an account, the reproach, the typology of accounts, including concessions, refusals, excuses and justifications. The result of this overview will then be employed in the analysis of the Xhosa political accounts in chapter four. The main findings of chapter three will be explicated in chapter 4 to facilitate the analysis of the accounts.

3.2   OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON ACCOUNTS

3.2.1 Austin (1956)

In addressing the reasons that propel people to make excuses, Austin argues that a plea, defence, justifications and so on, it is wise to take the following questions into heed first: 'When do we "excuse' conduct, our own or somebody else's?' 'When are "excuses" proffered?'

He states that normally, the situation is one where someone is accused of having done something, or where someone is said to have done something which is bad, wrong, inept, unwelcome or in some other of the numerous possible ways untoward. Thus, the person or someone on his or her behalf will try to defend his or her conduct or to get him or her out of it.

Austin suggests that this can be done by admitting outright that he or she (X) did commit the untoward behavior (A), but arguing that it was a good thing or the right thing, or a permissible thing to do either in general or at least in the special circumstances of the occasion. Doing this is actually to justify the action, to give reasons for doing it: not to say, to brazen it out, to glory in it or anything like that.

According to Austin, there is a different way of going about this which is to admit that the action wasn't a good thing to have done, but to argue that it is not quite fair or correct to

say negatively that "X did A". Perhaps we could say X was under somebody's influence or at least he or she was provoked/ nudged. Perhaps, the action has been partly accidental or an unintentional slip-off. X could have simply been doing or approaching things quite differently from others' perspectives/ expectations without intentions of harming or offending them. These arguments naturally overlap or clash with each other.

He is of the view that we may alternatively accept responsibility but deny that the action was bad: in the other, we admit it was bad but don't accept full or even any responsibility for it.

Austin argues that justifications can be kept distinct from excuses even though they can be confused and can seem to be very near to each other- when in actual fact they don't. Let's say for an example, you dropped a tea-tray, reason being that an emotional storm was about to break out or because there was a wasp. In each case the defence insists on a fuller description of the event in its context; but the first is a justification and the second an excuse. It is therefore arguable that we do not use the terms justification and excuse as carefully as we might; a miscellany of even less clear terms such as "extenuation", "palliation" , "mitigation" hovers uneasily between partial justification and partial excuse; and when we plead, say, provocation, there is genuine uncertainty or ambiguity as to what we mean- is he or she partly responsible, because he or she roused a violent impulse or passion in me-so that it wasn't truly or merely me acting out "of my own accord" (excuse)? Or is it rather that he having done me such injury, I was entitled to retaliate (justification)? Such doubts merely make it more urgent to clear up the usage of these various terms. Therefore, the defences available or provided for "justification" and "excuse" are in principle distinct and can scarcely be doubted.

3.2.2 Scott and Lyman (1968)

An account is a statement made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward behavior- whether that behavior is his or that of others, and whether the proximate cause for the statement arises from the actor himself or from someone else.

In general, there are two types of accounts: excuses and justifications. They are likely to be invoked when a person is accused of having done something that is "bad, wrong, inept, unwelcome, or in some other of the numerous possible ways, untoward."

<u>Justifications</u> are accounts in which one accepts responsibility for the act in question, but denies the pejorative quality associated with it. <u>Excuses</u> are accounts in which one admits that the act in question is bad, wrong or inappropriate but denies full responsibility for it.

Excuses are socially approved vocabularies for mitigating or relieving responsibility when conduct is questioned. There are four modal forms by which excuses are formulated: (a) *appeal to accidents* as the source of conduct or its consequences, which mitigates responsibility pointing to the generally recognized hazards in the environment, the understandable inefficiency of the body and the human incapacity to control all motor responses; (b) *appeals to defeasibility* are based on the common agreement that all actions contain some "mental element ", claiming that an individual had lack of knowledge or the inavailability of information, which if it had been- would have altered his behavior. Alternatively, the interference with an individual's "free will" might invoke duress or undue influence stemming from innocent or intentional misrepresentation of facts by others; (c) *appeal to biological drives* is an invocation of a larger category of "fatalistic" forces which in various cultures are deemed to be controlling of some or all events; (d) *scapegoating* is another form of fatalistic reasoning whereby a person would allege that his or her questioned behavior is a response to the behavior or attitudes of the other.

On the other hand, justifications are socially approved vocabularies that neutralize an act or its consequences when one or both are called into question. Therefore, to justify an act is to assert its positive value in the face of a claim to the contrary. Justifications recognize a general sense in which the act in question is permissible, but claim that the particular occasion permits or requires the very same act. There are six types of justification which are also called "techniques of neutralization": (a) *denial of injury* in which the actor acknowledges that he or she did a particular act but asserts that it was permissible to do that act since no one was injured by it, or since no one about whom the society need be concerned with was involved, or since the act resulted in consequences that were trifling; (b) *denial of the victim* whereby the actor expresses the position that the action was permissible since the victim deserved the injury; (c) *condemnation of the condemners* is used when the actor admits performing an

untoward behavior but asserts its irrelevancy because others commit these and worse acts, and these are either not caught, not punished, not condemned, unnoticed or even praised; (d) in *appeal to loyalties* the actor asserts that his action was permissible or even right since it served the interests of another to whom he or she owes an unbreakable allegiance or affection; (e) *sad tale* is an arrangement of facts that highlight an extremely dismal past, and thus explains the individual's present state; and (f) self-fulfillment.

3.2.3 Bennett (1980)

Bennett (1980) argues that defining accounts as excuses or justifications that are offered in response to contested or questionable behaviors distinguishes them from other kinds of language constructs in the sense that: (1) accounts are not to be confused with denials in which actors disavow having committed or having known about unacceptable behavior; (2) accounts are different form of counter-charges whereby actors decide not to justify an action, but instead decide to question the propriety of someone who has called for an account. An account is rather a type of explanation of an untoward behavior that has a special political status such as the intention or mechanisms of a piece of legislation, either standing for or against the bill. Therefore, by accounting, the actor conveys information that directly facilitates or damages the effectiveness of his or her action in the situation. Hence politics is a game of conflict, political success or failure depends on the effectiveness of responses to challenges.

Accounts are the standard means of responding to challenges when avoidance, denial or the use of brute force are not options. As a result, accounts do not only shape the opponents' and spectators' possible responses to specific situations, but they can reflect on the credibility or leadership status of an actor or a group in future situations.

In addition, accounts are often the key variables in conflict situations because they offer a normative basis on which the audience may judge the propriety or legitimacy of action. Thus, by establishing normative grounds for excusing or justifying an action, an account also conveys implicit or explicit definitions for the actor's role or status and the relevant institutional and procedural trappings surrounding the action. That is, accounts can

produce systematic redefinitions of norms, roles, settings and political relationships in conflict situations.

In short, political accounts can be defined as explanations that excuse or justify questionable behavior by proposing a normative status for the behavior. Accounts convey implicit and explicit information about actors' roles, methods and contexts of action; hence norms are also referenced to roles and situations. This suggests complementary roles and norms for opponents and/or spectators to use in responding to political actors' claims. If the audience response guidelines are accepted, then they can determine the time frame and scope of the developing conflict as well as procedures and the institutional context that govern the course of conflict development. As a result of these powerful conflict resolution functions, the way in which an account is formulated can determine the makeup of Lasswell's classic political definition: who gets what, when and how. Thus, the analysis of political accounts may reveal a good deal about the practical workings of politics.

3.2.4 Thompson (1980)

Ascribing responsibility to officials as persons relies on two criteria of moral responsibility. An official is morally responsible for an outcome insofar as (1) the official's actions or omissions are a cause of the outcome; and (2) these actions are not done in ignorance or under compulsion.

The criteria of causal responsibility requires that one be a cause of an outcome in the sense that the outcome would not have happened if it wasn't for one's act or omission.

Volitional responsibility is the second criterion which stipulates that a person is responsible for an action insofar as he or she could have done otherwise.

An excuse is more common in official than in personal life because in organizations the empirical assumption on which it depends is more likely to be true, and as such in organizations persons are often "fungible". Thus, the excuse from alternative cause asserts that other people, that is, the alternative causal agents would be responsible for the action.

These alternatives can be communicated in two ways: (i) an excuse as a criterion of causal relevance whereby an official claims that someone else would have made the same mistake, but, rather that someone else would have made a different mistake that would have been sufficient to cause the harmful outcome; and (ii) as an excuse combined with certain justifications adding to the plea that someone else would have committed the wrong, a claim that he or she would have committed a worse wrong, or in some other way would have made the consequences worse.

There are also excuses that are from null cause, which assert that any act or omission by an official may be used as a cause that brings about an outcome, and in these instances an official who uses the excuse must distinguish his or her act or omission from that of others. One form of the null excuses is disconnecting an official from the chain of events leading to a harmful outcome. Another way of doing this is to use the most familiar plea, "It's not my job", and by so doing cutting short any argument about whether the official could have made any difference or could make any difference in the future.

The second form of excuse from null cause is a subsequent act by another official who can control whether the first official's action has effect and therefore supposedly bears the entire responsibility for any harmful consequences.

Fried (1978) concedes that we are all morally responsible for some of the unintended consequences of our actions, but insisting that we are "primarily" responsible for only what we intend in the sense that we may never do intentional harm in order to avoid greater unintentional harm. This understanding brings us to the criteria of ignorance and compulsion.

The kind of ignorance relevant to the problem of many, concerns the official's lack of specific knowledge about the actions of other officials. An official who admittedly contributes to an objectionable outcome may seek to excuse the contribution by claiming that he or she did not know, and should not have been expected to know that other officials had acted wrongly or would act wrongly. Secondly, an official may sometimes be excused for consequences of a decision when he or she could not be

expected to foresee the wrong that other officials would commit in implementing the decision.

To reject a plea of ignorance, it is sufficient that the official should have realized that mistakes of the kind that occurred were likely. In bureaucracies, certain patterns of fault are common enough to anticipate them and to take reasonable precautions to avoid them or at least to minimize their harmful consequences.

An application of pressure either by a superior or other officials is not a necessary condition for making an official responsible for the subsequent actions of others. Instead, an official who sets in motion bureaucratic routines cannot escape culpability for the consequences even if he or she is no longer involved in the process when the consequences occur.

Some of the most normal and expected patterns of behavior in bureaucracies are the most difficult for anyone to change, and some of them may obligate an official to act in certain ways despite harmful consequences he or she may be able to foresee- and this forms part of the excuses from compulsion.

Some of the kinds of constraints that officials mention to reduce their responsibility for decisions emanate from other officials' actions, rather than from forces of nature or reactions of the public. Volitional excuses that ascribe to compulsion are mostly cases where no explicit order has been given but a subordinate belies that a superior expects him or her to pursue what is seen as a morally dubious course of action. This therefore questions the lines of communication between a command and discretion. Thus, when a superior relies on subordinates to know what to do without being told, the superior can no more escape responsibility for the subordinates' actions than they can.

Another common constraint is that of various practices and procedures established by other officials who may not be identifiable or those who may no longer be alive (deceased). Practices like that circumscribe an official's range of choices and as such may mitigate his or her responsibility.

Some bureaucratic practices may constrain the performances of officials in harmful ways. Such constraints affect particularly those officials who have been called "street-

level bureaucrats" like social workers, policemen, etc who deal frequently with citizens and have to exercise considerable discretion in an uncertain environment. These officials face demanding standards of job performance and rarely have sufficient resources to meet them and as such they develop "bureaucratic mechanisms" to evade responsibility for their failures.

However, street-level bureaucrats cannot be considered blameless no matter what they do, because some officials perform worse than others within the constraints of fixed routines and as such some amount of responsibility should be ascribed. To do this, a criterion based on a hypothetical average performance such as what is expected of an average official to do under certain circumstances- something more like a "reasonable bureaucrat" test, is needed.

In addition, the knowledge of how certain bureaucratic routines work in causing them to perform in morally questionable ways, some officials would use a special responsibility to call attention to defects, even if that would correct those defects.

3.2.5 Semin and Manstead (1983)

The first treatment of accounts was that of Scott and Lyman (1968) who gave this definition of the term 'account': "An account is a linguistic device employed whenever an action is subjected to valuative inquiry… By an account…we mean a statement made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward behavior…" (p. 46).

However, Austin (1961) argues that in a situation in which someone has done or is said to have done something unwelcome or wrong or untoward, that person may attempt to defend his or her conduct in one of two ways: "One way of going about this is to admit flatly that he, X, did do that very thing A, but to argue that it was a good thing, or the right and feasible thing, or a permissible thing to do, either in general or at least in the special circumstances of the occasion" (Austin 1961:2). By doing this the actor is trying to justify the action. Another "way of going about this is to admit that it wasn't a good thing to have done, but to argue that it is not quite fair or correct to say baldly 'X did A'. Perhaps he was under somebody's influence or was nudged, or it may have been partly accidental or an unintentional slip. In the first defence, we accept responsibility but deny that it was bad and in the other, we admit that it was bad but don't accept full or even

any responsibility" (Austin 1961:2). Thus, excuses deny some or any measure of responsibility for what is admittedly an offensive act. Justifications deny some or any measure of offensiveness in an act for which the individual admits responsibility.

Among the various types of excuses, Semin and Manstead (1983) distinguish the following:

A1   Denial of intent ("I did not intend to produce these results")
       Accident
       Unforeseen consequences, due to:
                 Lack of knowledge
                 Lack of skill or ability
                 Lack of effort or motivation
                 Environmental conditions
       Identity of target person mistaken

A2   Denial of volition ("I did not want to perform this act")
       Physical causes
                 Temporary (e.g., fatigue, drugs, illness, arousal)
                 Semi-permanent (e.g., paralysis, blindness, deafness)
       Psychological causes originating in:
                 Self (e.g., insanity, overpowering emotion)
                 Others (e.g., coercion, hypnotism, brainwashing)
       Lack of authority ("I would like to help you, but I do not have the authority to do so")

A3   Denial of agency
       Mistaken identity ("It wasn't me, honest")
       Amnesia ("I can't remember anything about it")
       Joint production ("It wasn't only me who did it")

A4   Appeal to mitigating circumstances ("I am not entirely to blame")
       Scapegoating – behavior in question was a response to the behavior or attitudes of another or others
       Sad tales – selected arrangement of facts highlighting dismal past

In distinguishing between the various types of justifications, Semin and Manstead came with the following list:

B1   Claim that effect has been misrepresented

Denial of injury (no harm done)

Minimization of injury (consequence only trivially harmful)

B2   Appeal to principle of retribution

Reciprocity (victim deserving of injury because of his or her actions)

Derogation (victim deserving of injury because of his or her qualities)

B3   Social comparison

(Others do same or worse but go unnoticed, unpunished or even praised)

B4   Appeal to higher authority

Powerful person(s) commanded

Higher status person(s) commanded

Institutional rules stipulated

B5   Self-fulfillment

Self-maintenance (catharsis, psychological or physical health)

Self-development (personal growth, mind expansion)

Conscience (acted in accordance with)

B6   Appeal to principle of utilitarianism

Law and order

Self-defence

Benefits outweigh harm

B7   Appeal to values

Political (e.g., democracy, socialism, nationalism)

Moral (e.g., loyalty, freedom, justice, equality)

Religious (e.g., charity, love, faith in deity)

B8   Appeal to Need for Facework

   Face maintenance ("If I hadn't acted like that I would have lost credibility")

   Reputation building ("I did that because I wanted to look tough")

3.2.6.1   McLaughlin, O'Hair, Cody (1983)

These scholars based their study on Schönbach's (1980) taxonomy of accounts which are the fundamental modes of response to failure events or reproaches. These modes are concessions, excuses, justifications and refusals.

As far as <u>concessions</u> are concerned, the most explicit feature is the acknowledgement of the actor's guilt. Apologies and offers of restitution are other distinctive characteristics of concessions.

In the second failure management strategy, <u>excuse,</u> the actor admits that the failure event occurred, but denies responsibility for it. To escape from this the actor may appeal to biological defects such as impairment or disabilities as the ultimate reason for failing to meet others' expectations. In other cases, the actor may recite a series of misfortunes as the reason for him not to be held responsible for the failure event as he was temporarily under pressure or he may be the victim of pressure of circumstances. Others may use scapegoating or appealing to one's own effort and concern before or during the failure event itself as a way of diffusing responsibility for the failure event.

In justification the actor admits responsibility for the failure event but redefines the nature of the event itself and she makes it appear less offensive or severe. This is known as minimization. Another option of justification invokes the actor's right to self-fulfillment. Another alternative would be to justify their actions by comparing them to similar misdeeds that have been committed by the reproachers. Sometimes actors may appeal to one's positive intentions or appeal to higher authorities or use derogation of the victim as a way of justifying the committed failure event.

The fourth failure management strategy is <u>refusal</u> in which the actor denies responsibility for the failure event, that the failure event occurred or that the reproacher is entitled to exercise his or her right to accuse or reproach the actor.

McLaughlin, O'Hair and Cody (1983) added a fifth strategy to Schönbach's (1980) four failure management strategies. The fifth strategy is then referred to as <u>silence</u>. When the degree of embarrassment associated with the failure event is severe or when the actor feels that the accounting would simply make matters worse, then the actor might decide that the best thing to do under the circumstances is to avoid any reference to the unacceptable behavior at all costs.

In the case of failure management strategies that call for the actor to make an overt reference to the failure management event, the strategies can be arrayed along a mitigation-aggravation continuum. These strategies include: concession, excuse, justification and refusal with concession being regarded as mitigating strategy as it is the least threatening to the hearer's face, and refusal as the aggravating strategy and the most threatening to the hearer's face.

1	2	3	4
concession	excuse	justification	refusal

←←←← →→→→

mitigation aggravation

(least threatening to (most threatening to

hearer's face) hearer's face)
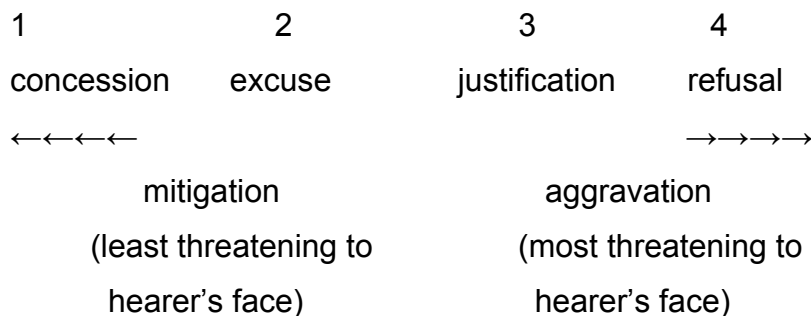
The higher numbered strategies will be selected for actions concerned with the potential risk of the hearer's loss of face and/or of his own loss of positive face. It is expected therefore that the risk of the other's loss of face will be the actor's primary concern in a failure management situation, inasmuch as she or he is in enough trouble already. However, there will be those actors for whom an impeding threat to own negative face will be of the utmost concern; in these circumstances the lower numbered strategies will be avoided in favor of strategies like justification and refusal, which present a lesser threat to the actor's sense of autonomy. The strategy in which the actor opts to say nothing will be mitigating in those situations in which there is no overt reproach for the failure event. However, silence will be highly aggravating in the presence of an overt reproach.

In the actor-reproacher relationship, one finds that the actor will adopt a strategy appropriate to the nature of her relationship with the reproacher. For instance, if the relationship is that of intimacy, more mitigating strategies will be used. In the case of a relationship of dominance- with high reproacher dominance, actors select more mitigating strategies whereas in situations or relationships characterized by high actor dominance- more aggravating strategies will be used to put more pressure on the actor's negative face.

Relational consequence is the third characteristic of the actor-reproacher relationship and has the potential of affecting the actor's choice of the failure management strategy. McLaughlin, Cody and Robey's (1980) findings are that in high-intimacy relationships, more aggravating non-negotiation strategies were rated more favorably when the relational consequences were short-term than long-term. On the other hand, the more mitigating negotiation strategies were preferred when the relational consequences were long-term than short-term.

Relational characteristics and goal orientation determine an actor's choice of failure management strategy which is limited to a certain extent by the reproach with which the actor is confronted. There are therefore six forms of reproach which are: silence, behavioral cues, projected concession, projected excuse, projected justification and projected refusal.

In using silence, the victimized other makes no overt reproach, but the actor nonetheless feels that an account is in order. In a projected concession, the victimized other indicates that an apology and/or restitution is expected and that the actor should feel guilty about the failure event. In projected excuse, the reproacher indicates that she or he expects the actor to deny responsibility for the failure event. This form is usually in the form of a question and as such the response is likely to be in a form of a relevant answer. In a projected justification, the reproacher indicates that she or he expects the actor to minimize the severity of the offense. Since this form constitutes a potential attack to the actor's positive face, it is expected that it will engender a climate of hostility and consequently elicit account forms such as justification and refusal. In a projected refusal, the victimized other suggests that the actor will deny guilt, the failure event and

the right to be reproached by the victim. This is thus a highly aggravating form of reproach which can be expected to elicit an aggravating response.

3.2.6.2   McLaughlin, Cody and French (1990)

Resource is a knowledge base of defining the morally problematic situation which will most favorably frame an action contemplated or as already taken. These include the information contained in the following discussion.

Interactional constraints refer to the knowledge of constraints which affect the way in which an account can be fashioned in interaction and in so doing encompassing the knowledge of conventional goals which might be activated in the recipient during the presentation of a mitigating situation definition. An actor in contemplating possible accounts will attempt to assess the goals and plans of potential evaluators of his or her moral decision-making such as a magistrate, which might be competing with one another.

Moral principles of justice, utility or benevolence and instrumentalism or pragmatism, provides a schemata that structure and integrates an individual's knowledge of social life and define his or her fundamental value system.

Another resource for reframing the dispreferred action lies with the situated evaluation of conduct. Relevant concepts include offence severity; severity of the consequences; negligence, intention and responsibility; and fairness. Conduct is evaluated with reference to the specific circumstances surrounding its occurrence including the character of the actor(s) and other parties, the perceived characteristics of the setting and the nature of the action. For example, an offensive failure event would evaluate a person as *unrepentant* and *responsible* for the offence.

Conventional strategies for excusing and defending conduct appeared in Schönbach (1985, 1987) which entails the conventional topical realizations of concessions, excuses, justifications and refusals.

The question to take into consideration here is: what is the effect of conventional forms of accounts on attributions about the actor made by the account recipients, specifically attributions about the moral character of the author of the account?

There will be a significant difference in impressions formed as a function of the type of account used in the statements made in court. The outcomes are anticipated in respect to the specific perceptions of the personal characteristics.

Category Definitions and Representative Accounts of Oral Arguments in Court

TABLE 11.1 *Category definitions and representative accounts of oral arguments in court*

Account type	Representative example
1. *Concession*: Plea of guilty or no contest.	- 'Guilty, Your Honour.'
2. *Challenge*: Defendant argues against charge on grounds that arresting officer was inexperienced, unprofessional, not competent, and/ or not impartial.	'I might have been going 60, but I was not going anything like 70. I think the officer added those extra miles on just to make me more upset.'
3. *Denies Offence*: Defendant asserts that offence did not take place. May dispute officer's judgement but does not attack his character, motives or integrity.	'The light may have been yellow, but it was not red when I made the turn. . . . The officer's view was obstructed by other cars.'
4. *Logical Proofs*: Defendant makes arguments to the effect that the offence could not have occurred, or that s/he could not have committed it, or that there is room for doubt. (Often assisted by physical evidence.)	'Your Honour, I can't be guilty because they painted the kerb red after I parked there. . . . Here are papers from the city showing that the kerb was painted the day I got ticketed.'
5. *Justify*: Defendant argues that there were good reasons for committing the offence, or attempts to minimise the offence. Accepts responsibility but denies harm.	'I left my curling iron on, and was rushing to get home to turn it off before the house burnt [*sic*] down.'
6. *Excuse*: Defendant admits that the offence occurred/did harm but denies reponsibility on the grounds of impairment, obstruction by others, circumstances, etc.	'There was a car to the left of me, and the pedestrian was on the west side; the car on my left was ahead of me, therefore obstructing my view.'

Source: Cody & McLaughlin (1988)

According to investigations, impressions of a defendant's moral responsibility for a traffic offence varied as a function of the type of account given by the defendant to the Court.

As far as the imposition of a penalty is concerned, respondents were reasonably accurate in their assessments. They discovered the use of justifications as more likely to lead to a penalty in the speeding data. Furthermore, excuses had the highest mean rated likelihood of penalty.

On the attribution of a personality influence on the defendant's driving behavior, the dispositional causal attribution was more likely to occur for justifications and excuses as they focus their attention on the values and character of the defendant more than the refusal account types such as challenge or logical proofs.

With respect to attributions to the defendant of wrongdoing, justifications were anticipated to produce the highest scores and excuse the lowest.

The use of excuse produced the greatest causal attribution of the offence to the circumstances for the speeding cases.

However, justification and excuse were both highly and almost equally likely to result in the defendant's being blamed or held accountable for the offence.

For attributions of honesty, the findings are counter-hypothetical. For instance, excuses and justifications were expected to produce an attributional set to generalize from the defendant's observable wrongdoing in one domain- that being the traffic to projectable wrongdoing in the Courtroom. But, instead the refusal manifested to be highest in rated dishonesty of defendant's account, across offence types.

3.2.6.3   Cody and Braaten (1992)

A severely phrased form of reproach influences the account in three ways:

1) Extremely hostile forms of reproach often cause defensive reactions on the part of account-givers.
2) Reproachers who employ severely phrased reproaches are predisposed to rejecting the account, no matter what type of account is communicated.
3) Severe forms of reproach will result in more negative relational and emotional consequences than less severe forms of reproach.

There are three basic steps of an account episode. The first one is actually the need to explain the occurrence of a <u>failure event</u>.

Secondly, account episodes involve a three-part communication sequence, which involves a <u>reproach</u>, an <u>account</u> and an <u>evaluation</u>. The type of communication that is communicated is arrayed along the lines of politeness, preference or mitigation-aggravation continuum.

Accounts have been coded into four general categories: apologies, excuses, justifications and denials/ refusals. Apologies and excuses are then perceived as more

polite, more helpful in resolving dispute(s) and in avoiding conflict than do justifications and denials/refusals. However, recent studies show that certain forms of apologies and excuses are significantly more effective than others in performing remedial work. According to Braaten et al (1990) and Holtgraves (1989), compensation or full blown apologies are more effective than perfunctory apologies such as "I am sorry". They also discovered that excuses that contain elements of regret were more effective than excuses containing regret, and excuses involving appeals to accident were more frequently honored (they are rated and perceived as valid, credible accounts) than denial of intent. The forms of evaluating accounts vary from polite or mitigating (honoring) to more aggravating forms (partial honoring or retreating to rejecting).

Reproaches are not always necessary and they are not always needed as the fundamental purpose of communication exchange in some settings is intended only to hear and evaluate the accounts. However, in most settings, reproaches are frequently used or at least implicit in that account-givers know that an explanation is required and for that reason then they will need to communicate the account at some point in time.

The reproach-account phase of the account episode has two hypotheses.

First Hypothesis: a "reciprocity" expectation which the prediction that reproach forms elicit similar kinds of accounts, such as the fact that polite reproaches elicit polite accounts as much as hostile and/or aggravating forms elicit hostile and/or aggravating accounts.

Reproaches generally employ one of six strategies for eliciting an account (McLaughlin, Cody and O'Hair (1983). There are two implicit forms, silence whereby an account-giver simply knows that she or he should offer an account, and behavioral cues in which the reproacher(s)' nonverbal behavior such as looks of disgust, disappointment are communicated. In addition to these forms there are four other basic forms of accounts which are verbal tactics. For instance, when using a projected concession the reproacher leads the account-giver towards the communication of a concession or rather the admission of guilt and an apology, "Aren't you sorry you did it?"

When using the projected excuses, the reproacher indicates that she or he expects the account-giver to deny responsibility for that failure event: "Were you stuck in traffic?"

In using the projected justification, the reproacher is actually communicating that she or he anticipates hearing the account-giver minimize the severity of the failure event, or at least defend a questionable act: "Did you have something more important to do?" or "I suppose you are going to try and tell me it was just a joke."

When the reproacher is using a projected refusal, she or he suggests that the account-giver will deny guilt, deny the failure event or deny the reproacher's right to ask for an account: "Don't try to pretend you didn't see me!"

The findings of the study conducted by McLaughlin, Cody and O'Hair (1983) are:

a) Projected concessions do in fact lead to concessions, and

b) Projected refusals lead to refusals and that projected refusals are negatively related to excuses.

In sum, polite or mitigating forms of reproach are not consistently or strongly related to polite or mitigating forms of accounts. Instead, polite or mitigating forms of reproaches allow the account-giver the freedom to communicate any account she or he desires. Thus, determinants of such accounts in such episodes are felt responsibility, guilt feelings, severity of the offense, the importance of interpersonal goals, and the nature of the reproacher/account-giver relationship. However, when an aggravating reproach form was used, the aggravating reproach form functioned as an interactional constraint that interfered with the account-giver's freedom to communicate an intended or preferred form of an account. Thus, when confronted with hostility, direct rebukes, expressions of moral superiority, projected refusals or reproaches that exaggerate the severity of the offense, account-givers become less conciliatory and become more defensive.

Second Hypothesis: It relies on psychological reactance theory and predicts that a severely phrased reproach form represents a threat to the account-giver's freedom and as a result produces defensive reactions (Schönbach and Kleibaumhüter, 1990). The central psychological reactance hypothesis is that threats to one's freedom will elicit a defensive reaction.

On the other hand, Braaten et al (1990) discovered that severe forms of reproach have a significant impact on accounts: rebukes frequently elicit refusals/denials while polite

requests and implicit reproaches rarely elicit refusals/denials. And furthermore, both rebukes and direct requests elicit more aggravating forms of account.

Also, reproachers who employ rebukes are more likely to evaluate accounts negatively and less likely to honor the account. Instead, the honoring of an account was more likely to follow the polite reproaches.

And lastly, more severe reproaches are related to negative interpersonal and emotional consequences such as anger, stress, etc.

The Braaten et al. (1990) data on severe reproaches revealed that the severely phrased reproaches could be coded in certain ways. There are then two forms of severe reproaches which include the attack on self-esteem and the attack on commitment and dedication. Both these forms give an indication and implication that the failure event was due to the causes that are personal, intentional, controllable and stable.

Three other forms of severe reproaches include anger expressions, rude behavior and threats/warnings. Anger expressions (yelling, being aggressive and screaming) reflect a form of severe reproach that engages in behaviors that would be perceived as failure events in normal interpersonal settings. As such, anger should be an expression that individuals control, as it is perceived to be a violation on its own.

These different forms of reproaches were used in different contexts and elicited different outcomes, where account-giver's perception of the account episode is reflected. However, the severe forms of reproach affect the account episode and how they influence the evaluation of the account episode.

However, some noteworthy differences are said to be observed between the different forms of severe reproach, excluding that of anger:

1. Attack on esteem/commitment reproaches were rated as involving lower levels of perceived guilt and responsibility relative to other account episodes. Some account-givers believed they were falsely accused of the failure events.
2. Anger expressions were associated with relatively friendly relations as the norm between reproacher/account-giver. And episodes that involve anger expressions

were rated as less significant than attack on self-esteem and rude behavior reproaches.

3. Threats/warnings, along with rude behaviors, received extremely high ratings of dissatisfaction with one's employment position, and the threats/warnings forms of rebuke were associated with the highest levels of stress.

The forms of severe reproaches on account episodes were also related to the differences in the said account episodes:

1. A significant number of claims of being treated unprofessionally and a significant number of complaints filed about the account episode were attributable to: (a) attack on esteem and (b) rude behavior, which both accounted for 59.7% of the claims of "unprofessional treatment" and 59.4% of the complaints.

2. Most severe reproach forms project elicited refusals/denials and justifications. Few apologies did occur when severe reproach forms were employed especially when the attack on esteem/commitment was used. In addition, the most aggravating forms of accounts, i.e. refusals/denials were more likely to use attack on esteem and rude behavior.

3. Some account episodes can result in a negative evaluation. This is due to personal forms of severe reproach such as attack on esteem and rude behavior.

4. Failure events were significantly related to reproach forms. Threats/warnings were not substantially related to performance errors, but were the result of the failure to be sociable- failing to be a cooperative team player, obey norms and rules, etc.

3.2.7 Shaver (1985)

Justification is a response that admits the behavior to have been voluntarily performed, but claims that the act was a good thing to have done as opposed to the accuser's moral viewpoint. An excuse on the other hand, is a claim that "it is not quite fair or correct" to describe the action in the bald terms that the accuser has employed.

Shaver (1985) suggests various ways in which transgressors respond to accusations of moral transgression/blame:

- "I didn't have anything to do with it". This response is a denial of any possible connection with the occurrence of the event.

- "I didn't do it", is a denial of proximate causality, but not a denial of all other connections to the event such as: (1) Even though you did not cause the event you are still obliged to make amends, and (2) You were the only insufficient but necessary element involved in the causal subset minimally sufficient for production of the occurrence.

- "I was forced to do it" is a response that acknowledges the causal connection between actor and deed, but seeks diminution of or absolution from responsibility on grounds that the action of some other agent was the insufficient but necessary element in the minimally sufficient causal subset.

- "I didn't mean to do it" is the answer that admits a true causal connection and also acknowledging that some intentional behavior was being performed for which responsibility cannot be denied.

- "It wasn't wrong" is a response that admits the casual connection, the intentional quality of the action and the responsibility for the occurrence, but denies that the action should be followed by moral opprobrium.

The dimensions that can be used to ascertain the responsibility of an individual for a single morally reprehensible act include to the following:

- Causal dimension- a measure of the extent to which the actor was the direct and proximate efficient cause of the occurrence for which the accusation is being made.

- Coercion- is a dimension on which personal accountability can be assessed. It captures the meaning of the assertion that a responsible agent "could have done otherwise": the actor in question, at the time in question, under the circumstances in question, could have done something different from the action for which responsibility is to be assigned.

- Knowledge of the consequences- acknowledges the fact that a person who is completely unaware that his or her actions might have morally reprehensible consequences would not be expected to have considered the possibility of doing otherwise. Thus, words such as "aware" and "unaware" are the labels for the end points of this dimension.

- Intentionality- represents the element of "choice" or "deliberation" in voluntary behavior. At the involuntary end of this dimension, the actor will claim that the action was an accident, a temporary muscle spasm or the product of an external event over which the actor had no control.

A theory of blame assignment reveals that questions about blameworthiness arise only when at least one of the causal elements participating in the production of the effect for which blame is to be assigned is a human action. The causal element can be: (1) an act of commission that produces the effect, or (2) an act of omission that fails to prevent the occurrence of the event. However, the human agent involved can be seen as a cause of the event, as potentially responsible for its occurrence as well as potentially to blame. This will lead to a judgment of just how responsible the person is for the occurrence.

If the person is found responsible for a morally objectionable occurrence, then the person stands liable for blame.

In response to the assigned blame, the actor can offer a justification. A justification for a morally reprehensible action is a claim that contrary to the perceiver's opinion, the action taken was a positive one. This justification of moral conduct could be done by: (1) arguing that the perceiver's characterization of the narrowly defined individual act was incorrect, disagreeing about the description of the event, a dispute perhaps arising from the possibility that actor and perceiver held different views of what constitutes moral action. The disagreement could only be resolved by comparing the moral characterizations offered by the two parties to the consensual characterization by others informed about the occurrence. (2) The actor could claim that although the single act might have been reprehensible, it served a larger positive social purpose- the value of which would be recognized by the perceiver. This assertion of larger social purposes admits the reprehensible quality of the single act, but places that act in an acceptable context.

In general, the purpose of a justification is to diminish the actor's blameworthiness, his or her culpability, liability for censure or liability for punishment, but does not alter the actor's moral accountability though.

The actor can also request diminution of blame to be assigned by identifying an excuse that is likely to mitigate the blame. Possible excuses encompass all the potential sources of disagreement between actor and perceiver. The actor can claim: (1) that he or she was not really performing the action the perceiver has called into question: "It may have looked like that to you, but I was really doing something quite different." These excuses are not always successful in mitigating blame in that perceivers can find instances in which actors are not to be regarded as the authoritative source of information about their actions and reasons. (2) The actor may deny or minimize his or her causal role in bringing about the event. (3) The actor may claim that she or he was an innocent bystander, or (4) claim that he or she was an insignificant part of many causal elements. (5) The actor may deny intent "I didn't mean to do it". (6) The actor may try to minimize his or her potential culpability in the production of the action by appealing to the external coercion causality which involves either tangible or intangible forces or both. The actor may also claim that another person has intervened in the process between the actor's own behavior and the production of the outcome.

All these excuses, different as they are, have two aspects in common: (a) If they are accepted, they all have the effect of mitigating the actor's blameworthiness as well as that person's moral responsibility. (b) Excuses are provided only after an accusation has been made, an accusation that by its nature presumes a prior judgment of moral responsibility. The time sequence is action, judgment, accusation and excuse. Thus, once the excuse has been offered and if it is accepted, the perceiver's initial judgment of responsibility will be adjusted downward at the same time that the judgment of minimal blameworthiness is made.

It is also worthwhile to acknowledge the fact that in the attribution of blame, (i) the accuser does not need to be the person who has been harmed by the alleged moral offense; (ii) the excuses for the actor's misbehavior may sometimes be offered by a third party and not by the actor; and (iii) the actor will not always be informed of the perceiver's judgment.

3.2.8 Weaver (1986)

Politicians are motivated primarily by the desire to avoid blame for unpopular actions rather than by seeking to claim credit for unpopular ones and this is because of the voters' 'negativity bias'- their tendency to be more sensitive to real or potential losses than they are to gains. Policy decisions are influenced more by credit claiming, 'good policy' and blame-avoiding motivations. Blame avoidance leads to patterns of behavior very different from those suggested by the two other motivations. Most officeholders seek to maximize the credit they receive and to minimize the blame. What this means is that these officeholders are not credit-claiming maximizers but blame minimizers and credit-claiming and 'good policy' satisfiers.

There are eight blame-avoiding strategies that policymakers can use to respond to potential blame-generating pressures:

1. Agenda limitation- can be used to prevent blame-generating by keeping   potentially costly choices from being considered.
2. Redefine the issue- is used to prevent blame-generating by developing new policy options which diffuse or obfuscate losses.
3. Throw good money after bad- can help delay blame-generating by providing resources to prevent constituencies from suffering losses.
4. Pass the buck- is used to deflect blame by forcing others to make politically costly choices.
5. Find a scapegoat- can be used to deflect blame by blaming others.
6. Jump on the bandwagon- can be used to deflect blame by supporting politically popular alternatives.
7. Circle of wagons- can be employed to diffuse blame by spreading it among as many policymakers as possible.
8. *'Stop me before I kill again'-* prevents blame-generation by keeping credit-claiming opportunities that conflict with policy preferences from being considered.

3.2.9.1 Holtgraves (1989)

When a person commits an act that is a breach of an accepted convention, remedial work will often take place (Goffman, 1971). Remedial work usually involves a sequence of verbal 'moves' designed to restore the equilibrium in a social relationship. Researchers have developed typologies of the verbal moves used by a person who has committed an offence and examined the sorts of interactional functions that these verbal moves can serve. A large amount of research has been conducted on remedial moves, but there are several issues that have received relatively little attention. Among those are the following: (a) there have been few attempts to assess the adequacy of these typologies by examining the remedial moves that individuals report using and receiving, (b) there have been no attempts to examine the psychological reality of these typologies- in other words checking if interactants make the same distinctions as researchers in categorizing remedial moves, and (c) there have been no attempts in examining if remedial moves do differ in their effectiveness.

Concessions are coded according to the following moves:

(1) acknowledging the act had negative consequences (negative act),
(2) admit responsibility for the act (responsibility),
(3) using a performative apology (apology),
(4) expressing regret or remorse (regret),
(5) asking for forgiveness (forgiveness),
(6) offering or providing compensation (compensation),
(7) promising not to perform the act in the future (promise) and
(8) Disparaging oneself for having performed the act (self-castigation).

Excuses

Excuses are coded into four moves:

(1) deny intent,
(2) deny volition,
(3) mitigating circumstances and
(4) Request understanding.

<u>Justification</u>

Justifications are also categorized into four moves:

    (1) minimize harm,

    (2) victim deserved it,

    (3) self-fulfillment and

    (4) Benefits outweigh harm.

3.2.9.2   Holtgraves (1992)

This work contains Holtgraves' (1992) interpretation of the research on accounts, disagreements and self-disclosure in terms of the underlying face-work involved in their production. This is his way of demonstrating the potential scope of the theory and also to illustrate additional problems with the theory.

As far as accounts are concerned, Scott and Lyman (1968) argue that they are "linguistic devices employed whenever an action is subjected to evaluative inquiry. Goffman (1971) on the other hand suggests that accounts are used to change the meaning, especially the worst possible reading, or virtual offense that others might give to an action. For these reasons, accounts therefore have a clear face-preserving function that should motivate both when and how they occur.

Furthermore, actions that can bring about an account can be interpreted explicitly in terms of negative and positive face-threat for both the speaker or the offender and the hearer, in this case the offended person. For instance, an insult as the occurrence of a breach- threatens the offended person's positive face and the negative face such as spilling a drink on the host's carpet which challenges both the offender's positive face (a desire to look good) and his or her negative face often manifested through the need to do damage control. However, if an account is not forthcoming, attempts to challenge or reproach the offender will thus follow and thereby increasing both the negative and positive face-threat for the offender, and at the same time introducing an element of risk for the challenger especially if the reproach fails to produce intended results.

The various types of accounting are interpreted in terms of face threat. Holtgrave's (1989) ordering of Schönbach's (1985) account typology is presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3. An Ordering of Schonbach's Account Types as a Function of Hearer's and Speaker's Face Support

Account Type	Defining Feature	Face Support
Concession	Admitting offensiveness and responsibility	Most hearer support/ Least speaker support
Excuse	Admitting offensiveness but minimizing responsibility	
Justification	Admitting responsibility but minimizing offensiveness	
Refusal	Admitting nothing	Least hearer support/ Most speaker support

According to this typology, a concession which is actually admitting guilt together with an apology supports the hearer's positive face and possibly the negative face especially if restitution is included; simultaneously the admission of fault threatens the speaker's own positive and negative face. However, refusals do not threaten the speaker's positive and negative face, but increase the positive and negative face-threat to the person who has been offended. On the other hand, justifications [denying harm] provide less positive and negative face support for the hearer as they attempt to minimize the offensiveness of the act, although they admit the breach and so are more supportive to the hearer than do refusals. In so doing, justifications simultaneously provide greater support for the speaker's positive and negative face than do excuses [denying responsibility], which provide more support for the hearer's positive face by admitting the offensiveness of the act and by so doing threatening the speaker's positive face.

Holtgraves (1989, Experiment 3) concludes that justifications were perceived to be the least satisfying for the hearer followed by excuses, apologies and concessions. Holtgraves also found a significant correlation between how satisfying the account would be for the hearer and how difficult it would be for the speaker to use the account. This illustrates a tension between support for the hearer and support for the speaker. Holtgraves (1989, Experiment 1) also discovered that the most frequently reported apology involved the combination of an excuse with a concession, which is an account hybrid that simultaneously provides hearer support [concession] and speaker support [the excuse].

If accounts are viewed in terms of face, then the type of account used should be a function of the degree of face-threat implied by the failure event. What this means is that

the greater the severity of the offense, the greater the likelihood that the face concerns will be encoded in an account. As far as the effect of reproach severity is concerned, it is thus concluded that the more aggravating or face-threatening the reproach, the greater the need for the speaker to support his or her own face.

Furthermore, insofar as interpersonal variables such as status influence the degree of face-threat, the said variables should have predictable effect on accounts. For instance, a breach committed by a lower-status interactant is more face-threatening than the same breach committed by a higher-status interactant.

In sum, accounts are particularly amenable to a face management analysis and mostly because of the simultaneous face-threat for both the hearer and speaker which illustrate a feature of face management that is generally ignored in Brown and Levinson (1987). Holtgraves (1992) argues that accounts illustrate that the more attentive a speaker is to the hearer's face, the more the speaker's own face is humbled or threatened.

3.2.10.1   McGraw (1990)

Public officials can be held accountable for many different types of predicaments. These predicaments can be classified into two types: the unpopular policy decisions or personal misconduct (ethical or criminal). This Note is only concerned with unpopular policy decisions. When a public official is held accountable for an unpopular policy, he or she almost inevitably responds with an 'account' in order to mitigate citizens' anger, to deflect subsequent blame and to bolster faltering evaluations.

Accounts are the explanations offered to provide 'a more acceptable or satisfactory explanation of the event than that contained in a worst-case reading'. There are therefore two basic types of accounts: excuses and justifications. With a justification actors accept responsibility but deny that it was bad, whereas with an excuse account-givers admit that the act was bad but don't accept full or even any responsibility for it. In other words, a justification focuses on the outcome and claims that, contrary to the accusation of the *blamer*, the consequences of the act are not necessarily undesirable and that blame is unwarranted. On the other hand, an excuse focuses on the causal link between the actor and the outcome, involving a denial of partial or even full

responsibility: if the actor is not causally responsible for the outcome, then blame is unwarranted.

There are five types of common political excuses:

1. The claim that *mitigating circumstances* influenced the decisions or behavior- past conditions (e.g. policies of a previous administration).
2. The claim that *mitigating circumstances* influenced the behavior or decisions- present conditions (e.g. the economy). This type of excuse is to suggest that the situation is such that the official was left with no other choice but to reach the unpopular decision, and that any individual would have had to act in a similar manner in that situation. If accepted, this type lessens or eliminates personal responsibility because the behavior is perceived to be at least partially under control of the mitigating circumstances.
3. Within the *plea of ignorance* the public official can claim that he or she did not intend or foresee the undesirable consequences resulting from the decision undertaken.
4. In the *horizontal diffusion of responsibility,* the official can note that the unpopular decision was the result of a group or committee decision, in which members have equal status and equal responsibility for the decision.
5. The *vertical diffusion responsibility* involves delegating responsibility to a decision-maker with a higher level of authority.

Political justifications involve: acceptance of responsibility, reframing of standards used to evaluate undesirability of decision consequences.

A. Reframing of consequences
    1. Future benefits
    2. present benefits
    3. Comparison to past problems
    4. Comparison to other social groups
    5. Comparison to hypothetical 'worse-case' scenario
B. Reframing principles
    1. Fairness
    2. Personal conscience

Justifications entail implicit or explicit admissions of responsibility, but a denial that the consequences of the decision are really undesirable. They also involve a general attempt by the politician to reframe the outcome. Choices between risky prospects can be manipulated merely by altering the manner in which those prospects are described or framed (Kahneman and Tversky, 1982). Preferences for structurally identical outcomes (e.g. expected utilities); vary with changes in frame (a violation of rational decision-making). This proposition has enormous implications for understanding the contextual determinants of human judgment and choice processes.

The five different justifications involve reframing of the consequences associated with an unpopular policy decision and all of which involve minimizing the perception of the undesirable consequences through a strategic shift in the comparison context. The first type involves directing the electorate's attention to the future benefits of the policy, emphasizing that 'in the long run' the policy will lead to positive outcomes. The second involves pointing out that there are some current benefits associated with the undesirable consequences that citizens have failed to consider. The fourth type of justification involves a social comparison reference in which the public official can point out that other social groups are suffering more than the accusing constituency. The last consequence justification involves a situation whereby an official offers a hypothetical worse-case scenario to argue that 'things could have been much worse'.

These consequences involve attempts by public officials to adjust the citizens' perception of the undesirability of the consequences of a policy: mainly because the consequences of the decision are not really so bad and therefore blame is unwarranted. A second distinct set of justifications focuses on moral principles rather than on consequences. The official here can argue that rather than narrowly focusing on the negative consequences, citizens ought to apply different standards in evaluating the decision. An example of such standard is a claim that the policy is warranted in the interest of greater societal fairness, and the second one is more personal in the sense that the official's value system or conscience required the chosen course of action. Both these appeals to norms are justifications in which the politician is claiming that if a different standard is applied, the policy decision is therefore not really undesirable. They both also involve reframing because there is a strategic shift in focus. However, these

last two justifications involve a shift in the normative standards used to evaluate the decision, whereas the first five involve the consequences of the decision.

Only four of the twelve accounts result in 20 per cent or more of the subjects evaluating someone more favorably, consistent with research that indicates that negative impressions are particularly difficult to change once formed. Most accounts are actually counterproductive, resulting in substantially more unfavorable evaluations. Even the most satisfactory accounts hover around the midpoint of the nine-point rating scale, indicating that none are viewed as extremely satisfactory.

The accounts that yield more favorable evaluations elicit the highest satisfaction ratings. The first four accounts which are: future benefits, conscience, fairness and past problems- are the most effective in changing evaluations in a positive direction and all of them are justifications. Both justifications of principle are effective. Fairness and following one's conscience are socially valued norms and as such it is difficult to find fault with those principles. Accordingly, few people evaluate the public official less favorably when he or she offered one of these normative principle justifications.

Two of the justifications involving reframing of consequences are relatively effective – focusing attention on future benefits or past problems. Both of these justifications focus attention on specific consequences that either have affected or will affect the 'blaming' constituency. Thus, an emphasis on personally relevant, tangible outcomes seems to be the most effective strategy for reframing consequences. The third justification emphasizing the personally relevant- the justification emphasizing present benefits- rarely result in more negative evaluations and it also elicits relatively high satisfaction ratings.

The consideration of the effective account reinforces the conclusion that the two justifications emphasizing normative principles are particularly effective. But, the largest discrepancy between the evaluation and satisfaction data is evident here especially justifications emphasizing past and future consequences, which led to more favorable evaluations. However, the two mitigating circumstances excuses-both past and present-elicit relatively high satisfaction ratings but do little to change evaluations of the public official. Perhaps, the claims of mitigating circumstances are among the most common

accounts that politicians offer reflecting the true state of affairs in which political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances, and that the satisfaction data reflect the fact that these excuses are common and hence acceptable. Or perhaps precisely because they are the norm, they (excuses) do little to enhance evaluations.

The present data indicates that some accounts can backfire- doing more harm irrespective of their underlying purpose, that of minimizing blame and to repair damaged reputations. The most ineffective accounts are likely to be excuses especially those involving diffusion of responsibility. Attempts to diffuse blame in decision contexts involving actors of equal status such as legislative body- have negative repercussions.

Pleas of ignorance also result in more negative evaluations and as such the majority of the electorate reacted negatively to this excuse.

Two of the justifications emphasizing consequences backfired: comparing the outcome to that received by another group or to a hypothetical 'worse-case' scenario. The shift in focus does not involve specific consequences that have affected or will affect the blaming constituency, but rather impersonal, non-specific consequences that do not directly have an impact on those upset with the policy.

In sum, preliminary evidence concerning the relative effectiveness of different types of political excuses and justifications has been provided by the study. Effective accounts include: (a) justifications that appeal to norms- fairness or conscience; (b) justifications that emphasize positive- past or future consequences directly relevant to the unhappy constituency; (c) excuses that claim mitigating external circumstances that are least partially responsible for the outcome. Ineffective accounts include (a) pleas of ignorance; (b) justifications that focus on outcomes not directly relevant to the unhappy constituency- specifically other districts and hypothetical possibilities; and (c) excuses that attempt to diffuse responsibility to other decision makers.

3.2.10.2 McGraw (1991)

Accounts can be differentiated into two basic types: excuses and justifications. 'Excuses deny some or any measure of responsibility for what is admittedly an offensive act. Justifications deny some or any measure of offensiveness of an act for which the

individual admits responsibility' (Semin and Manstead, 1983, p.80) Thus, a justification focuses on the outcome and claims that contrary to accusations, the consequences are not so undesirable and therefore that less or no blame is warranted. An excuse focuses on the causal link between the actor and the outcome and involves a denial of partial or full responsibility. Therefore, if the actor is not fully responsible then less or no blame is warranted. This distinction between excuses and justifications provides a useful organizing framework for thinking about blame management strategies, especially as it points to clear differences in the processing and interpretation of information.

The following is how the typology of political accounts has been developed:

Excuses

1. Past mitigating circumstances
2. Present mitigating circumstances
3. Horizontal diffusion of responsibility
4. Vertical diffusion of responsibility
5. Plea of ignorance

Justifications

1. Present benefits
2. Future benefits
3. Comparison to past
4. Comparison to others
5. Comparison to hypothetical
6. Fairness
7. Conscience

The most common political excuses involve the claim that mitigating circumstances are at least partially responsible for the decision Weaver (1986) uses the term "scapegoating" to describe this type of excuse. Mitigating circumstances can involve the past or the present. The second type of excuse involves diffusion of responsibility for the decision to others involved in the decision-making process. Diffusion of responsibility can be classified into: horizontal-where the official can argue that the decision is a joint product of a group of equal-status individuals, or vertical-where responsibility is

delegated to an individual or individuals of different status or authority. Thus, vertical diffusion can be differentiated according to direction: *upward-* by delegating responsibility to some authority higher in the decision-making chain, or *downward-* by blaming a subordinate. The final excuse entails a plea of ignorance whereby the official claims that he or she did not intend or foresee the undesirable consequences resulting from the decision- acts which are often associated with decreased personal responsibility. However, a plea of ignorance is not likely to be effective in the political realm "where officials are the instruments of their own ignorance" (Thompson, 1980, p.912). Thus, role obligations require elected officials to be aware of the consequences of their actions and failure to fulfill these obligations cannot be easily excused. As a result, pleas of ignorance would appear to be obviously poor political excuses.

Justifications entail explicit or implicit admissions of responsibility but a denial that the consequences of the decision are really undesirable. They are characterized by an attempt to reframe the undesirable outcome. There are different justifications involving a reframing of the consequences associated with an unpopular decision and they are all aimed at changing perceptions of the undesirability of the policy. The first one involves pointing out some present benefits associated with the decision that the constituency has failed to consider. The second involves directing the constituency's attention to the future benefits of the policy such as the policy's future positive outcomes. The third justification entails a comparison to past circumstances. The fourth one involves a social comparison- that other relevant social groups have experienced more losses than the accusing constituency. The fifth and the last justification involves an offer of hypothetical comparison-whereby the official provides a hypothetical simulation scenario which counteracts against the current scenario.

The second set of justifications focus on moral principles or norms rather than on policy consequences. The first form is the personal claim that the policy is warranted in the interest of greater societal fairness. The second norm is the official's claim that his or her value system or conscience required the decision. These two justifications are normative and are marked by a shift in the moral principles used to evaluate the decision.

3.2.10.3   McGraw and Hubbard (1996)

<u>Receiver Characteristics</u>

Trust in Government:

This is a domain-specific version of a more generalized trust in human nature and can be thought of as a "basic evaluative or affective orientation toward government" (Miller, 1974, p.952). People who are high in such trust should be more satisfied with political accounts because they are likely to view the source of the communication (politician) as honest, sincere and credible. That is, "trusting citizens should be predisposed to give officials the benefit of the doubt" (Sigelman, Sigelman and Walkosz, 1989) when evaluating political predicaments.

The positive inferences trusting individuals are likely to make about the politician providing the account should be differentiated between the *incumbent-based trust-* evaluations of politicians and government officials, and *regime-based trust* or feelings of attachment to the system. That is, satisfaction with accounts is mediated in part by positive evaluations of the politician- incumbent-based and not regime-based, trust in government should be the critical factor in account acceptance.

Machiavellianism:

Machiavelli (the Italian writer, Niccolò- a master of political persuasion) presented a philosophy of interpersonal manipulation as well as a practical guide for politician on how to use power and influence to manipulate the masses. Machiavellianism is a personality scale that measures the extent to which an individual believes that other people are manipulable and endorses the use of manipulative tactics and behaviorally showing a considerable skill in the art of manipulation. Low Machs are "soft touches" (Geis and Christie, 1970) who are easily influenced and persuadable and the "prototypic mark" (Snyder and Ickes, 1985).

This pattern of enhanced susceptibility to persuasion suggests that low Machs ought to be more accepting of political accounts than high Machs. Alternatively, if high Machs can be characterized as the "prototypic con man" (Snyder and Ickes, 1985), they may

identify with what they perceive as the manipulative tactics used by a politician faced with a predicament, and so express greater satisfaction with accounts than low Machs.

Political Sophistication:

Political sophistication is more properly conceived of as a capability rather than a personality characteristic. It is also referred to as expertise or awareness. Political sophistication "deserves to rank alongside party identification and ideology as one of the central constructs in the public opinion field" (Zaller, 1990) because it has pervasive effects on many important attitudinal processes. Sophistication can include several different components such as attention to and interest in political affairs, but recent analysts have argued convincingly for the superiority of factual knowledge about politics as the most valid indicator.

Sophisticates are both motivated and able to carefully scrutinize a politician's explanation. Careful message scrutiny is frequently accompanied by cognitive responses of either a positive or a negative nature, the direction of which is critical to acceptance of persuasive messages and subsequent attitude change. However, sophisticates should be less satisfied with explanations accounting for an unpopular policy because they are better able to generate counterarguments in order to reject the account.

<u>Acceptance of Accounts</u>

Initial Support Study

Excuses

1. *Past Mitigating Circumstances:* "I had to vote for the income tax bill because the previous administration's policies crippled our nation's economy; drastic measures had to be taken." (mean= .48)

2. *Present Mitigating Circumstances:* "I had to vote for the income tax bill because of the poor shape of the nation's economy; drastic measures had to be taken." (mean= .46)

3. *Horizontal Diffusion of Responsibility:* "Although I voted for the income tax bill, I think that it is important to remember that it was a group decision; the bill was passed by a majority of the House of Representatives." (mean= .33)

4. *Vertical Diffusion of Responsibility:* "Although I voted for the income tax bill, I think that it is important to remember that its ultimate passage will be due to the President signing it into law." (mean= .26)

5. *Plea of ignorance:* "I voted for the income tax bill, but it was complicated and I did not foresee that it would result in increase income taxes for so many residents of this district." (mean= .21)

Justifications

6. *Present Benefits:* "Although the bill will result in increased income taxes, I think it is important to remember that the increased revenue brings important benefits to this district." (mean= .39)

7. *Future Benefits:* :Although the bill will result in increased income taxes, in the long run the increased revenue will result in greater economic efficiency that will help this community and the entire nation." (mean= .48)

8. *Comparison to Past Circumstances:* "Although the bill will result in increased income taxes, I think it is important to remember that the tax rates are generally still lower than what they have been in the past." (mean= .39)

9. *Comparison to Others:* "Although the bill will result in increased taxes, I think it is important to remember that the bill had even more serious consequences in other districts in the nation." (mean= .36)

10. *"Worse-case" Comparison:* "Although the bill will result in increased income taxes, it could have been a lot worse. Other proposals would have raised taxes even more." (mean= .41)

11. *Fairness:* "I voted for the income tax bill because I believe the distribution of the tax burden is fairer for all of this nation's citizens than under the current tax scheme. (mean= .41)

12. *Conscience:* "I had to follow my conscience in voting for the income tax bill, and therefore I did what I thought was in the best interests of the community and the nation." (mean= .38)

Constituent Impact Study

Excuses

1. *Mitigating Circumstances:* "I didn't feel that I had a choice on this one because a change was necessary. The failure of this nation's previous education policies requires drastic solutions such as those included in the education bill." (mean= .40)

2. *Diffusion of Responsibility to Staff:* "…and very complicated. Unfortunately, my staff failed to provide me with complete information about the likely consequences of the bill and therefore I wasn't made fully aware of all of its possible ramifications." (mean= .22)

Justifications

3. *Party loyalty:* "I agree with the leaders of my party that the passage of this bill is in the nation's best interests, and I voted accordingly." (mean= .35)

4. *Benefits:* "I voted for the education bill because I think that it also brings with it real benefits for this district. For example, as part of the same package of legislation, funds have been set aside for research on improving science education and reducing dropout rates." (mean= .43)

5. *"Worse-case Comparison:* "This education bill could have been a lot worse. For example, other versions of the bill were considered that would have resulted in much more serious cuts in funding for this district." (mean= .33)

6. *Normative Justification:* "I voted for the education bill because I believe that under the new allocation criteria the distribution of education funds is fairer, going to those

who need the funding the most. I followed my conscience and did what I thought was the right thing to do." (mean= .42)

Note: the means reported in the parenthesis are the mean ratings for each account, collapsing across the manipulated independent variables in each study, where higher values reflect more satisfaction.

<u>Patterns and Conclusions</u>

It is clear that some accounts work better than others and some fail miserably, at least in the context of explaining unpopular policy votes. Some patterns are consistently evident: Firstly, justifications appealing to normative principles-ethical standards such as fairness and the dictates of one's conscience are generally among the more effective accounts. Secondly, among justifications directly challenging perceptions of the consequences of the policy, those pointing to additional benefits are more acceptable than those involving more abstract comparisons. Thirdly, among excuses, claims of mitigating circumstances are relatively effective, reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances. Lastly, excuses involving diffusions of responsibility or pleas of ignorance are consistently poor accounts.

Thus, the data from these two experiments provide moderately reasonable support for three conclusions regarding the predispositional determinants of acceptance of political accounts: (a) those that are more trusting of government officials, (b) Machiavellians and (c) those who are less knowledgeable about politics are more likely to be satisfied with the explanations provided to account for an unpopular policy vote. Feelings of diffuse system support had less of an impact on account acceptance and to the extent that regime-based trust was associated with satisfaction, its effects were opposite in direction to incumbent-based trust.

3.2.11.1   Snyder (1985)

The definition of excuses is expanded so as to include activities that heretofore may not have been conceptualized as excuses. As a result, in this stretching of the excuse-making concept, the subtlety as well as the pervasiveness of excuses in one's daily

existence may become more apparent. Excuses thus play an integral role in most of our lives, and as such they do not just apply to other people.

The underlying assumption in this study is that excuses are driven by the person's attempt to maintain a positive self-image. The self is a person's private mental picture of a personally relevant event along a continuum of identity dimensions. A personally relevant event may include actions that the person perpetrated, or may include actions that the person is linked to but did not even perform (e.g., a son being blamed for the sins of the father). Identity dimensions thus represent important areas in a person's life and include continuums of intellectual, athletic, interpersonal, or other activities. The individual self-images may yield an overall appraisal of oneself and may contribute to the person's "self concept".

Self-images are constantly playing in the theatre of one's mind and the usual goal is to preserve the positiveness of these images. The major motivation is to maintain self-esteem.

Self-images are often for both external and internal audiences. External audience refers to all those people or critics who may "evaluate" a person's actions (e.g., parents, teachers, bosses, judges, etc.). This emphasis on the role of the external audience has been categorized under impression management. The internal audience on the other hand reflects on the individual's standards and values. This often entails an incorporation of the standards of the external audience. Symbolic interactionism captures this perspective by suggesting that we are constantly imagining how others would see us. It is however very common for a person to simultaneously attend to external and internal audiences.

Excuses thus come alive because of a threat to a person's self-image. A threatened self-image occurs when a person appears to be responsible for a negative performance of some sort. It is then appropriate to briefly examine the factors that contribute to a negative performance, and a sense of responsibility for that performance.

These are the factors:
- Issues pertaining to the negativity of the performance
- Clarity of standard

- Importance of activity
- Intentionality
- Power of the critic
- Issues pertaining to the responsibility for a bad performance
- Consensus
- Consistency
- Distinctiveness

Low consensus, high consistency and low distinctiveness information may all contribute to a heightened perception of responsibility for a bad performance. The greater the negativity of the performance and the greater the seeming responsibility of the person for that performance, then the more threatened the self-image should be. These elements have a great potential of shaking/threatening one's self-image and as such something has to be done to rehabilitate and save the self-image. The action taken often takes a form of an excuse.

Snyder (1985) suggested three components through which excuses may function:

1. The apparent-responsibility link represents the information that connects the person to a bad performance. It also reveals whether or not the person actually performed the bad act. This component has to be established before the subsequent appraisal can be made of the person's role in a bad performance. The first line of attack for an excuse maker who is seeking to establish that he or she had nothing to do with the bad performance, which mostly manifests itself by pleas for innocence such as "I didn't do it", is often represented through the apparent-responsibility link.

2. The negative performance represents any action that does not meet the standards established by the person and the society. The further the performance falls below standards, the more negative it is perceived. If the excuse-maker admits his or her apparent responsibility for the performance, then the next strategy may be lessening the negativity of the performance through a variety of maneuvers such as reframing or altering the appearance of the negative consequence by arguing that "It's really not so bad".

3. The transformed-responsibility link is the third excuse component that reflects additional information mostly of a psychological nature, which modifies the degree to

which a person should be perceived as being responsible for the bad performance. If the actor admits that he or she "did it" and acknowledge at the same time that the performance is bad, then the transformed-responsibility excuses will lessen the eventual sense of responsibility and personal as well as societal condemnation.

The <u>apparent-responsibility excuses</u> actually attempt to sever the link between the bad performance and the person. Lessening the apparent responsibility ("I didn't do it") is done through the use of innocence and the blaming strategies.

"It wasn't me" is pledge of innocence and the person may have an alibi to prove his or her innocence, and make that more effective by pointing out the person who performed the act.

"It was the…" is the blaming type which can be done through placing responsibility for the bad performance on other group members such as "passing the buck". Another example of blaming involves situations whereby an individual assertion of disengagement, which is when one, may associate or claim membership with the successful group or may denounce membership in an unsuccessful group.

The <u>reframing excuses</u> ("It's really not so bad") are aimed at diminishing the negativity of the bad performance. These are subdivided into: "See no evil, hear no evil"; "Manipulating the standards for the bad performance"; and "Derogating the sources of the negative feedback".

"See no evil, hear no evil" suggests that the person doesn't comprehend the negativity of his or her bad performance. This reframing excuse reflects a perceptually linked tactic. Secondly, reframing excuses involve situations where a person may cause harm to another and argue that the damage isn't really very bad ("Oh come off it; it didn't hurt that much"), and these are referred to as "choice-harm de-escalate" effect. This type of excuse is prevalent when the person has chosen to engage in the harmful activity. The third reframing excuse is the "victim-derogation" effect whereby the victim is reduced or transformed into an object that is deserving of injury.

"Manipulating standards for bad performance" focuses on the standards that apply to the performance wherein the excuse-maker attempts to rework the standards so as to

provide a more charitable view of his or her particular bad performance. For instance, arguing that "There is no way to judge this sort of thing" or "The test wasn't clear at all" is a means of manipulating the standards by questioning their clarity. The excuse-maker may also employ the reframing tactic to lower the standards probably by citing how messy the current situation is and that it will take a while to correct it. If these two options fail, then the excuse-maker may try to change them to accommodate his or her performance more like "changing the rules after the game has started" with much considerable skill though. Another way of manipulating the standards is to "exonerate moral reasoning", which involves embedding the seemingly bad act into another context such as making the bad performance part of larger and yet virtuous performance.

"Derogating the sources of negative feedback" is meant to discredit the sources and the evaluative instrument that generate the negative feedback. According to research, people who receive negative as compared to positive personal feedback are more prone to derogate the testing instruments. Another way of derogating the testing instruments is to derogate the evaluator who generates the negative feedback.

Lessening the transformed responsibility ("Yes, but…") is aimed at claiming/blaming the special extenuating circumstances relevant to the bad performance whereby the excuse-maker admits to having performed the act in question, admits that "it is bad" and then followed by a series of "yes, but…" utterances. This particular type of excuse is done through:

Consensus raising is based or aimed at claiming that others would have done the same thing in a particular situation, and thereby lessening the excuse-maker's psychological responsibility. This type of excuse is actually aimed at appealing to task difficulty or luck as determining one's poor performance. According to research findings, people tend to engage in excuse-like external attributions of task difficulty and luck, rather than internal attributions related to ability and effort after a failure experience.

Another type of consensus-raising involves the coercion-based notion that "I was merely following orders" or "He made me do it." Thus, coercion-based excuses raise consensus by implying that anyone in the dame circumstances would behave in the same manner.

Consensus-raising excuses may also be employed through projection, which is the process whereby the person avoids a psychological threat by ascribing personal deficiencies and failings to other people. This is actually projecting one's weaknesses onto others after a bad performance and also a way making one feel better.

Consistency lowering is aimed at endorsing the fact that the bad act in a given situation is very unusual for the person. By employing this type of excuse, the excuse-maker is suggesting that he or she should not be held totally responsible for this "one bad behavior." This can be done through verbalizations such as "I didn't mean to" which show the actor's lack of intentionality. However, people are held more accountable for negative actions that are foreseeable as compared to those actions that are unforeseeable.

A second consistency-lowering excuse relates to diminished effort: "I didn't try." The internal factor of effort may serve as excuse function. By arguing for or exhibiting lowered effort, the excuse makers are suggesting that on future occasions they would do much better if they "really tried". This is a case of where the lowered effort may heighten the ambiguity as to the real reason for the poor performance.

A related process is inherent in self-handicapping theory, which posits that individuals may adopt a self-label that generates inconsistency-related excuses (e.g., drug use, alcohol consumption, test-anxiety, poor health background, shyness symptoms and history of traumatic life events). The person is shielded from the threatening arena by the inconsistency that is inherent in each of self-handicaps.

Distinctiveness raising: Here the excuse maker suggests that unlike the poor performance in one situation, there are other somewhat different performance arenas where he or she has performed well. By doing this the excuse makers are suggesting that their idiosyncratic credits should allow them to be held less responsible for a bad performance in one particular situation.

One way of increasing distinctiveness is to divert the attention from the poor performance arena to those arenas where one has done better. According to the research conducted related to this topic, when people are shown to have a weakness in one area, they will compensate by presenting themselves positively in other areas.

3.2.11.2 Snyder, Higgins (1990)

There are two dimensions of appraisal that are established early in childhood. The first dimension involves the perceived <u>linkage</u> of the person to a particular act or outcome. Thus, a person may have no linkage to an act, that is no sense of agency or association is present between a person and the outcome, or it may increasingly be linked to an act to the point of absolute linkage.

The second dimension is the <u>valence</u> of the act which gives the linkage a meaning. At this level the act may vary from the one that is perceived as very negative to the one that is very positive.

Motivational biases become more important when one tries to understand how people react to negative self-relevant input, and for that reason they serve to temper the magnitude of the revisions that are made in the overall self-theory.

People are motivated to preserve three illusions about themselves:
- An unrealistically positive self-evaluation
- An exaggerated sense of control, and
- Unrealistic optimism or hope.

These illusions are associated with greater adaptiveness such as an enhanced happiness, caring for others, persistence and performance at tasks.

The emphasis of this view is that each of these motives can be related to the two basic appraisal dimensions that are posited. This relation could be employed by maximizing the positiveness of acts and one's linkage to these acts, or by minimizing the negativeness of acts and one's linkage to those acts, and by so doing the person would be preserving his or her positive self-evaluation, sense of control and optimism or hope.

Reality negotiation is the motivated process of responding to feedback about oneself so as to sustain the person's basic theory of self. By reacting to new, discrepant information through the negotiated reality process, the person derives a revised self-view.

Such a process is a motivated process of reacting to information relevant to one's theory of self. In the reality negotiation process, the person seeks to sustain a personal theory

that he or she is linked to positive acts. Reality negotiation may occur in the context of protecting oneself against negative feedback, but it may also reflect an enhancing process whereby one attempts to augment the favorable implications of he feedback.

The negative self is very concrete in nature and for that reason it is activated in specific situations and provides a vivid benchmark from which people seek to distance themselves in terms of both linkage and valence.

The reality negotiation process must operate within the constraints of external reality as defined by other people even when the temptation to bias information to support personal theories of self is strong (e.g. delusions). Within this sense, external reality is thus defined as consensual agreement among other people.

Another point of elaboration is that reality negotiation process provides a mechanism not only for determining the shape of the revised self-concept on the appraisal dimensions, but it also controls the rate by which we have to adapt to threatening self-relevant information (Janoff-Bulman & Timko, 1987). Thus, it allows for the slowing of the change process and by so doing facilitating a better formulated revised theory of self.

In sum, reality negotiation process is a biased, enhancing or protecting process that operates to achieve a favorable perceived position along the dimensions of valence-of-act and linkage-to-act. All varieties of defense mechanisms reflect the protective reality negotiation process. Furthermore, excuse-making is a prime example of protective reality negotiation.

Excuse-making is a strategy that protects the personal theory of self by diminishing the perceived linkage between the person and the bad act, and/ or the badness of the act. Excuse-making employs both the linkage-to-act and the valence-of-act dimensions.

It is alleged that excuse-making is ignited in concrete situations where the person experiences high degree of linkage to an act that is bad. The extent of the initial sense of linkage depends on four factors:

- The importance of the activity for one's identity.
- Influential external source such as high status powerful other person.

- The greater the number of external sources that converge to give feedback regarding one's linkage to an act, the stronger the linkage.
- The greater extent to which the external audience has the facts regarding the situation, the stronger the linkage to the act.

The reality negotiation excuse-making process is tailored to the reactions of external audiences such as the judges.

The protagonist at the beginning of this process selects an excuse that appears plausible to the appropriate audiences that may be involved. The term 'audiences', refers to the inner audience of the protagonist as well as an external audience with whom the protagonist will have to negotiate.

People in general have self-serving biases about themselves and for that reason it is not surprising that the excuse-giver is predisposed to believe his or her excuse. In addition, the excuse-making process should proceed automatically at a low level of awareness unless it is brought into attention by the salient external audience. Thus, as excuses take on the status of reasons in our minds, the state of self-deception may occur about the whole process. What this means is that people do not believe that they are making excuses, which have bad connotations, but rather they hold that they have reasons for their actions. The reality negotiation inherent in excuses typically should sustain the person's positive self-theory.

Here the protagonist offers a first excuse; the external audience may or may not accept the excuse; the protagonist revises the excuse on and on until the excuse is settled on by both the protagonist and the external audience or no agreement is reached.

External audiences exhibit the same kind of positive biases in forming perceptions of others. The overall dialogue process between the excuse-maker and the external audience may reflect a collaborative illusion in which the transgressor and the audience typically arrive at a negotiated reality that is maximally benign for the transgressor given the circumstances.

3.2.12.1   Schönbach, P. (1990)

Account episodes can be viewed as a succession of stages of events. A basic model of an account episode comprises of two agents, an "actor" and an "opponent", who engage in an interaction across four phases:

1. Failure event. The actor is rightly or wrongly held at least partly responsible by the opponent for a failure event, that is the volition of a normative expectation held by the opponent. This can either be an acted offence or the omission of an obligation.
2. Reproach phase. Frequently the opponent reacts to the failure event with some kind of a reproach, ranging from a raised eyebrow or a seemingly innocuous why-question to most violent vituperations. However, instead of, or is addition to a reproach, the opponent may also offer other reasons such as an expression of sympathy or compassion during this phase, or may genuinely ask without any negative insinuation why the failure event occurred.
3. Account phase. The actor's reaction to the opponent's utterance is often an account in the narrow sense- an excuse or a justification; hence the label account phase for this stage of the interaction. Other prominent types of reaction during this phase are concessions of one's own responsibility or guilt, or else some direct or indirect refusal to offer an account or to admit one's responsibility.
4. Evaluation phase. Eventually, either right after the actor's account, concession or refusal, or after some more altercations between the two agents, the opponent will come to an evaluation of any or all of the following: the account or account substitute, the failure event in the light of the account, and the actor's personality in the light of both the failure event and the account.

There are four cardinal categories or aspects of distribution of accounts and account alternatives: concessions, excuses, justifications and refusals/denials.

He argues that a concession is "an admission of a violation of some normative expectations held by others, particularly the opponent in the account episode, and at the same time an explicit or implicit admission of the actor's full or partial causal responsibility for the failure event" (p.78). He divided concessions into three and suggests that actors can use concessions choosing from the following forms:

1. Peripheral concessions:

   ▪ Willingness to report on the event question without excuse, justification or refutational comment

   ▪ Acknowledgement of negative aspects of the failure event, but no concession of own involvement

   ▪ Acknowledgement of opponent's right or reason to question or reproach the actor, to be disturbed, disappointed or angry.

2. Admission of responsibility, guilt, mistake, shame, embarrassment:

   ▪ Partial admission of some responsibility, guilt or mistake

   ▪ Full admission of responsibility, guilt or mistake , and explicit abstention from excuse or justification

   ▪ Admission of shame or embarrassment

3. Expression of regret:

   ▪ Expression of regret concerning the failure event. Focus of regret not specified or uncertain

   ▪ Expression of regret concerning own role in the failure event

   ▪ Expression of regret concerning the consequences of the failure event for the victim(s). Hope for the victim's well-being

   ▪ Expression of regret concerning inability to provide any (or sufficient) restitution or compensation

   ▪ Announcement of restitutions or compensations to be offered or already provided in acknowledgment of own responsibility or guilt in connection with the failure event

   ▪ Formal offer of apology or request for pardon or mercy, addressed to the victim or other related persons in acknowledgement of own responsibility for the occurrence of the failure event.

Schönbach (1990) defines an excuse as any account which admits the occurrence of a failure event and some involvement of the actor in it, but pleads for mitigation in judgment on the basis of various arguments including claims of impairment and hence reduced causal responsibility. He categorizes excuses into five:

1. Pleas for mitigation in judgment, based on claims of impairment of capacity and/or volition:

   ▪ Claims of impairment of capacity and/or volition, source of impairment unspecified or uncertain

   ▪ Claims of impairment due to fatigue or exhaustion

   ▪ Claims of impairment due to alcohol or drugs

   ▪ Claims of impairment due to physical illness

   ▪ Claims of impairment due to momentary affective or mental state-such as intense rage or fear

   ▪ Claims of impairment due to mental illness

   ▪ Claims of impairment due to lack of training or lack of experience

   ▪ Admission of perplexity or helplessness as to what to say in view of the situation or the reproach

   ▪ Claims of impairment due to situational constraints such as stimulus overload, inscrutability or uncontrollability of the situation, unforeseeability of events

   ▪ Claims of impairment due to time pressure

   ▪ Claims of restriction of free course of action due to loyalties to higher-order norms, values or standards, implying a plea for mitigation in judging the failure event

   ▪ Claims of restriction of free course due to loyalties to specific other persons, implying a plea for mitigation in judging the failure event

   ▪ Claims of impairment due to powerful agents such as denial of access to information or threat of punishment for disobedience

   ▪ Claims of impairment due to provocation by: the accuser, the victim and by the persons other than the accuser and/or the victim.

2. Pleas for mitigation in judgment, based on arguments other than impairment claims involve:

   ▪ Appeal to participation of other co-actors in the failure event as frames of reference for mild judgments

- Appeal to the participation of the accuser, the victim and persons other than the accuser and/or the victim as co-actor in the failure event, implying a claim of shared responsibility and hence a plea for mitigation in judgment.

3. Appeal to limitations, negative traits or misdeeds of other persons as frame of reference for mild judgments include and not limited to the following:

   - Appeal to limitations, negative traits or misdeeds of: (i) the accuser, (ii) the victim and (iii) of the persons other than the accuser and/or the victim as frame of reference for evaluation of the failure event, implying a plea for mitigation in judgment.

4. Plea for mitigation in judgment on the basis of assertions about actor's self, past or present involves and not limited to the following aspects:

   - Appeal to own underprivileged past; good record in the past apart from the failure event; present identity, role or status in relation to other persons, implying a plea for mitigation in judgment
   - Pleas for mitigation in judgment on the basis of assertions about actor's role concerning the failure event
   - Appeal to conviction of the legitimacy of the failure event; good intentions or lack of bad intentions, effort and care in connection with the failure event, implying a plea for mitigation in judgment.
   - Appeal to restitution or compensations offered or already provided, implying a plea for mitigation judgment, and
   - Appeal to own learning experience in connection with the failure event and/or promise of avoidance of similar failures in the future, implying a plea for mitigating judgment.

5. Plea for mitigation in judgment on the basis of assertions about characteristics of the failure event include but not limited to the following:

   - Minimization of the failure aspects of the event, implying a plea for mitigation in judgment
   - Denial of damage, implying a plea for mitigation in judgment
   - Minimization of damage, implying a plea for mitigation in judgment

- Appeal to positive consequences or effects of the failure event, implying a plea for mitigation in judgment
- Expression of hope for understanding, pardon or mercy with respect to the failure event, and/or hope for the continuation or restoration of good relationship with the victim or other persons involved, and
- Expression of concern with respect to the failure event and/or the damage done to the victim, offered in the hope of understanding, pardon or mercy, and/or hope of the continuation or restoration of good relationship with the victim, the opponent or other persons involved.

According to Schönbach (1990), justification is an "account strategy by which the actor accepts causal responsibility for the event in question, but asserts that it was legitimate or at least permissible under the given circumstances" (p. 80). Concessions are then sub-divided into the following:

1. Claims of situational constraints, time pressures, obedience and/or pressure by powerful agents, and appeal to loyalties to higher-order norms, values or standards as fully or partly legitimizing own behavior. This includes appeals to loyalties to specific other persons as basis for explicit or implicit claims of legitimacy of own behavior.

2. Claims of full or partial legitimacy in view of provocations by various agents:

- Claims of full or partial legitimacy of own behavior in view of provocation by the accuser
- By the victim, and
- By persons other than the victim and/or the accuser.

3. Claims of full or partial legitimacy in view of participations of other agents in the failure event:

- Claims of full or partial legitimacy of own behavior in view of the participation of the accuser, of the victim and/ or of persons other than the victim and/or the accuser in the failure event.

4. Claims of full or partial legitimacy of own behavior in view of limitations, negative traits or misdeeds of other persons such as:

  ▪ The accuser, the victim and/or persons other than the victim and/or the accuser.

5. Appeals to the right of self-fulfillment:

  ▪ Claims of full or partial legitimacy of own behavior in view of own underprivileged past; own good record in the past apart from the failure event; present identity, role or status in relation to other persons appeal to the right of self-fulfillment

  ▪ Appeal to the right of self-fulfillment supported by other arguments or without supporting argument.

6. Claims of full or partial legitimacy on ht basis of assertions about actor's role in the failure event include, but not limited to:

  ▪ Appeal to conviction of the legitimacy of the failure event as basis of explicit or implicit claim of full or partial legitimacy of own behavior

  ▪ Appeal to good intentions or lack of bad intentions in connection with the failure event

  ▪ Appeal to effort and care in connection with the failure event, and

  ▪ Appeal to restitutions or compensations offered or already provided, implying claim of full or partial legitimacy of own behavior.

7. Claims of full or partial legitimacy on the basis of assertions about characteristics of the failure event including but not limited to the following issues:

  ▪ Minimization of the failure aspects of the event
  ▪ Denial of damage
  ▪ Minimization of damage
  ▪ Appeal to positive consequences or side effects of the failure event, implying claim of full or partial legitimacy of own behavior.

There are two kinds of refusals, (i) outright denials to give an account in the strict sense, with assertions that the alleged failure event had not taken place at all, and (ii) offering explanatory statements in support of refutations of any right to question or reproach the

actor or as an explanation of a denial of any further comment or account. Refusals are divided into the following categories:

1. Refutation of allegation of a failure event or actor's involvement in such an event, such as:

   - Denial of occurrence of the alleged failure event
   - Denial of own involvement in the failure event
   - Denial of opponent's right or reason to question or reproach the actor, stated baldly, without supporting argument
   - Refusal to concede guilt or responsibility for the occurrence of the failure event
   - Refusal to accept responsibility for the solution of the problem created by the failure event. Denial of own contribution to restitution or compensation
   - Refusal to accept in the future a task assignment similar to the one for which the actor now has to bear blame
   - Refutation of a specific reproach or argument as wrong or unjustified (regardless of actor's willingness or refusal to accept some or full responsibility for the failure event).

2. Unrestricted attribution of responsibility for the failure event to other persons such as:

   - The accuser
   - The victim, and
   - Persons other than the victim and/or the accuser.

3. Evasions and mystifications such as:

   - Deferral of account to another time or occasion
   - Referral of accuser to another source of information
   - Irrelevant talk
   - Silence
   - Other evasions or mystifications.

4. Denial of right o question or reproach in view of:

- Unforseeability or unpreventability of the failure event due to situational constraints, or in view of the immutability of the failure event (e.g. It has happened and can't be changed, so stop complaining about it.)
- Temporal constraints connected with the failure event
- Loyalties to higher-order norms, values or standards
- Loyalties to specific other persons
- Obedience to authorities or of pressure exerted by powerful agents.

5. Denial of the right to question or reproach in view of provocations by various agents such as:

- The accuser
- The victim, and/or
- Persons other than the victim and/or the accuser.

6. Denial of the right to question or reproach in view of participation of other persons as co-actors in the failure event, such as:

- The accuser
- the victim, and/or
- Persons other than the accuser and/or the victim.

7. Denial of the right to question or reproach in view of the limitations, negative traits or misdeeds of other persons, such as:

- Those of the accuser,
- The victim and/or
- Persons other than the accuser and/or the victim.

8. Denial of the right to question or reproach based on self-relevant comments in view of:

- Own underprivileged past
- Good record in the past, apart from the failure event
- Present own identity, role or status in relation to victim, accuser or other persons
- Right to self-fulfillment, supported by other arguments or without supporting argument.

9. Refutation of the right to question or reproach on the basis of assertions about actor's role in connection with the failure event as is the case in:

- Appeals to conviction of legitimacy of the failure event
- Assertion of good intentions in connection with the failure event
- Assertion of effort and care and
- Assertion of restitution or compensations offered or already provided, implying a refutation of the right to question or reproach.

10. Refutation of the right to question or reproach on the basis of assertions about characteristics of the failure event such as:

- Minimization of the failure aspects of the event
- Denial of damage
- Assertion of positive consequences or side effects of the failure event, implying a refutation of the right to question or reproach.

3.2.12.2   Schönbach, Kleibaumhüter (1990)

The account episode is a domain of discourse which denotes a model of interaction between an actor and an opponent. This interaction occurs through the following phases, which are also known as phases of account:

1. Failure event: The actor is held partly responsible by an opponent for a failure event, which might be a violation of the opponent's normative expectation. The act in question could be an acted offence or failure to fulfill the obligation

2. Reproach phase: The opponent reacts to the failure event through a reproach which could be non-verbal, statements or the why questions.

3. Account phase: The actor's reaction to the opponent's reproach is an account which could be an excuse or justification, concessions of own responsibility or guilt, or refusal to offer an account or refusal to admit responsibility for the failure event.

4. Evaluation phase: After the process of the accounting phase, the opponent evaluates the account or its substitute, the failure event in the light of the failure event, and the actor's personality in the light of the failure event and account. .

Account episodes are the integral parts of various types of social processes and occur at all levels of complexity. Granted that legal and moral norms and institutional provisions which facilitate an orderly course and a beneficial accomplishment of account episodes exist, and also granted that such positive outcomes are indeed often achieved, why do account episodes nevertheless founder in so many cases in which an objective observer would not see a head-on collision of fundamental interests and hence foundering of the account episode as an inevitable consequence?

<u>Three Hypotheses</u> were tendered regarding the reciprocal relationship between need for control and need for self-esteem:

1. The greater the severity of a reproach, the more defensive, within limits, will be the actor's reaction during the account phase.
2. The greater an actor's habitual need for control, the more defensive, within limits, will be his or her reaction during the account phase, given that the opponent's reproach phase reaction has exceeded a threshold value of severity.
3. Account phase reactions of male actors are, on the average, more defensive than the reactions of female actors.

<u>Discussion of test results</u>:

Severity of Reproach

The findings support the prediction that a reproach with the actor's sense of control or self-esteem as primary target would elicit defensive reactions. Thus, such a reproach does not only strengthen an actor's tendency to refute the opponent's charge or justify his or her behavior during the failure event, but also weakens the actor's readiness to offer some concessions.

Masculinity

Findings also support the hypothesis about the stronger defensiveness of males as compared to females. The comparatively weak gender effect is partly due to the fact that the babysitter situation employed in the study is considered typically feminine domain, and as such the female respondents may have reacted with relatively strong defenses to the imputation of a failure in this situation. In contrary to this situation, males appeared

to be more defensive in a role-playing situation after a breach of trust by the actor and also in a setting after a dubious self-defense.

Need for control

The second hypothesis, predicting control need effects on defensiveness of accounts, is seen to have been strengthened by the findings, with need for competence and influence as a measure of control needs. The interaction between the level of control need and the type of reproach is thus not significant in this case. Therefore, the need for competence interacts significantly with gender of respondents with respect to the degree of defensiveness, and as such, there is no reason to believe that the feeling of competence control and the need for such control have different connotations for men and for women.

3.2.13 Gonzales et al. (1992)

There are four variables that surface within the political accountability arena. Power of the politician or the political official is the first variable and is often manipulated by varying the status of their offices. The second one is blameworthiness of the politicians which is manipulated to vary whether their predicament is the result of accidental or intentional behavior. In the third variable, which is the type of account proffered by the politician-three types of accounts are varied. It has been found that in using refusal, politicians consistently refuse to comment on the allegations. When the condition escalates, politicians provide mitigating accounts such as concession and excuses with increasingly aggravating accounts such as justifications and refusals. Politicians also provide aggravating accounts with increasingly mitigating accounts within the deescalating condition. The party affiliation of the politician also plays a major role within political accountability.

Accounts are verbal explanations extended and evaluated in a social context and as such Brown and Levinson's (1987) sociolinguistic politeness theory is the key model for predicting the effects of politicians' accounts. Brown and Levinson have posited a number of social variables that will influence the extent of politeness revealed in linguistic structure: (i) the social distance between interactants, (ii) the power relation between them and (iii) the degree to which a face-threatening act is an imposition in a

given culture. This model is useful in predicting the consequences of accounts in the aftermath of a transgressor, for example, responses to politicians' explanations for ethical violations or personal misconduct.

Social Distance:

It is often based on variables such as frequency of intention, the exchange of goods and services and shared social attributes. In the political domain, one index of social distance is partisanship. Research has also discovered that people extend a self-serving bias to those who are socially close to them such as married couples. This "other serving" bias has also been shown to affect evaluations of the performance of candidates in a political debate. Thus, in the political domain, low social distance reflected in shared party affiliation may yield more lenient responses to politicians, their misdeeds and their explanations for them than will high social distance reflected in non-shared affiliation.

Power:

Power reflects the extent to which we can impose our plans or self-evaluations on others at the expense of their preferences. Brown and Levinson (1987) cite two sources of power: material control and metaphysical power. Politicians attain material power through access to and control of resources. However, metaphysical power is a legitimate power which is conferred by the status inherent in fulfilling specific roles/duties. Power confers many interpersonal advantages including the license to be less polite than less powerful others *Brown and Levinson, 1987). Because power is inversely related to politeness demands, it seems reasonable to assume that the accounts of high-power politicians will be more generously received by the electorate than the accounts of less powerful politicians. Furthermore, power may be expected to influence the effectiveness of different kinds of accounts.

According to politeness terms, the degree of imposition refers to the extent to which our actions threaten the face needs of others. The extent of imposition often refers to the expected cost associated with a given interpersonal behavior. A powerful index of the severity of a transgression, the extent to which an actor has threatened the face needs of others, is the inherent blameworthiness of an account- independent of the consequences of that action.

Social transgressions are impositions because they represent an undue burden on others' face needs. Moving from an accountability perspective, to willfully and without trepidation trample the needs, desires or preferences of others is to denigrate their worth. Thus, blameworthy intentional offences constitute more serious transgressions than less blameworthy accidental or negligent offences. One might posit that as perceived blameworthiness increases, accounts will be increasingly ineffectual in securing favorable evaluations from those who witness to or are affected by harm-doing. Some offences are so objectionable that no accounts are effective enough in extricating offenders.

The sociolinguistic theory enables one to predict the evaluative responses of constituencies when politicians engage in misconduct and attempt to explain it. Politicians of greater or lesser stature commit offences that appear to be more or less serious or blameworthy. In those situations, they provide explanations for their conduct to members of the electorate, some of whom are socially close by virtue of the shared partisanship. Thus, politeness theory concepts of social distance, power, and extent of imposition are useful concepts for predicting the electorate's private reactions to public political transgressions.

There are two general strategies of impression management in the aftermath of character-damaging reports or allegations: excuses and justifications. Excuses involve acknowledgment of wrongdoing and denial of personal responsibility for an act or its consequences due to such mitigating circumstances as lack of intent or foreseeability, external circumstances or the role of powerful others. Justifications involve assumption of responsibility for an unbecoming behavior, but denial of its pejorative qualities- in essence; a redefinition of the act or its consequences as something less serious than it appears at first.

Politicians frequently deny the veracity of allegations- that is they proffer refusals.

Refusals may involve denial of an offense or the politician's role in it, denial of the right of others to issue reproaches or ascription of blame to others.

Concessions may include assumption of partial or full responsibility for the failure event or its consequences, expressions of regret and sometimes offers of restitution. When

confronted with allegations of misconduct, politicians may acknowledge wrongdoing, express remorse and offer to rectify the situation.

The four types of accounts as discussed above can also be ordered on a mitigation-aggravation continuum, reflecting the extent to which they mitigate or exacerbate tension and interpersonal conflict. For instance, concessions are likely to mitigate conflict; offenders have acknowledged a predicament as defined by others, have assumed responsibility and have expressed regret or remorse. Excuses are less mitigating. Justifications pose a threat towards others' face and as such they are aggravating with refusals being the most aggravating accounts of them all.

Accounts are frequently extended and evaluated in discrete social encounters in which the character implications and objective consequences of misconduct are negotiated and resolved. However, both the implications of misconduct and explanations for it exert effects beyond the immediate encounter. What this means is that, politicians carry with them vestiges of previous allegations and accounts as new allegations or facts are revealed. However, some politicians are more consistent than others in their use of accounting strategies. Goffman (1959) asserts that it is easier for social actors to choose an image to present consistently than to change an initial impression. People are thus motivated to appear consistent to others as inconsistent appearances lead to perceptions of instability and reduced credibility. Thus, the evidence appears mixed with regard to the effects of consistency when actors account for their conduct. To this view, self-presentation theorists emphasize both the salience of consistency motivations and the social importance of behavioral consistency.

3.2.14   Read (1992)

One needs the construction of an account, especially when one is being reproached for some social failure such as violating important social rules or harming someone. He argues that the important thing about the construction of accounts is that they are intended to be honored by the recipient/s.

Read provides a model of how people construct accounts, based on a knowledge structure approach to explanation and causal reasoning. This model is based on Shank

and Abelson's (1977) knowledge structure approach and other recent work in text comprehension and cognitive science.

He maintains that this model is based on the argument that judgments of the coherence of an account play a major role both in its construction and in its evaluation. The coherence of an account is strongly based on goal-based and causal links among the elements composing it. Another key feature of the present model is the claim that in order to construct accounts that will be honored we must take the perspective of our reproachers in constructing our accounts and evaluate how coherent they are likely to find them to be.

The term "account" has been used by some researchers to refer to the narratives or stories that we use to explain and make sense of social interaction, and some have used "account" to mean the way in which people try to affect a repair of a social failure. Both these kinds of accounts rely on the same cognitive processes for their construction even though their functions differ.

The account sequence begins with the failure event for which an account must be given. A reproach or request for repair which identifies what needs to be accounted for and thereby tells the accounter to what things he or she needs to attend is needed. In responding, the accounter must give an account, an account which the reproacher then evaluates for its adequacy in effecting the repair.

There are four major types of accounts:

- Excuses are used by offenders to deny responsibility for the failure event and thereby attempt to avoid blame and punishment. Though the offender admits that the failure occurred, he or she argues against being responsible for the harm.
- As far as justifications are concerned, the offender admits responsibility for the offense but tries to show that the reproach is not warranted.
- Concessions on the other hand are employed when the accounter admits to the failure, and this she or he employs together with apologies, excuses, expressions of remorse and sometimes with offers of restitution.
- Refusal is another type of account which offenders use to deny that the action for which they are being reproached did occur. This alleges that the reproacher(s)' claim

is null and void. Sometimes refusals may be used to deny the fact that the other has a right to reproach. For instance, the reproacher was not the 'party' that was harmed, so why reproach.

Accounts can be viewed as stories or narratives that present a particular version of the events at issue and as such they suggest that such narratives have a typical form consisting of the following:

1. The goals of an actor(s),
2. factors that instigated those goals, such as the actions of others, environmental occurrences or personal characteristics of the actor(s),
3. a behavioral sequence composed of the plans and strategies that are being enacted to achieve those goals,
4. What happened to the goals? Are the goals satisfied or blocked?, and
5. the physical and social situation in which the actions occurred.

The more important question to be addressed now is how the accounter constructs such narratives. Firstly, an accounter will have to assess the facts of the case.

Secondly, the accounter must ascertain what the reproacher knows or is likely to learn about the facts.

Thirdly, knowing the reproacher's interpretation of the facts is vital as it is this information that leads to a reproach.

The fourth point is to assess the reproachers' theories of social and physical causality as these theories provide the basis for the kinds of explanations the reproacher is likely to accept.

The fifth point of consideration is to decide on the kind of account we wish to construct, and what constraints or guidelines this places on the account we can build.

That is, when constructing accounts we should then bear the following issues in mind:

1. The kind of account we wish to construct, be it an excuse, justification, concession or refusal,

2. our desire to have the account honored,

3. what we know of the facts of the case,

4. what the reproacher knows of the facts or is likely to learn of the facts of the event,

5. the reproacher's beliefs about social and physical causality, and

6. our beliefs about the physical and social causality.

Constructing an account requires the integration of a tremendous amount of information into a coherent package. The suggested model to be followed is the one proposed by Miller and Read (1991) based on Thargard's (1989) principles. This model has two major steps. Firstly, the concepts associated with input information are activated and organized into a loose heterogeneous network. To do this there must be numerous inferences about social and physical causality, which is based on extensive knowledge of the social and physical worlds. Secondly, this heterogeneous network of concepts must be organized into a coherent representation of the input by the application of parallel constraint satisfaction processes that act to evaluate the explanatory coherence of the network.

Steps in making an account:

Step 1: Activation of related concepts. The related concepts are activated through something like a spreading activation process in which activation spreads from an activated concept to those that are linked to it. Thus, the greater the activation of a structure, the more likely it is to be used to interpret information. There are then three primary sources of activated concepts which most probably the failure for which we are being asked to account, the facts surrounding the failure including events and situations leading up to the failure event, and our goals in giving our account.

Firstly, the failure event should activate a wide range of associated concepts.

Secondly, the activation of an explanation pattern may also activate various pieces of evidence or facts that are typically associated with that pattern. Furthermore, the facts of the case should activate associated concepts. Our goals in constructing an account should also affect which concepts that are activated, as these goals shape the kind of account we try to build- (excuse, justification, concession and/or refusal).

Step 2: Arriving at a coherent representation. The way to move to a coherent representation is by a process in which activation is propagated through the links and concepts in parallel to arrive at the resulting level of activation for the concepts. This process determines which of the activated concepts best characterizes the event and allows one to arrive at a coherent, consistent representation. One of the most useful implementation for a model of accounting is Thagard's (1989) model of explanatory coherence, which seeks to simulate what makes a set of data and the hypotheses that explain them explanatorily coherent. He proposed several principles for the evaluation of the coherence of the network of data and hypothesized explanations. The principles are as follows:

1. The explanation that requires the fewest assumptions will be more coherent, and this is the well known principle of parsimony or simplicity. For example, an excuse for being late for a meeting that requires a detailed, complicated scenario with lots of different explanatory hypotheses will be far less complicated than a simple, "I got stuck behind a major accident on the freeway." Therefore, the greater the number of explanations needed to explain a single fact, the smaller the amount of activation from that fact to each explanation.

2. An explanation that explains more facts- with greater breadth will be more coherent. Thus, any given explanation becomes more coherent as more facts are introduced that support it because an explanatory hypothesis explains more facts and as such it receives more activation.

3. Any given explanation is less coherent to the extent that some facts actively contradict it. Facts that contradict an explanatory hypothesis have a negative relationship to it and thus send negative activation to that hypothesis and thereby reducing its activation.

4. Explanations are more coherent if they are explained by higher order explanations. For instance, an explanation that we were late because of a traffic jam becomes more coherent if we can explain why the traffic jam occurred.

5. Explanation are more coherent if they are supported by an analogy to another system with the same causal structure

Thagard's model further assumes that the evaluation of explanations is often comparative, but it is wise to acknowledge the fact that alternative explanations can

compete with each other such as sending negative activation to each other. This means that an explanation that is viewed as reasonably coherent when evaluated in isolation will be viewed as much less coherent if another more coherent explanation is introduced.

Individuals should strive to create a coherent account because that is the major criterion by which it will be evaluated, even though it will be an account that excuses or justifies the failure event rather than the one that accurately deals with the facts known to the accounter.

When the primary emphasis is on constructing an accurate account, we should work from the facts to the explanations. However, when the primary goal is to excuse or justify, then we may often work from potential explanations to the facts.

The goals of excusing and justifying should have three effects on the explanation, two of which occur during the first stage of the model, when concepts are activated. Firstly, they should affect which kinds of possible explanations are activated. Secondly, when they activate potential explanations, they may also activate aspects of those explanations that may lead to the fabrication of facts that make one's account more coherent. The third effect of the goals occurs when parallel constraint satisfaction processes are applied to create a coherent account. In this effect, an individual's goals should send positive activation to explanations that are consistent with it and negative activation to explanations that are inconsistent.

What happens when an individual tries to fabricate an account that will be accepted by the reproacher? Firstly, the goals of the account will activate potential explanations and these explanations may activate additional concepts that may become 'potential facts'. Secondly, the accounter knows what failure has to be accounted for. This failure will also activate potential explanations and associated concepts that also provide basis for 'potential facts'. Thirdly, the accounter should ascertain what facts the reproacher knows or is likely to know so to make them part of any plausible account to activate a variety of related concepts, including potential explanations. The facts that are known to the reproacher place strong constraints on the explanation and on any attempt to fabricate 'facts'. Lastly, the accounter should figure out what social and physical theories are

believed by the reproacher, as these theories provide potential explanations for the failure event.

There are then two types of "facts", those known to the reproacher which requires a greater attention or weight from the accounter when constructing an account, and the ones that are hypothesized.

Honoring the account:

How does the reproacher decide whether or not to honor the account? The answer to this question is a suggested one as there is no research focusing on the consequences of honoring or not honoring an account. Therefore, as the accounter evaluates the coherence of the account as she or he constructs it, the key to the reproacher's decision as to whether to accept the account is the reproacher's judgment of its coherence. The reproacher's judgment of coherence will thus depend on exactly the same principles as are used by the accounter in constructing the account.

3.2.15   Weiner (1992)

Snyder and Higgins (1988) contend that excuses are characterized as: "the motivated process of shifting causal attributions for negative personal outcomes from sources that are relatively more central to the person's self to sources that are relatively less central" (p.23). As far as this definition is concerned, the excuse-giver may or may not publicly communicate the external cause, but he or she must consciously believe it and must not consciously be aware of the causal substitution, as this would undermine its effectiveness. Thus, an excuse is similar to a defense mechanism that protects the self-esteem and self-worth of the person.

On the other hand, Weiner et al. (1987, 1991, and 1985) came with a different angle of looking at excuses and define them as: "a consciously used device, communicated to someone else, primarily to foster a positive relationship. This can be accomplished by creating a positive image of the other or of the self, preventing another from becoming angry at oneself, inducing positive expectations about one's future interpersonal actions and so forth. According to these researchers, excuses do manipulate the thoughts and

feelings of the listener rather than of the self, to the ultimate interpersonal benefit of the communicating excuse-giver.

Excuses must be publicly communicated, they must not be believed by communicator and the excuse-giver must be consciously aware of the causal substitution. Thus, an excuse is a type of lie, although not all lies are excuses, inasmuch as many lies do not involve a causal substitution. Given this perspective, the study of excuses is more central to social rather than to clinical psychology, and social transgressions rather than personal failure are primarily the acts to which an excuse is attached.

 "Do excuses rarely occur, or are they quite widespread and common components of everyday social interaction?" In answering this question, one would have to infer prevalence from other indicators such as the number of excuses (false) others communicate for a wrong (and/or alleged) act. For this reason, it is apparent that there are many reasons to contend that excuses are indeed more frequent than anticipated or believed.

Intentions or Goals of Excuse-givers

Five general categories were reported:

TABLE 7.1
Goals of the Excuse-Giver

Goals	% Frequency
Not engage in the behavior	29
Maintain esteem of other	22
Change expectancy	18
Reduce anger	16
Maintain self-esteem	7
Miscellaneous	8

Note: data from Weiner, Figueroa-Muñoz, & Kakihara, 1991

There are antecedents that promote the conveying of an excuse. First, an excuse usually follows a social transgression such as coming late for a party and so on. Further, when there is a social transgression, the excuse-giver is responsible but seeks to deny responsibility for that act. Moreover, the situation must elicit the belief that a causal

attribution is called for, that is either the listener must ask a question such as "Why were you late?" or the excuse-giver anticipates that this question is expected to be answered. Finally, an assumption is thus made that the excuse will be effective in reaching some goal, such as reducing the listener anger.

In Weiner et al. (1991 & 1987) conducted investigations whereby (i) the participants would have to recall a time when they gave an excuse and to report the incident in line with the real (withheld) cause and the falsely communicated cause (the excuse)(Weiner et al., 1987; Weiner, Figueroa-Muñoz & Kakihara, 1991); and (ii) respondents would recall excuses associated with the distinct goals of either to raise the self-esteem of the listener, reduce the listener's anger, or increase the listener's expectancies regarding the excuse-giver (Weiner, Figueroa-Muñoz, & Kakihara, 1991).

Nearly 85% of the reasons that are withheld are forgetting/negligence or intention. What this means is that, excuse-givers do perceive themselves as responsible when giving an excuse.

The causes that are in effect communicated by the excuse-giver, fall within six general categories-which are: parents ("My parents would not let me go"), friends ("I had to help Mary"), illness ("I had the flu"), other commitments ("I had to take my mother to the airport"), transportation ("The bus came late") and work/study ("My boss made me work overtime"). Of these categories, other commitments and work/study requirements are the most frequently manipulated, mainly because most people have a fear that unusual explanations will not be believed.

For a taxonomy of excuses one should examine the basic dimensions or properties of phenomenal causality. Research investigations as guided by the attribution theory, have been undertaken to determine the dimensions of causal ascriptions. On the basis of factor analytic, concept formation and multidimensional scaling research, it frequently has been suggested that three properties of perceived causality are <u>locus</u>, <u>controllability</u> and <u>stability</u>. What this means is that causes can be perceived as internal or external to the actor, controllable or not controllable by the actor or others, and thus varying or unvarying over time.

Excuses are particular types of causes and they are also classified according to the basic dimensions or properties of phenomenal causality, that is, they can be internal or external to the communicator, controllable or not controllable by the person, and stable or unstable over time.

The causes that are withheld are internal to the transgressor, controllable by that person and somewhat unstable. For instance, if a person did not go to a party because he or she merely decided not to go to any parties, then that cause would be classified as internal to the transgressor, under the person's control, and stable. What this indicates is that there was an intent not to attend the party. Forgetting to go to a party is also internal and controllable, but unstable. However, communicated causes are external to the offender, not controllable by that person and unstable. For instance, missing a party because one had to drive one's mother to the airport is external to the offender, not subject to volitional alteration and not enduring over time.

Both the withheld causes and the excuses have discernible causal properties, the only greatest difference is on the dimension of controllability.

Almost everybody has a list of good and bad excuses from which to draw and we all do that without going through a more complete causal analysis. However, this sequence may not capture full complexity of decision-making process simply because some excuses that reduce responsibility are not likely to be communicated in certain contexts. Thus, the fact that all excuses virtually exhibit the same causal properties suggests that individuals are "cognitive misers" as well as "cognitive functionalists". This means that strategies that "work" and do not require a great deal of cognitive stress are adopted to respond to the immediate demands of the environment.

Even though it is known that the communication delivered by the excuse-giver is a lie, he can be undetected and as such the excuse-giver may be "uncovered". According to Ekman (1984), individuals are very poor at discriminating false from true communications, and this is also the case regarding excuses. Persons are thus unable to identify excuses as lies and the saying that "he who excuses self accuses self" is not correct as much as excuses are not detected as false.

However, there is one detection clue that relates to the content of the excuse itself rather than to conceivable nonverbal cues such as sweating, stuttering and so on. Weiner et al. (1987) suggested the types of reasons that are communicated for a social transgression as a function of their truth or falsity When transportation problems are the conveyed reason for a social transgression such as: "The bus was late", "My car broke down", it is more likely to be the truth than a lie. The content may provide far more from definitive evidence of falsity or truthfulness, and this is also one source of detection information, although this content-based clue is likely to be realized by the listener.

More frequent than not, excuses are given, perhaps unthinkingly and are generally undetected lies which have the structural characteristics of external, uncontrollable and unstable causes. To determine if they do accomplish the intended goals, we again have to consider the three underlying properties of causality.

Firstly, the locus dimension of causality has been found to influence the self-esteem. Secondly, the controllability dimension of causality relates to a variety of affects, including anger, thoughts and pity. Lastly, the stability dimension of causality is linked with expectancy of success. As much as excuses are causal substitutions, they should also alter self-esteem anger and pity, and expectancy of success in the manner indicated for all causal beliefs.

In addition, virtually all excuses have the properties of externality, uncontrollability and instability, whereas withheld causes are primarily described as having the properties of internality, controllability and partial stability. Therefore, an excuse should enhance the self-esteem of the listener or of the excuse-giver, reduce anger and increase sympathy toward the excuse-giver, and alter expectancies in a more positive manner.

There are three prototypical patterns that reflect the content and the theoretical characteristics of both the withheld (true) and the false (excuse) explanations. The first grouping includes affiliative contexts, esteem-related excuses, intention as the true cause, and a variety of communicated causes such as other commitment.

The second grouping is less prevalent pattern that includes affiliative contexts, anger reduction excuses, forgetting as well as intention as the causes, and a variety of causal communications.

The final grouping consists of achievement contexts, expectancy altering excuses, forgetting and intention among the true causes, and disparate excuses.

3.2.16   Turnbull (1992)

The central claim of a conversational model of explanation is that conversational principles and processes strongly influence the content and structure of everyday explanation. Explanations are then best conceptualized as conversational units or moves, and they are at best answers to explicit or implicit "why" questions. The questions about why the behavior occurred arise when an actor's behavior is perceived to contrast with what is taken for granted or presupposed about that actor and that behavior under those circumstances. It is thus misleading to say Event A needs to be explained and that E is an explanation to Event A. What actually needs explaining and what an explanation explains is the contrast of why Event A occurred rather than some other event perceived to be more normal, expected or ideal.

This conception raises problems in the sense that for any event there are a host of norms with which it potentially contrasts and different explanations are then appropriate for different contrasts. The question then is: how do interactants pick out the relevant contrast and explanation. The solution to that lies in conversationalists' mutual assumption that explanations will follow Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principles (CP) - the maxims of Quality; Quantity; Relevance and Manner. The belief that the maxims are being followed allows conversationalists to identify the particular contrast at issue and give explanations with explanatory relevance, explanations with a content and form consistent with observance of the Cooperative Principle.

Explanations that have explanatory relevance efficiently fulfill the transactional function of conversation, the transmission of factual or propositional information. However, explanations with explanatory relevance can be expressed in a wide variety of ways to different effect.

In spite the fact that desired images of self differ from person to person, there is regularity in the interpersonal claims that people make in conversation. Specifically, people try to avoid threatening and try to protect their own image and others' images of

self. The pursuit of identity and relationship goals will exert a strong influence on conversation and explanation.

The solution to these difficulties, in the form of an ostensibly pan-universal model of the influence on conversation of the goal of protecting the image of self and others has been proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), who observed that the vast majority of everyday talk is non-Gricean. These authors observed that conversation is cooperative in intent and proposed that the surface deviations from Grice's maxims arise from conversationalist's attempts to balance the competing goals of message clarity and the protection of one's own and other's face. "Face" is Goffman's (1967) concept which refers to the desire to have others accept the positive image one claims for oneself, to have others value one's values- positive face; and the desire to be free to pursue one's goals= negative face. However, social interaction is rife with the potential to threaten face because people depend on others for the attainment of many of their goals. For instance, in pursuing my goals, I might have to request something of someone. She or he might disagree with what I am trying to achieve and that disagreement would be a threat to his or her positive face and that of mine. And furthermore, the willingness to cooperate with me would be protecting my positive face, but that request would be threatening his or her negative face, freedom to do what she or he wished rather than what others wished of her or him.

The question is thus how could one enlist his or her cooperation without threatening his or her face? Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that this problem can be solved by employing politeness strategies as they designed.

The main concern about politeness influences both requests for explanations as well as explanations. People may fail to ask for explanations that they need, that is, they fail to perform an FTA because of the fear of embarrassment that would follow from the implication that they are unintelligent or uninformed. The speakers' desire to avoid threatening both the positive and negative face of their addressees on the spot is reflected also in the frequency of direct overt "why" questions of the form such as "Why did you do that?"

An account is "a statement made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward behavior". Accounts consists of justifications (claims that the actor is responsible for the act but that no offense was committed or intended), and excuses (claims that the actor committed the offense but was not responsible for its occurrence. There are other extensive taxonomies of accounts including the additional account types of concessions, refusals, apologies, requests and disclaimers, which have been proposed.

Thus, accounts are best conceptualized as impression-management techniques that actors use in an attempt to manipulate observers' attributions for the actor's behavior. From this perspective a transgressor's goal in making excuses is to maintain a positive image of self by lessening the responsibility for negative acts that are attributed by observers to the transgressor.

However, both the impression-management and conversation approaches emphasize the strategic nature of accounting. The only difference is that the impression-management perspective focuses on the actor's goal of effectively presenting a positive image of self to both the self and the audience, whereas the conversation perspective is focused on the actor's goal of conveying a positive image of the audience. This difference derives mainly from the essentially individualistic orientation of the impression-management perspective as compared to the interactional stance of the conversation approach.

In addition, accounting is a coordinated activity of two or more people performed in the course of interaction and for that reason- an interactional model seems more appropriate.

The more appropriate conception of accounting is interactional, with concerns about politeness being the central component. This view allows for specific predictions to be made from politeness theory about the microstructure of accounting as a function of the social structure of the situations in which accounts occur.

3.2.17 Morris, White, Iltis (1994)

The research conducted on accounts in social interaction has proven that these are multifaceted and as such they have been treated as extremely consequential forms of

talk. Most researchers and theorists have proposed that accounts are central to how communicators create and maintain social order (for example: Scott and Lyman, 1968; Stokes and Hewitt, 1976; Morris, 1985; and others), save face (Goffman, 1971), influence each other (Cody & McLaughlin, 1990; McLaughlin, Cody & Read, 1992), manage impressions (Semin & Manstead, 1983), and understand life crises (Harvey, Weber & Orbuch, 1990).

Researchers have also conceptualized the contexts of accounts in various ways. Some research like that of Schönbach, 1980; Cody & McLaughlin, 1985, 1990 confines itself to accounts given after reproaches in failure events or social confrontations as it is the case with the research of Newell & Stutman, 1988, whereas other research pertains to accounts for turning down invitations (Drew, 1984, Heritage, 1988); for fortifying proposals (Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1987, 1990); for rejecting offers in negotiations (Firth, 1993); or for explaining oneself in interviews (Harré & Secord, 1973; Morris, 1988) therapy sessions (Buttny, 1990), or alignment episodes (Morris & Hopper, 1980; Morris, 1985).

Morris, White and Iltis argue that accounts are parts of dispreferred actions such as declining invitations. They maintain that accounts occur after some delay; some cushioning that can soften the turndown and may also allow for the inviter to revise the invitation so that it can be accepted. The account is composed minimally of a detailing of activities and circumstances but may also include voicing of the upshot or sense of the report. Reports are composed in such a way that recipients can grasp the accounter's inability to do otherwise than to decline.

These researchers define an account as a description that reports trouble accomplishing what is ordinarily expected and therefore is understood or credited by its recipient as an explanation for a divergence from assumptions about what ordinarily will or should happen. This definition is considered to be an elaboration of preceding definitions, rather than a departure from them.

Although every facet may not be voiced in particular instances, the form of an account is captured in the form such as: Well, ordinarily I would, but… [there's a problem]. The first word, well, is an indicator that accounts usually occur after some delay. The middle

component, <u>ordinarily I would, but,</u> is included as an indicator that accounts are often cushioned by preliminary work and also expresses the idea that accounts situations involve divergence from routine ways of performing. The report of problem which is the account itself is the final component.

Some components on the distinctive features of this definition and formula are in order. Firstly, the provided definition treats accounts as descriptions. This conclusion is as unusual much as thinking of accounts as explanations. However, the close examination of accounts reveals that accounts work as explanations because they provide a particular kind of description, a "description" according to Drew (1984) as a second part of a request-response pair.

Secondly, accounts report trouble. An account according to Buttny (1985), addresses a problem- a clash- that could not or cannot be successfully avoided. An account is a narrative about why agent's actions and desires did not or cannot coincide. Thus, accounts are constructed so that their recipients can understand the clash and thereby grasp the upshot of the reporting.

Lastly, accounts pertain to a rule or normative assumption about how social interaction normally unfolds. This is the element expressed in the formula's phrase <u>ordinarily I would...</u> we may refer to what such a rule specifies as a *default condition*- that is, an action that is/was supposed to be performed to specifications by an individual (e.g., going out to dinner with a friend)or what is simply considered typical or routine for anyone. The rule itself constitutes a warrant for expecting that an action will occur and will be performed to specifications (e.g., participants presume operation of a rule that friends spend time with each other). Thus, the key thing about the relationship between accounts and rules in social interaction is that giving accounts not only explains away actual or anticipated divergence from rules, but also fortifies, refreshes, or remakes the warrant for expecting interaction to unfold non-problematically. In addition, when put differently, giving accounts supports or maintains the operation of "incorrigible propositions" in the face of routine exceptions (Harris, 1974). Furthermore, accounts justify faith in the default conditions in the face of contrary evidence.

The approach to accounts that has been used applies to and illuminates such problematic events as declining proposals, being unavailable to friends, backing out of agreements and properly failing to prepare oneself for a position. In each of these cases, someone diverges from some course of conduct that has the status of default condition- something that social actors treat as what ordinarily should happen. Such divergences include immediate failures such as rejecting an offer, as well as remote failures – both past and future.

3.2.18   Antaki (1994)

Explanations given in exoneration are those given when people are in trouble or faced with some kind of accusation. These situations range from murder to trivial gaffe, and an account offered in mitigation can be anything from a complicated insanity plea to a graciously simple apology.

Accounts that are given for specific blameworthy action are referred to as 'exonerations' (accounts may have other meanings).

Semin and Manstead (1983) gave a scheme for excuses and justifications in which they tidied up the exonerations list:

Table 4.1 Semin and Manstead's (1983) typology of accounts

A   **Excuses**

    A1   Denial of intent

            Accident or unforeseen consequences

            Identity of target person mistaken

    A2   Denial of volition

            Physical or psychological causes

            Lack of authority

    A3   Denial of agency

            Mistaken identity or amnesia

            Joint production

    A4   Appeal to mitigation circumstances

            Scapegoating

       Sad tales

B   **Justifications**

    B1   Claim that effect has been misrepresented

          Denial or minimization of injury

    B2   Appeal to principle or retribution

          Reciprocity of harm

          Derogation of victim

    B3   Social comparison

    B4   Appeal to higher authority

          Powerful person(s) commanded

          Institutional rules stipulated

    B5   Self-fulfillment

          Self-maintenance or self-development

          Conscience

    B6   Appeal to principle of utilitarianism

          Law and order or self-defence

          Benefits outweigh harm

    B7   Appeal to values

          Political, moral or religious

    B8   Appeal to need for facework

          Face maintenance

          Reputation building

Source: Semin and Manstead, 1983:91-2; somewhat simplified

The accounts literature is intended to represent what actually happens when people give and receive exonerations. The question is: What is the evidence that people use the excuses and justifications so painstakingly classified? Ashworth (1979:153) argues that 'hardly a start had been made' on this chapter of Mills' program of accounts research. By the time of Semin and Manstead's review (1983) some evidence had started to accumulate, but the pile is not high and is of variable quality. Little empirical work was done and the majority of studies are paper and pencil tests. 'One consistent feature of these studies is that accounts are limited in their power to stem negative evaluations of

the offender', also bearing in mind the fact that 'how frequently the elements distinguished in typologies of motive talk are employed in naturally occurring offerings' (Semin and Manstead, 1983: 114-115). These aspects were later found to be applying in social predicaments.

Experiments have also been conducted relying on the experimenters' operationalizations of what they thought were good examples of various kinds of exonerations. The problem with experiments is that each available study used their own definitions of justifications, excuses, etc. and as such the findings cannot be joined together. It is for this reason therefore to acknowledge the fact that there are some difficult questions of operationalization to be resolved.

Austin (1962) is the source of the accounts literature's principal model of language- that utterances 'do things'. He observed that there are many things that we say which are not reports of states of affairs, but have effects on the world around the speaker. He argues that these are 'illocutionary acts' which have 'perlocutionary effects'.

The question is: Does it help to think of exonerations as speech acts? Buttny's (1993) observation that accounts theorists are committed to a speech-act theory of exoneration identifies the danger of reification- of treating as independent something that only made sense as part of a larger ensemble- that had been present ever since Scott and Lyman pulled out accounts from Goffman's corrective cycle. Buttny asks: If an exoneration is a speech act, that is to say an utterance that performs a certain social action, how can one recognize it? How do we know that such-and-such an utterance stands alone, and functions as an appeal to insanity, a blaming of the other, or any other entry in the exoneration grid? The first standard problem is that not all speech functions need exclusively to be performed in speech- that is exonerations could be accomplished non-verbally. The deeper problem is the set of objections which can be leveled at speech-act theory as an analysis of any verbal device-that is whether an attributional account of 'self-serving bias' could satisfactorily guide us on how people would use internal and external attributions in varying circumstances, and to see that that was a specific instance of this general problem of identifying speech acts. Thus, if exoneration is a speech act, the theorists would have to propose something along the lines of the rules that constitute them. Nichols (1990) proposed that researchers should look out for

combinations of accounts as well as their basic forms to view whether accounts are definable as individual atoms out of context.

The speech-act issue can also be a problem in identifying the offence as it was in categorizing the account. The question is: What does it mean to speak about 'the offence' for which exoneration is being solicited? The taxonomic tradition generally takes the offence to be an offence against some kind of social norm: the offence is referred to variously as 'untoward behavior' by Scott and Lyman (1968); the 'failure event' by Schönbach (1980) and Cody and McLaughlin (1985); the 'undesirable event' by Schlenker (1980). The fact that the offence offends is uncontestable, but the question is how people go about signaling to each other that some norm has indeed been breached. There are six categories of reproaches from which reproachers choose including the projected excuses and derogation of self-esteem. The question of what an offence is should not be dismissed a priori; instead we should have a theoretical perspective which will acknowledge that there will be as much going on in accusing as there is in exonerating the offender.

3.2.19.1   Benoit (1995)

There are two key assumptions that are at the core of the theory of image restoration. The first one is that communication is a goal-directed activity, with the second assumption being the fact that maintaining a positive reputation is the central goal of communication.

Communication is a Goal-directed Activity:

Aristotle (1954) came with three rhetoric genres of this assumption that are directly linked with the speaker's goals: (i) political rhetoric which concerns whether the policy should be adopted or not; (ii) judicial rhetoric which decides questions of justice or injustice; and (iii) epideictic rhetoric which argues that a person is worthy of praise or blame. In the description given, the goal is thus the key defining element that constitutes the genre.

Burke (1968) also argues that an act "can be called an act in the full sense of the term only if it involves a purpose" (pp. 446).

Fisher (1970) also endorses the importance of purpose or goals in discourse and to top that up, he suggested four central motives or kinds of rhetorical situations: (i) the first one is affirmation which creates an image; (ii) reaffirmation which revitalizes the image; (iii) purification which reforms an image and lastly (iv) subversion which attacks an image. Fisher doesn't only end by construing that rhetoric is goal-directed, but he further defines its purpose in relation to images or reputation.

On the other hand, most rhetorical theorists have considered rhetoric to be the art of persuasion, carrying along with it the assumption that rhetorical discourse is purposeful. At the same time, the literature of rhetorical theory, much of it and in general, assumes that rhetoric is a goal-directed, purposeful or intentional activity.

Clark and Delia (1979) in the study of communication theory have developed a typology of communication purposes, which indicate that there are basically three issues or objectives that are explicitly or implicitly present for overt or tacit negotiation in every communicative transaction: "(1) overtly instrumental objectives in which a response is required from one's listener(s) related to a specific obstacle or problem defining the task of the communicative situation, (2) interpersonal objectives involving the establishment or maintenance of a relationship with the other(s), and (3) identity objectives in which there is management of the communicative situation to the end of presenting a desired self image for the speaker and maintaining a particular sense of self for the other(s)" (p.200).(underlining my own)

Craig (1986) declares the above view of communication as a goal-directed activity as "a practical discipline of communication in which the concept of goal would not be central is difficult to imagine; and the pragmatic language of goal, decision, and consequence is in fact the common coin of the discipline of speech communication that has engaged…" (p.257)

To qualify this assumption as it is broad, the following could be done:

(1) Communicators may have multiple goals that are not completely compatible. In such cases, a behavior that functions to further one goal may mean that other goals remain partially or completely unmet and as a result, utterances intended to further one goal may harm the attainment of the other. However, it is also reasonable to

acknowledge the fact that people mostly pursue those goals that are most important to them and also try to achieve at the same time those goals that are the best mix of the goals that appear possible to achieve.

(2) Sometimes a person's goals, motives or purposes are vague, ill-formed or unclear. Even when the person has clear vision of desired goals, that does not mean that he or she has a clear cut plan or the most effective strategy of achieving those goals. Thus, if a particular goal is salient to an actor, he or she will pursue that goal by enacting the behavior that the speaker believes is likely to achieve that goal and the one that has tolerable costs.

(3) Some behavior is controlled in the sense that people devote the same amount of attention to each and every communicative encounter, micromanaging all utterances and all characteristics of an utterance, constantly identifying goals and unceasingly planning behavior to accomplish them. But, it is also wise to acknowledge that some behavior is automatic. However, in situations that are important to us, we do carefully plan certain aspects of our utterances and devote much cognitive effort to producing goal-directed discourse as required.

(4) The last qualification is that multiple goals, including hidden agendas may be the cause for others' failure to identify the speaker's goal(s). This also happens when the person has intentions of deceiving or misleading others about their goals. Other mediums such as television shows, films, artworks, etc may not have a readily identifiable persuasive goal, purpose or intent for the critic to discover. However, communication generally is best conceived as an intentional activity and for that reason communicators should always try to formulate utterances that they believe will best achieve the goals that are most salient to them when they communicate.

Maintaining a Favorable Reputation is a Key to Goal of Communication:

The second assumption within the theory of image restoration is that maintaining a favorable impression is an important goal in interaction. The reason for this assumption is that as human beings we often engage in behaviors that make us vulnerable to attacks hence we feel compelled to restore our reputation when that happens. These reasons are therefore influenced by the following aspects:

- ➢ We inhabit a world of limited resources and therefore we often fiercely compete for both tangible and intangible goods such as money, time, even office space, etc. It is thus normal and natural for complaints to occur because of the scarcity of such resources and also of the fact that it is never possible to satisfy everyone.

- ➢ Sometimes circumstances beyond our control prevent us from meeting our obligations such as faulty alarm clocks, breaking down of the computer system when a critical report is due, or being delayed by traffic.

- ➢ The fact that human beings are imperfect in nature, they are bound to make mistakes, some honestly and others often guided by their self-interests such as forgetting to attend important meetings and overcharging clients.

- ➢ Lastly, the individuality of each human being with different sets of priorities may cause conflicts especially among those with competing goals.

Benoit points out that all these elements are inevitable misbehaviors in the sense that the actual or perceived wrong-doing is a recurring feature of human behavior.

This conduct has its own consequences and Semin and Manstead (1981, 1982 and 1983) contend that when "breaches of conduct" occur, "actors assume that they have projected a negative image of themselves, even if the breach is an unintentional one". They further argue that "the threat of potential negative imputations to the self, in the shape of anticipated negative dispositional inferences that an observer may make, increases with the degree of blame and responsibility that can be inferred from the act" (1983:380. What this means then is that human beings worry that others will think less of them when apparent misdeeds occur, and this threat to their reputation is believed to be having a potential of increasing as the responsibility increases. Thus, these negative imputations toward the self arise from retrospection as influenced by the Burke's notions of guilt and embarrassment.

In addition to the guilt feelings, Benoit (1995) argues that others are also often quick in criticizing us when misbehaviors occur. They complain about what we said or did, about things we didn't say or do and even about the manner in which we did or said something. To this view, McLaughlin, Cody and Rosenstein (1983) introduced four types of reproaches or utterances that provoke accounts or apologies:

> ➤ Expressing surprise or disgust

> ➤ Suggesting that the person being reproached is morally or intellectually inferior

> ➤ Requesting an account, and

> ➤ Rebuking another person.

It is thus clear that the variety of possible reproaches or complaints can assail reputation of face.

Our vulnerability to criticism thus leads to guilt and threats to our face, elements which motivate a reaction from the actor. Goffman (1967) explains "when a face has been threatened, face-work must be done" (p. 27) and Fisher (1970) adds that the basic motives of rhetoric is purification of an image. Rehabilitation of an image is s important because:

- Face is a crucial commodity because it contributes to a healthy self-image. Snyder, Higgins and Stucky (1983) explain that "achieving and maintaining a positive self-image have been postulated as important motivational variables throughout the history of psychology" (p. 29). Furthermore, as Schlenker (1980) contends:

  The more severe a predicament is, the greater the negative repercussions for an actor. The actor should experience greater internal distress such as anxiety and guilt, receive greater negative sanctions from audiences, and produce greater damage to his or her identity- thereby adversely affecting relationships with the audience. (p.131)

  Literature on human communication and interaction thus assumes that a person's face, image, reputation or perceived character is extremely important.

- Reputation plays a key role in the influence process. Isocrates in the Antidosis, explains that he considers the speaker's ethos or prior reputation to be the key to the effectiveness of the discourse;

  The man who wishes to persuade people will not be negligent as to the matter of character; no, on the contrary, he will apply himself above all to establish a most honorable name among his fellow-citizens; for who does not know that words

carry a greater conviction when spoken by men of good repute than when spoken by men who live under a cloud, and that the argument which is made by a man's life is of more weight than that which is furnished by words? (p.278)

Isocrates also argues that a rhetor's prior reputation is a key factor in persuasion than in arguments and evidence:

'probabilities and proofs and all forms of persuasion support only the points in a case to which they are severally applied, whereas an honorable reputation not only lends greater persuasiveness to the words of the man who possesses it, but adds greater luster to his deeds, and is, therefore, more zealously to be sought after by men of intelligence than anything else in the world. (p. 280)

The assumptions that credibility or reputation is important, pervades the rhetorical literature. To this view Aristotle (1954) argues "we believe good men more fully and more readily than others; this is true generally whatever the question is, and absolutely where exact certainty is impossible and opinions divided" (p. 1356a6-8). Thus, the one important goal of discourse is to establish and maintain a positive reputation.

- The importance of one's reputation makes people to feel the urge to defend their faces when threatened (Brown and Levinson, 1978:66). Furthermore, blame and criticism or complaints occur throughout human life and because face is important for virtually everyone, when our reputation threatened we feel the need to cleanse it through discourse, by offering explanations, defenses, justifications, rationalizations, apologies or excuses for our unbecoming behavior.

Image restoration theory views communication as a goal-directed activity and the main goal is thus restoring or protecting one's image. This is so because once we believe that our reputation is under threat, we are then motivated to take action to rid ourselves of that concern. The amount of threat is thus best understood through the analysis of the nature of the attacks, reproaches or complaints. An attack on one's face in essence, has two components: (i) that an act has taken place which is undesirable, and (ii) the fact that the accused is responsible for that action. Thus, if the audience believes that these two aspects are true then the actor's reputation is at stake. Moreover, if the actor also

perceives that the relevant audience believes that the allegations are valid, then the actor is likely to employ image restoration discourse.

For one's reputation to be threatened an undesirable act must have been committed and besides, if the actor believes that what happened is not considered as offensive by the relevant audience- then the actor's reputation is not threatened.

Furthermore, the damage to one's face requires that the actor be held accountable for the occurrence of the reprehensible act by the salient audience. It is thus not reasonable to form an unfavorable impression of a person who is not thought to be responsible for an undesirable act irrespective of its occurrence or severance. It is thus not whether in fact the actor caused the damage, but it is whether the salient audience believes the actor to be responsible for the reprehensible act. Moreover, actors, before they feel compelled to rehabilitate their image, must believe that the salient audience holds them responsible for that act which they think the audience believes is offensive.

However, responsibility is not just a simple true or false proposition in such a way that if several people have jointly committed the crime, there is a tendency of apportioning the blame to them instead of holding them all fully responsible. On top of that, we tend to hold people more accountable for the effects they intended and hold them less responsible for unintended or rather unexpected effects.

Thus, viewing image restoration event in terms of how attacks function explains how image restoration strategies work. For instance, some of the defenses attempt to deny that a reprehensible act occurred or that the accused is responsible for the occurrence of the act. As a result of this, if the undesirable act actually occurred or denying that the act occurred, then the accused face should not be damaged. The accused may deny committing the act by shifting the blame to another victim and also in this case the accused's image should not be threatened.

Evading or reducing responsibility is another defense mechanism that can be employed for the undesirable act. Sometimes people are unable to completely deny responsibility for an action, but they may try to reduce the perceived responsibility of that act by either blaming provocation as the cause or defeasibility- the lack of information, ability or control over the situation as responsible for the undesirable act. In other cases accidents

are declared as being the sole responsibility for the action and also claiming that the act was performed with good intentions.

However, it is also possible to reduce the amount of the perceived offensiveness of the act through the following strategies: Bolstering which attempts to improve the accused's face by strengthening the audience's positive affect for the accused; minimization which reduces the magnitude of the negative feelings attributed towards the act and thereby lessening the negative affect towards the accused; differentiation and transcendence attempt to reduce the negative affect that is associated with the failure event; attacking the accusers whereby the accused tries to divert the audience's attention away from the self, the actual accusation and thus reducing the impact of the attack itself and the accusers' credibility; and lastly compensation in which the accused offers to compensate the attacker(victim) for the injuries or harm incurred and thereby reducing the severity of the reprehensible act.

Other strategies that the accused can employ to salvage his or her threatened image are: corrective action and mortification (a sincere apology, expression of regret and request for forgiveness), and these strategies do have a potential of restoring the accused's reputation.

However, the usage of most of image restoration strategies can be explained through the analysis of the nature of reproaches or attacks. For example, a reproach must portray an act in an undesirable light and attribute responsibility for that act or by construing the act as less negative.

There are five broad categories: denial, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness, corrective action and mortification.

1 *Denial*

Rhetorical researchers claim that denial is often used by most people when they are under attack or being suspected for an undesirable behavior, even though their forms of denial defers from situation to situation. For example, Ware and Link gel (1973) maintains that the actor engages in complete denial of the act, Goffman (1971) argues that the actor deny the fact that the act occurred and sometimes that s\he (the actor)

committed or is responsible for it; Schönbach (1980) observes that the actor might claim that the act did not occur; Schlenker (1980) suggests that the actor might pledge innocence; Tedeschi and Reiss say that denial could be used an agency and Semin and Manstead (1981) claim that the actor might use mistaken identity as a way of denying responsibility for the act. All of these options are a simple denial of the undesirable behavior, and if the audience accepts either of them, the actor's reputation should and could be rehabilitated.

Denial could also be reinforced by the accused by means of supplementing it with explanations of apparently damaging facts or lack of supporting evidence in part of the accusers.

Another form of denial is that of providing an alibi to prove that the accused did not commit the alleged or perceived undesirable act. This option is mostly prevalent in the murder cases and such offenses of criminal nature. The effect of an alibi is to provide evidence that if accepted acquits the accused.

The accused could also use what is called victimage or shifting blame in an attempt to deny charges against self. This strategy has chances of success than a simple denial in that it provides a target to which the audience can vend their ill feelings when shifting it from the accused. Another reason for the success of this strategy is that it answers the question that crops-up after the accused has denied responsibility for the failure event, which is, "if you didn't do it, then who did?"

2 *Evading Responsibility*

Sometimes it becomes difficult for people to deny responsibility for the act, but this does not necessarily mean that they do take full responsibility for the undesirable act. They either reduce or evade in a number of ways one of which is scapegoating or provocation whereby the accused claim that the act was performed in response to another wrongful act- such as in "self-defense", which is understandably and justifiably provoked the perceived act. If this claim is accepted, then the provocateur might be held responsible instead of the accused.

Another option of evading responsibility for the failure event that could be used by the actor is defeasibility, which is pleading lack of information, skill, volition and ability about or control over factors in the situation, Due to this reason, the accused might end up not being held fully responsible for the undesirable act.

Accidents are also used as a form of reducing or evading responsibility for the failure event, and for this reason, it is generally not the norm to hold people responsible for situations beyond their control such as being late for a meeting, traffic jam, etc. This does not mean that the offense has not occurred, but instead it just reduces the actor's responsibility for the act.

In other cases, people do not deny the act instead they claim that they had good intentions, best interests or rather motives for behaving the way they did and for that reason the audience should not hold them entirely responsible for the action.

3 *Reducing Offensiveness*

This strategy has six variants, and they are: Bolstering which is used to mitigate the negative effects of the failure event on the accused by strengthening the audience's positive affect for the actor. This could be done by relating one's positive attributes or positive actions which were performed on the past and this could increase the audience's positive feeling toward the actor which might later help in offset their negative feelings especially if the past positive actions are relevant to the accusations in question.

The second variant is minimization- whereby the accused attempts to convince the audience that the act is not as bad as it appears and by so doing s\he is trying to reduce the amount of the negative affect which is associated with the undesirable act. A success of this strategy could help restore the threatened reputation.

Differentiation, a third variant, is basically a comparison that distinguishes the performed act from other similar but less desirable actions. If at all the act is accepted by the audience as less offensive, then the accused's reputation is likely to be cleansed.

The fourth variant is transcendence which the accused employs by placing the act in a different context, or a broader context, and in so doing s\he is in a way suggesting a

different frame of reference. Sometimes, this strategy could be employed by means of appealing to the higher values or higher loyalties as a way of justifying one's actions.

Attacking the accusers is the fifth option that is used as a way of diverting the audience's attention away from the self, the actual accusation and also as a form of reducing the damage done to the actor's image, face or reputation.

The last variant is compensation in which the accused offers to remunerate the injured as an attempt to offset the negative feeling arising from the offensive act. In most cases, compensation is seen as a bribe, and if this has proved to be worthwhile or to be of value and is accepted by the victims or the injured parties, then the accused's reputation should be restored.

All these variants prove that the accused has indeed committed the offensive act; why else would s\he go such a mile or make such strides if s\he didn't do a thing.

4 *Corrective Action*

This strategy could be employed by either attempting to restore the situation to the state of affairs before the perceived failure event, or by promising to remedy one's perceived "evil ways" and make efforts in preventing the recurrence of the alleged\ perceived undesirable act particularly if the event in question has the potential of recurring. Corrective action is therefore aimed at addressing the source of the problem\ failure event or the offensive act, and also devises means and ways of mending the previous damage and try to prevent its recurrence at the same time.

5 *Mortification*

Sometimes the accused might simply admit responsibility for the damage and beg for forgiveness, and if his or her apology has been proven to be sincere by the audience, then she or he could\ should be forgiven- that is his or her apology may be accepted. Some rhetorical theorists advise that this strategy could be even more successful if it could be used with concessions, that is admit guilt, ask for pardon, expressing regret for the undesirable act and offer plans for correcting or preventing the event from reoccurring.

According to this literature, a strategy is a goal or an effect sought by the discourse, which basically implies the fact that strategies are abstract representations of the relationship between discourse and goals or effects (Bowers, Ochs & Jensen, 1993). It is a fact that rhetors universally, have goals, and they all believe that an appropriate discourse (utterance) can and may help them achieve those goals. Therefore, a strategy represents a discursive intersection between rhetor's goals and effects that may occur within an audience.

The effects of the rhetor's utterance may be consummatory, which means that they may immediately achieve the rhetor's goals, or they could be instrumental- meaning that they may be means of achieving a further goal something more like an ultimate goal. A strategy could have one or both of these effects, but their success depends on their effective application.   Bolstering for example, is designed to influence the audience to view the actor in a more favorable and positive manner, and if the actor has succeeded in this endeavor of cleansing the self, s\he would have accomplished the consummatory effect; whereas shifting the blame is more of an instrumental effect\ strategy. The reason why shifting the blame is viewed as instrumental is that it has both an immediate effect and an ultimate effect. An immediate effect is that the actor intends shifting the blame from the self to another target, which will hopefully be held responsible for the undesirable act, but this does not necessarily mean that the actor is entirely off the hook. An ultimate effect is achieved only if the audience has decided to exonerate the actor for the offensive act and lay charges completely on the new target.

Other discourses have both the consummatory and instrumental effects that is achieving more than one goal such as in cases whereby the accused tries to bolster accusations by claiming to be what's best for others (consummatory) and at the same time denying the charges against self (instrumental).

Attacking accusers is viewed as an instrumental strategy in that if the credibility of the accuser is somehow reduced, then the actor would have achieved the immediate effect and the damage to self could be mitigated- observing the instrumental effect. Sometimes attacking the accuser could function as shifting the blame from the self to the accuser by claiming that s\he (the accuser) provoked the accused, and if accepted by the audience then it would have served the instrumental effect.

The fact that image restoration strategies may or can be operationalized in discourse in a variety of ways makes it difficult to identify them at times, but it is suggested that there are clues that could be used in attempting to identifying an utterance as an instance of a strategy, working from the actor's perspective- considering the rhetorical problem facing the actor and also by speculating how an utterance might have been intended by the rhetor to resolve that problem, and finally by taking the audience's perspective (reaction) of a give utterance in that situation. Thus, knowing the actor's goals, the audience's reactions, and the discursive evidence allows one to make a reasonable analysis and classification of rhetor's utterances according to the strategies of image restoration as discussed above.

3.2.19.2 Benoit (1997)

<u>Hugh Grant:</u>

Benoit states that image is the perception of a person (or group, or organization) held by the audience, shaped by the words and actions of that person, as well as by the discourse and behavior of other relevant actors. Higgins and Snyder (1989) explain that "people have a basic need to maintain positive images" (p.74). Schlenker recognizes that predicaments can "damage" one's identity, "adversely affecting relationships with the audience" (1980, p.131). Goffman concludes that "When a face has been threatened, face-work must be done" (1967, p.27). Threats to one's image often prompt image restoration discourse. Thus, an actor Hugh Grant, after being arrested in Hollywood for a public lewd behavior with a 23 year-old prostitute in his white BMW, to defend and restore his image he employed four of the five broad categories of image restoration strategies: mortification, bolstering, attacking accusers and denial.

Grant was labeled "an Oxford grad peddling a boyish, domestic charm" (Snarly, 1995, p.58) unlike others who were expected to misbehave.

Grant committed an offensive act and his defense includes a classic example of mortification. He admitted the misbehavior, did not attempt to minimize its offensiveness and did not try to make any excuse for his behavior. He did not try to minimize the significance of his offense either and as such he chose to apologize than to make excuses for his actions. Grant also indicated that he was willing to accept the

consequences of his behavior. In all his media appearances he showed remorse for his behavior and declared that he deserves punishment. Such a professed willingness to suffer may have led his audience to see his apology as genuine, because in all his appearances and utterances it was clear that he embraced the stance of mortification.

Benoit states that the impression created by Grant's willingness to appear on the television programs ("The Tonight Show", "Larry King Live", and "The Today Show", "Live with Regis and Kathie Lee" and "The Late Show) may well have had a positive effect and improved his reputation. Grant has used bolstering- "any rhetorical strategy which reinforces the existence of a fact, sentiment, object or relationship" (Ware and Linkugel, 1993, p.277) to rehabilitate his image. His behavior on all the shows appeared frank, self-effacing and genuinely concerned with the consequences of his misconduct on his girlfriend Elizabeth Hurley. The sentiments he portrayed contrast with the sentiments that might be conjured up in the lewd behavior with the prostitute at the backseat of his car. Thus, the behavior on the television shows had the effect of bolstering his face because; he firstly created an impression of honesty throughout his appearances, adopted a modest demeanor and continually expressed concern for the welfare of his girlfriend.

According to Benoit, Grant never attempted to deny, minimize or excuse the charge of the lewd behavior. However, when asked on the "Today" show about his frequent visits to topless bars as highlighted in the Newsweek, he denied that claiming that his brother took him there once. He also denied that he lost a job over the incident. This was not a major component of his defense as he did not deny the offense that sparked the controversy. This denial thus functions to limit the scope of the accusations against Grant without undermining his basic stance of mortification.

Benoit postulates that Grant also attacked some of his accusers especially the British media. Grant portrayed the media's treatment of his family as very serious: "I think it's fine to be a bit cruel about me, and in fact it feels sort of right to be suffering. But when they have a go at Elizabeth, who is a victim in this, or when they, ah, jostle my father, who's not very well, when on his way to hospital, it makes you hate them a lot" ("The Tonight Show"). The second part of his statement portrays the British media as callous and unfeeling as can ever be. Grant in his attempt to attack the integrity of the British

media even further, he related another story: "And to get me out of the house in the country, in England, they at one stage, they called an ambulance to the house. And I guess they wanted their picture but there could have been someone dying in the street who needed the ambulance" ("Larry King Live"). These utterances are clearly attacking Grant's accusers, lowering their credibility and impact of the attack.

<u>Bill Clinton</u>

Benoit argues that this is a political image repair on the part of President Bill Clinton's cuts in the drug czar's office. The Clintons made an appearance on ABC News program 20/LO on September 20th, 1996. Barbara Walters posed the following question to President Clinton: "Drugs. Just after taking office, you cut the drug policy program from 146 employees to just 25.It took you three years to rebuild it and to name a new drug czar, yet during that time drug use among the young people, it's been so publicized, has doubled. Do you bear any responsibility for that?" (ABC News, 1996, p.8) The interview appeared in the midst of the presidential campaign, and Bob Dole had been hammering Clinton on the increase in teen drug abuse. These allegations posed a serious threat on President Clinton's reputation and his chances for re-election. His answer to the question contained four image restoration strategies: shifting blame, transcendence, bolstering and defeasibility.

President Clinton argued that he should not shoulder the responsibility of teen drug alone and claimed that "I think all of us in positions of responsibility are somewhat responsible for the fact that we've not turned around the increase of teen drug use" (ABC News, 1996, p.8). Thus Clinton tried to defect some of the blame elsewhere while not denying the accountability of the act.

Secondly, he explained the reason he cut the drug czar, providing a justification for his decision to cut the drug czar's office. "We did reduce the size of the drug czar's office because when we got there we found that the mission that was being pursued then we didn't think was a very good expenditure of money." Thus, Clinton placed his act in a broader context, suggesting that cutting the drug czar's office didn't indicate that he wasn't concerned with illegal drugs, but that he wanted to fight it in different ways. He

also subtly shifts the blame to his predecessor: "when we got there we found the mission that was being pursued then")

According to Benoit, Clinton in bolstering his image praised his other kinds of efforts to fight the drug problem: "We've asked for more money for prevention…We've asked for more money for treatment and we did a lot more to stop drugs at the source." Thus, the President may have cut the drug interdiction budget, but he asked for more funding for prevention, treatment and stopping drugs at the source instead of at the border. That is, he has employed positive actions in reducing drug abuse.

Lastly, he explained that factors beyond his control have influenced the size of the problem. He observed that "sometime around 1990, public opinion surveys showed that children started believing for some reason that drugs weren't as dangerous as they had previously believed." Clinton then suggested that changing teen attitudes toward drugs caused the increase in teen drug abuse, not his actions with the drug czar's office. All this happened before his infamous MTV appearance.

Isuzu Trooper

Benoit states that this is a corporate image repair stance. In 1996, Consumer Reports issued a report that Isuzu Troopers were dangerous: instability in sharp turns. The cover of the issue declared: "UNSAFE: The complete report on our tests of the Isuzu Trooper and the Acura SLX," and showed a picture of a Trooper tipping over on two wheels. The story revealed that the cover photo had been taken while the vehicle was only traveling 33 miles an hour, and pointed out that "The three other big SUVs [Sport Utility Vehicles] we tested…did not show even a hint of this problem" ("Not Acceptable", 1996, p.10). These allegations posed serious threats to the company's image and the sales of the company. Isuzu's response was in a form of an advertisement printed in the New York Times (Isuzu, 1996), and it contained three image restoration strategies: bolstering, corrective action and denial.

In bolstering, Isuzu began revealing that "We were extremely concerned" about the Consumers Union report. The possibility that some of their vehicles might be unsafe is not something taken lightly by Isuzu. The letter reported that the company's goal is to exceed safety standards. The fact that they meet federal standards is an instance of

denial and the company's goal of exceeding those standards functions to bolster the company's reputation. The company also averred that it will "do everything we can to assure Trooper owners that their vehicle is safe and reliable as we and they believe it to be on the day they purchased it." This indicates that they still maintain that there are no safety problems with their vehicle and as such there is no need to improve it. All they are doing is to endorse the fact their vehicle is safe and reliable.

Benoit states that in the letter, Isuzu reported what steps have been taken concerning the vehicle's safety. Firstly, "We have contacted all Isuzu Trooper owners to alert them to this report." Thus, Isuzu did not attempt to hide or ignore the problem; though it does refer to the matter at hand as a "problem" rather it has alerted customers of the "report". What this means is that Isuzu disputes the allegations of safety problems. Secondly, Isuzu contacted Consumers Union which agreed to let Isuzu examine the results of its investigation. This indicates that Isuzu is making an effort to gather and examine evidence about the reported problems. Thirdly, the company "commissioned a review by independent automotive safety experts." In this way the company is gathering data on the alleged problems. Finally, in the letter, the company reveals that it has "promised to communicate the results of their investigations to Trooper owners and to the public regularly and promptly." Thus, Benoit observes that whatever their investigations find, the company pledged to inform the owners and the public. Meanwhile the company did not agree to correct a problem because it did not agree that a problem existed, it has promised to gather information and inform owners and the public of their findings. By doing all this, Isuzu is trying to take or make a corrective action.

Isuzu repeatedly denies allegations that the Trooper is unsafe. To start with, the letter claims "the Isuzu Trooper meets all federal safety standards", in other words, our vehicle is designed and built to be safe. Secondly, the company reported that "Millions of miles of actual driving experience have given us every reason to believe that even under extreme emergency conditions, the Isuzu Trooper is safe and responsive." The letter also revealed that "Our analysis and investigation so far revealed no safety problems in the Trooper," and thereby denying that it is unsafe. Thus, while the investigation is unfinished, preliminary results, coupled with past experience and the fact that they meet federal safety standards, denied the accusation that Troopers are unsafe.

<u>Implications</u>

Benoit argues that the absence of other people trying to attack Hugh Grant is an advantage. Apart from the media reporting on newsworthy events, no one had a vested interest in attacking him. This means that he only had to respond to media accounts, not others hounding him. All this has made his defense much easier. On the other hand, Clinton had Republicans generally and specifically Bob Dole attacking him on this issue, and Isuzu faced Consumer Reports.

Secondly, no one had an interest of prolonging public awareness of Grant's misbehavior. The moment he confessed to the failure event, the controversy faded away as it was not newsworthy anymore. However, Bob Dole and the Republicans wanted to remind voters throughout the campaign of the increase in teen drug abuse. Consumer reports may not have a motive to prolong the controversy, but it would not change its assessment unless Isuzu corrected the problem or convincingly indicted the test.

Thirdly, Benoit maintains that the allegations against Grant may be leveled against individual corporate officers, but never against corporations themselves. This kind of accusation would never be experienced by corporation. If it happened to a corporate official, the corporation could fire or otherwise discipline that person, an option not available to Grant. However, allegations against Clinton allowing an increase in teen drug abuse and Isuzu-selling unsafe vehicles are far more serious.

Benoit's fourth point is that this analysis shows that when one commits an offensive act, it is often best to employ mortification, because confession may not only be good for the soul, but also good for one's reputation. Hugh Grant is an illustration of how mortification can help restore a tarnished image. This is not an easy thing to do as others are often reluctant to use mortification. When it finally happens, it is often because denial or shifting blame had failed. In addition, it is generally difficult to use mortification particularly for those in positions with responsibility. Thus, it is less difficult for entertainers like Grant to apologize and put their past behind them than it is for politicians and as such it is easy for the public to forgive entertainers than politicians. Clinton was willing to accept part of the blame unlike Isuzu who refused to admit that its vehicles were unsafe. This is partly because Isuzu was trying to avoid lawsuits

something which Grant didn't have to worry about. Even though Clinton did not face lawsuits, he did face voters in the upcoming elections. Thus, the contrast between political, corporate and entertainment image repair suggests that it is probably more risky for some rhetors to engage in mortification. However, Benoit suggests that that does not change the fact that mortification is still a potentially effective strategy.

According to Benoit, the fifth implication is that Grant's use of mortification has made his partial denial more persuasive. Isuzu on the other hand, denied the charges, but they have a tremendous economic incentive to do so, which may have undermined its success. Clinton attempted to use defeasibility to limit his responsibility, suggesting that teen attitudes had changed. His admission on trying marijuana on MTV suggested that he had some impact or contributions on the alleged teen attitude change towards drugs.

Benoit's sixth implication is that Grant successfully bolstered his reputation. His discourse associated him with sentiments considered positive by the audience: he appeared to be honest, self-effacing, and repentant, concerned with his family's and girlfriend's well-being something which was valued by his audience and consistent with their impression of him prior to the misconduct. Clinton's instances of bolstering were less effectual because they consisted of requests for more money. Isuzu's bolstering was not compelling because Isuzu kept on bragging that it met federal safety standards even though the Consumer Reports article suggested that those standards needed updating.

He points out that the seventh implication is that attacking one's accusers is a potentially useful strategy. The fact that Grant attacked only the British media and not the media in general might have gratified other members of the media and later created some kind of sympathy for him and his family. Neither Clinton nor Isuzu used this strategy in their defenses. Grant's use of this strategy was not hindered by the appearance of making false accusations against his attackers.

3.2.20.1　Manusov (1996)

This study contends that the processes and forms of accounting are altered by listeners' reactions and that this negotiated telling changes the ways in which current and subsequent accounts are made. Several patterns were found for both goals.

The way an account is initiated seems to change the complexity of the account. For instance, accounts given after the listener's questions and those that were self-initiated differed from one another more in quantity than in quality- with tellers citing more factors when the account was elicited rather than when they offered the account unsolicited to the listener. This makes sense because account-givers provide accounts typically to set right the perceived or actual wrong.

Adding to the number of factors account-givers cite based on the type of elicitation, the listeners also appeared to influence the individual tellings based on their response.

Furthermore, listeners may respond to an account-giver's explanation evaluatively. This usually occurred either as acceptances or rejections.

Acceptance did not appear to affect tellings in subsequent interactions in a consistent way. For instance, even if one account was accepted, it was not necessarily used with the next listener. This may be due to a preference for account-givers to use factors introduced by previous listeners or to cite a new factor that would be more appealing to a particular listener. However, rejection of accounts affected tellings in later interactions in a more constant manner, and as would be expected- tellers were more unlikely to reuse an account that was rejected in the previous interaction. In addition, tellers did occasionally go back and reuse a previously cited factor that had been rejected when the new listener offered it as an alternative explanation.

The data provided here imply some interesting possibilities about the ways in which people negotiate accounts within and across interactions. Specifically, the outcome of negotiations often appeared to be the emergence of new explanatory factors, the abandonment of other possible factors and the opportunity to try out the acceptability of different factors to diverse listeners over the course of a series of interactions. And furthermore, although the interlocutors usually used discourse that helped the teller regain face, that is, the tellers were more likely to use excuses that removed the blame for the failure event from themselves, and listeners helped the tellers find plausible explanations for an event, there were a number of rejections of tellers' accounts by the listeners and a few reproaches that made the teller look bad. However, in subsequent interactions- the tellers sometimes neglected explanatory factors accepted previously.

In addition, although the great majority of listeners responded to discussion of the failure event with an evaluation of the account, there were a notable number of instances where the listener responded with advice-giving. This was most common when the account was initiated by the teller (account-giver). However, this may be that the listeners interpreted the offering as a request for advice on what to do about the failure rather than an attempt to realign the reason for it.

In sum, accounting appears to be fluid, influenced at least in part by the necessity of repairing the character of oneself or one's conversational partner. However, the forms that accounts take in interaction are influenced by the tellers' specific responses to their listeners' discourse.

3.2.20.2 Manusov, Kellas, Trees (2004)

Scott and Lyman (1968) defined an account as "a statement made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward behavior- whether is his or that of others, and whether the proximate cause for the statement arises from the actor himself or from someone else" (p. 220). Accounts are situated within a series of conversational turns- that is, following an acknowledged face threat; an offender provides an offering, an account or apology for the untoward action. Then, the other person may either accept or reject the account. In assuming that the other has accepted the account, the accounter will then project his or her appreciation. The nature of the account sequence as indicated by other researchers is determined by the choices interactants make in their discourse use.

Goffman (1955) used the term 'face' to describe the positive self-image that individuals seek to present and to have maintained in interaction with others; 'facework' refers to the communicative strategies available to interactants for preserving, maintaining or restoring these preferred identities in conversation. Goffman argues that people are motivated to support the face of other interactants so that others will do the same for them. To this view, Brown and Levinson (1997) argued that conversational moves supporting face reflect two different general dimensions of face needs that are experienced by all interactants: negative and positive face. Negative face refers to the desire for autonomy, or not to be imposed upon, whereas positive face encompasses

the wish that our values and desires also be the values and desires of those we want to approve of us.

Therefore, accounts can be potentially face-threatening and as such people may incorporate strategies into their communication to alleviate face threat before it happens. Brown and Levinson identified several super-strategies that people may choose from when communicating a face-threatening act (FTA) and these were arranged around the politeness continuum. People using more polite strategies are considered to be more attentive towards protecting other's face- that is they are seen as more mitigating as compared to those who use less polite forms as they are perceived to be more aggravating.

A mitigating-aggravating continuum for account types that allows for the possibility of face-work as well as face attack was proposed by McLaughlin, Cody and O'Hair (1983). They investigated four different types of accounts which were conceptualized as falling along this other-oriented mitigating-aggravating continuum. Among these account types, concessions are assumed to be the most mitigating and reflecting the greatest concern for the other, followed by the excuses. Justifications because the offender denies that the failure event was untoward even though he or she admits responsibility for the act, are seen to be more aggravating- followed by refusal to offer an account or denial that misbehavior has occurred.

The research related to face-work shows that multiple strategies used by all parties are available for face redress and protection. People appear to make choices among face moves and assumedly base their choices on differences in the mitigating or aggravating nature of the strategies within particular contexts. Such strategy selection has consequences for how the speaker and utterance are judged by other interactants; people seem to choose those discourse moves that will help best address their face concerns.

Hypotheses and Research Questions

The work discussed above focuses on potential implications stemming from offerings rather than challenges or evaluations. On this view, Gonzales et al. (1994) found that there was a positive relationship between the researcher-determined aggravating nature

of accounts provided and the negative quality of victim's assessments of offenders' accounts and character. Some of the most important evaluations, those that allow empirical evidence that face concerns may underlie people's use of different accounting forms- come from the parties in a given interaction, because they are likely to act on what has been offered to them.

The following is the proposed hypothesis based on the primary account offered in an interaction:

H1: Different types of offerings will elicit different judgments of other-face attentiveness from (a) the accounter and (b) the accounter's interaction partner.

The research question that follows is:

RQ: Is offering complexity related to judgments of other-face attentiveness from (a) the accounter and (b) the accounter's interaction partner?

The following two hypotheses predict differences in interactants' perceptions of face-attentiveness based on the challenge and evaluation form offered by a speaker:

H2: Different types of challenges will elicit different judgments of other-face attentiveness from (a) the accounter and (b) the accounter's interaction partner.

H3: Different types of evaluations will elicit different judgments of other-face attentiveness from (a) the accounter and (b) the accounter's interaction partner.

Research question that follows investigates the nature and consequences of evaluation in accounting:

RQ2: Is evaluation complexity related to judgments of other-face attentiveness from (a) the accounter and (b) the accounter's interaction partner?

RQ3: Based on their connection to complexity in these interactions, what other types of moves- beyond concessions, excuses, justifications, refusals, honoring and not honoring- occur following challenges or offerings in accounting sequences and appear to reflect or affect face concerns?

Results:

The first hypothesis predicted differences in perceptions of other-face attentiveness depending on the type of offerings employed by the accounter. The three types of offerings, that is concessions, excuses and refusals were used as the primary categories in the independent variable and judgments of other positive and negative face-attentiveness. The results showed significant differences in evaluations of other-face attentiveness for elicitors' perceptions of the accounters' positive face attentiveness, and for the accounters' perceptions of their own attentiveness to the other's positive face. There was a also a trend for differences in the elicitors' perception of the accounters' negative face-attentiveness, which reveals some evidence that elicitors' may have seen excuses as more negative face-attentive than they saw refusals. However, concessions did not differentiate from neither of the other two means.

Thus, H1 received support for positive face but no support for negative face-attentiveness.

The first research question regarded the relationship between offering complexity and judgments of face-attentiveness. The results were that elicitors' perceptions of the accounters' use of other-oriented negative face-work correlated negatively with the overall number of offerings, and the accounters' perception of their own negative other face-attentiveness correlated positively with the number of different types of offerings they presented.

Speakers and listeners have also portrayed different reactions to offering complexity, with speakers seeing more complex offerings as reflective of their own attentiveness to the other's negative face and listeners seeing complexity as linked with less attentiveness to negative other-face.

The results of H2 based on the three types of challenges the elicitors used (open or indirect questions, direct questions/rebukes and no verbal elicitation) indicated significant differences in accounters' judgments of the elicitors' attentiveness to negative and positive other-face. Accounters perceived more negative face-attentiveness directed toward them when there was no verbal challenge than when there was a direct

question/rebuke or an indirect/open question. However, elicitors viewed their own use of rebukes/direct questions as significantly less attentive to their partner's positive face than were open or indirect questions. In addition, no verbal challenge was seen to be more attentive to the other's positive face than either of the challenge type.

H3 predicted differences in perceptions of other-oriented face-work based on the type evaluations used. Three types of evaluations (honoring, non-honoring/taking issue and sympathetic response) and four measures of face-attentiveness (evaluators' perceptions of their own attentiveness to accounters' positive and negative face, and accounters' perceptions of the evaluators' attentiveness of their own positive and negative face) were used as the dependent variables. Results revealed that elicitors providing the evaluations judged their own responses as differently oriented toward negative face-attentiveness. Results also indicated that speakers' perceptions of their own attentiveness toward negative other-face was greater when they used honoring or sympathy than when they did not honor or took issue with the offering.

The second research question regarded the relationship between evaluation complexity and judgments of face-attentiveness. There is no significant relationship between the elicitors' perception of their own positive and negative other-face attentiveness and the accounters' perceptions of their own positive and negative other-face attentiveness.

RQ3 was concerned with additional forms of offerings and evaluations in accounting sequences that may be tied to complexity in these interactions. The analysis of this RQ was done in conjunction with the significant relationships found in RQ1, which focused on the tie between accounting forms and complexity, and there were some notable evaluative forms that occurred. Results of this RQ are that some of the long exchanges thought by the solicitors to be particularly inattentive to negative face involved the accounters' rejection of the elicitors' views. The direct request for advice is also related to the lower judgments of negative face-attentiveness, which occurred in several of lower-rated conversations. In addition to these lower judgments of negative face-attentiveness is direct self or other-oriented face-work. Given the positive relationship found earlier between complexity of accounts and the accounters' perceptions of greater negative face-attentiveness for the elicitors' perception, it may be that accounters believed that involving the elicitor more in the account sequence through the elicitors'

requests for information, reflected a greater show of concern for other. <u>Requests for acceptance</u> may also be seen as too direct and an imposition on the other and helps reflect the difficulty of balancing self-and other-face needs in more complex accounting sequences.

This study has been designed to measure perceptions of other-directed face-work within account sequences and to assess what such moves may look like in discourse.

Tie between accounting and face-work judgments:
Perceptions of positive and negative other-directed face-work by self and by other were measured and investigated for what participants said during the account sequence. Findings provide some support for the assumptions underlying much research on politeness and accounting that suggests indirectly that certain forms of discourse are perceived by the speaker and the listener /recipient as more or less oriented toward protecting the other's face.

Differences across accounters' and elicitors' judgments:
Accounters perceived any verbal challenge as indicative of lower attentiveness to both positive and negative face, whereas elicitors made a distinction between their use of rebukes and indirect/open questions, with the former evaluated as significantly less attentive to the other's positive face than the latter. Elicitors evaluated their own honoring and sympathetic responses as more face-serving for both the other when compared to taking issue/non-honoring. The varied stages of accounting were also linked with different types of face-attentiveness. That is, accounting forms could be differentiated by evaluations of positive other-face attentiveness. Elicitations were linked with perceptions of attentiveness toward both face types, although they were differentiated somewhat more commonly by positive face attentiveness judgments just as offerings were.

Account complexity:
According to the findings, lengthier and more varied accounting has a tendency to be linked with lower perceptions of negative face-attentiveness by elicitors and higher perceptions of negative face-attentiveness by accounters. The elicitors may have seen as imposing on them more elaborated discussions of a problematic, especially when a

range of offerings was given and different responses were required. However, accounters may have believed that involving the elicitors actively in the accounting process by producing a number of turns and offerings would be less threatening to the elicitor's concern with negative face.

Expanding accounting forms:

There are other conversational moves that are separate from accounts, which can be seen as relevant to face-work in the accounting sequences. For instance, there were times when an excuse had been given and honored, and both participants continued on about the event. This is a typical example of a direct face-work. There is also a form of identity management that looks different from accounts that deal with the problematic directly and instead works on the overall image presented. This direct self-oriented face-work sometimes accompanied an account or other response to an elicitation and sometimes occurred in the absence of an account. Despite its focus on self-oriented positive face-work, direct face-work attempts tended to appear in more complex account sequences as did the inclusion of advice-seeking. These long and varied sequences reflect ways in which positive and negative face-work and face-work done for self or for other- may be at odds in conversation.

3.2.21 Meier (2004)

The types of accounts that have been investigated include Expressions of Regret, Confessions, Excuses which argue for reduced responsibility, and Justifications which seek to reduce the perceived negativity of the act such as appealing to higher good.

The following table lists apologies from the most effective to the least effective as determined by respondents' rankings on four scales: hearer satisfaction; difficulty of use; helpfulness in solving conflict; and likelihood of use.

Figure 1

Effectiveness of Apologies

(Holtgraves 1989)

High Effectiveness   Full-blown apology: apologize, confess, and refrain from bad behavior in the future, request, forgiveness, offer compensation

Excuse + Regret

Regret

Justification +Regret

Low Effectiveness   Justification

This listing concurs with others' results of placing excuses above justifications in effectiveness. Snyder and Higgins (1986) view excuses to be a critical means of reality negotiation with regard to both oneself and others.

<u>Bad vs. Good Excuses</u>:

There are at least four studies that conclude with a distinction between "bad excuses" and "good excuses". Bad excuses involve reasons for a wrongdoing that depict it as intentional, controllable, stable and internal. Such reasons do little to assure the audience that the wrongdoing-such as the norm violation, was not a true reflection of the values held by the apologist. However, good excuses characterize the offensive behavior as unintentional, uncontrollable, unstable/temporary and external.

Based on Snyder and Higgins' (1986) review of studies involving: motor skill improvement by mentally retarded adults, sales performance, athletic performance, academic improvement by both primary school children and college students, a decrease in the likelihood of depression and progress in psychotherapy, external (e.g. lack of effort) and unstable attributions are likewise concluded to be the most effective.

In addition, a good excuse was found to produce favorable personality evaluations such as dependability, responsibility, considerateness and sensitivity and to result in more forgiveness (Weiner et al. (1987). However, a bad excuse was no more effective in preventing negative emotions such as resentment, irritation and dislike, and eliciting forgiveness than providing no excuse.

In a study involving an offending confederate, Gonzales (1992) found that the best excuses are those that appealed to unavoidable external circumstances, whereas blaming others or playing down the importance of a wrongdoing such as justification, did not yield positive impressions.

Another element of a good excuse is denial of intention. That is, by arguing lack of intent one affirms shared values by placing the blame for a wrongdoing on an uncontrollable force that interfered with the "right" intent (Meier, 1992).

Focusing on public confession, Weiner, Graham, Peter and Zmuidinas (1991) found that the timing of confession-that is, expressing contrition, acknowledging personal responsibility and making reparation- also played a role in effectiveness: A spontaneous confession, in contrast to one offered to an accusation, enhances perceptions of a character and guaranteed future co-operation.

Furthermore, in using a typology of 14 apology or image repair strategies, Benoit and Drew (1997) found mortification- which is a direct expression of apology, concessions- and corrective action to be rated as most effective, with bolstering, minimization (a type of justification), provocation and denial to be the least effective.

Levi (1997) argues that apologies are generally more effective if the persons involved are sensitive to relationship issues. Thus, an apology plus restitution instead of restitution alone is better suited to cases where a potential for a future relationship exists.

In addition, Tavuchis in his focus on the different dynamics involved in interpersonal in contrast to collective apologies (1991), also points out to a somewhat different evaluation of effectiveness. He views sorrow and remorse to be the cornerstone of interpersonal apologies documentation lies at the core of collective apologies. Such

documentation consists of public acknowledgement, acceptance of responsibility and an implicit or explicit promise that the behavior in question will not occur again. However, the swivel of apologies can shift according to the type of situation.

3.2.22 Smith, Powers and Suarez (2005)

Politicians involved in political scandals spend a considerable amount of time and energy managing their tarnished images by providing accounts to explain their alleged misconduct. The effectiveness of these accounts or blame avoidance strategies in satisfying constituents following a scandal may become a determining factor in the politician's election or reelection, or his or her ability to avoid removal from office. Therefore, how politicians account for their transgressions has important consequences for public opinion. That is- politicians' personal characteristics have a potential to influence public judgments following a scandal. Some studies have examined the effects of the politician's sex- a factor that repeatedly has been shown more generally to influence perceptions of politicians on evaluations following a political scandal. This is then intended to evaluate how a politician's sex may work in addition to and in combination with rhetorical account strategies to shape assessments of politicians who are involved in a scandal.

It is thus important to understand women's electability and viability as politicians. Many researchers have assumed that voter bias is responsible for the low levels of women in political office, whereas most of them conclude that when women run for office they have as good a chance of winning as do men. That is, voter bias and stereotyping regarding male and female candidates exist but do not systematically disadvantage women.

The question of bias regarding evaluations of male and female politicians in offices arises: When it comes to transgressions do voters evaluate similarly male and female politicians who are involved in political scandals? Or are women held to different moral or ethical standards than their male counterparts? For instance, had Bill Clinton been a woman would things have turned out differently?

<u>Hypothesis 2a:</u>

> The particular type of explanation, or account offered by a politician for involvement in a scandal will affect citizens' evaluations of that politician, with denials of involvement being the least effective account strategy for all politicians, all else constant.

Scholars of impression management argue that one way actors manage their public impression following inappropriate or undesirable behavior is through the use of accounts. McGraw (1990) contends that politicians' accounts usually fall under one of two broad categories: excuses- involving a "denial of partial or even full responsibility" for the outcome, and justifications, which involve admission of responsibility but denial that the consequences are "necessarily undesirable".

The findings are that the type of account offered by the politician influences the respondents' overall evaluation. Participants found excuses for a transgression to be the most objectionable form of account (ms= .41 for excuses, .49 for denials, and .50 for justifications). Significant differences were found between both excuses and denials and excuses and justifications. However, there were no statistically significant differences in participants' evaluations of justifications and denials. While politicians suffer harsher penalties when they attempt to excuse their actions, it is equally acceptable for politicians to take responsibility for their involvement in the scandal and offer a justification, or to deny the transgression entirely.

Conclusion

While men and women are not held to different ethical standards in general, both male and female politicians may be given the benefit of the doubt when they are involved in types of transgressions that are unexpected for their gender. Findings therefore suggest that it is important to consider the politicians' sex in our explanations of response to political scandal.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE ACCOUNTS IN ISIXHOSA

4.1   AIM

The aim of this section is to analyze the accounts in the various interviews which have been conducted in the Eastern Cape. For this purpose, each interview will be analyzed separately by way of the respective reproaches for which accounts were asked. Specific attention will be focused on the presence of the four types of accounts in the interviews, i.e. concession, denial, excuse and justification. In each case, the arguments which have been tendered for each account will be given with reference to the texts of the interviews. In the analysis, reference is made to the text of the inteviews which is included after the analysis.

4.2   METHODOLOGY

4.2.1. The data was collected from the Eastern Cape Provincial legislature with focus on the departments of Education, Health and Social Development. Five committee members have been interviewed from each of the above mentioned portfolio committees to establish possible failures and challenges in their departments, which give rise to the accounts. The focus of the interview is on the account as to why there is service delivery and policy implementation failures particularly in the selected departments which form part of the social needs cluster. Each interview took about forty-five (45) minutes to an hour.

4.2.2 Criteria

The focus in the analysis will be on the accounts employed by each interviewee, the politeness issues as well as the language use and style.

4.2.2.1 Account:

Austin (1956: 2, 3, 6, and 13) argues that a person is accounting when she or he on his or her behalf will try to defend his or her conduct or to get out of it.

Scott and Lyman (1968: 46-47) defined an account as "a statement made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward behavior whether it is his or that of others,

and whether the proximate cause for the statement arises from the actor himself or from someone else".

According to Bennett (180: 793-795), an account is a type of explanation of an untoward behavior that has a special political status such as the intention or mechanisms of a piece of legislation, either standing for or against the bill.

McLaughlin, O'Hair, Cody (1983: 208) argue that accounts are basically the fundamental modes of response to failure events or reproaches.

Holtgraves (1992) argues that accounts are linguistic devices employed whenever an action is subjected to evaluative enquiry because they have face-preserving functions.

McGraw (1990:120) defines accounts as the explanations offered to provide a more acceptable or satisfactory explanation of the event than that contained in a worst-case reading.

Schönbach (1990: 78-80) argues that an account is the actor's reaction to the opponent's utterance.

Read (1992: 4) states that the term "account" has been used by some researchers to refer to the narratives or stories that we use to explain and make sense of social interaction, and that some have used the term "account" to mean the way in which people try to affect a repair of a social failure.

Weiner (1992: 132-133) argues that an account is similar to a defense mechanism that protects the self-esteem and self-worth of the person.

Morris et al. (1994) define an account as a description that reports trouble accomplishing what is expected ordinarily and therefore, is understood or credited by its recipient(s) as an explanation for a divergence from assumptions about what ordinarily will or should happen. Thus, according to Morris et al., accounts are treated as descriptions.

An account is then a means of responding to challenges. Accounts are the means in which the reproached, questioned or rebuked person defends self or in this case his or her department from the alleged wrong-doing, behavior or situation that is deemed unacceptable.

There are basically four types of accounts that are used in account-giving or rather used to counter attacks on one's image, face and/or reputation: concession, excuse, justification and denial/refusal to account.

Justification:

Justifications are accounts in which one accepts responsibility for the act in question, but denies the negative quality associated with it.

There are seven types of justification:

1. **Minimization-** minimize/deny injury, severity of offence, harm, damage, failure aspects and negative act through

1.1 Present benefits
1.2 Future benefits
Minimize/deny injury:

> ➢ Denial of injury
>
> ➢ Denial and minimization of injury- effect has been misrepresented
>
> ➢ Minimize severity of offence or the negative act
>
> ➢ The way in which the act is characterized is incorrect
>
> ➢ Minimize harm
>
> ➢ The failure event has been characterized in such a way that it minimizes the failure aspects, denies and minimizes the damage; and that there are positive consequences of the failure event, i.e. present and future benefits will result.

(*Scott, Lyman (1968 51-52)* denial of injury; *Semin, Manstead (1983: 92)* effect has been misrepresented: denial and minimization of injury; *McLaughlin, O'Hair, Cody (1983: 209-210)* minimize severity of the offense; *Shaver (1985: 163)* characterization of act was incorrect; *Holtgraves (1989: 4)* minimize harm; *McGraw (1990: 122)* reframe consequences: minimization of harm through future and present benefits; *Schönbach (1990: 191-193)* characteristics of the failure event: minimization of the failure aspects; *Read (1992:4)* minimization of harm; *Benoit (1995: 77-78)* minimize negative act)

2. **Self-fulfillment-**
2.1 Self-development
2.2 Self-fulfillment

Self-fulfillment: self-maintenance, development, conscience and the satisfaction of the actor's own needs and/or development by:

> Using the underprivileged past, good record and present status.

(*Scott, Lyman (1968: 51-52)* self-fulfillment; *Semin, Manstead (1983:92)* self-fulfillment; *McLaughlin, O'Hair, Cody (1983: 209-210)* self-fulfillment; *Holtgraves (1989: 4)* self-fulfillment; *Schönbach (1990: 191-193)* self-fulfillment)

3. **Derogation of victim**

3.1 Reciprocity

3.2 Derogation of victim

3.3 Attack the accuser

Derogation of victim: the victim deserved injury because of his actions and/or qualities through:
> Denial of victim or objects
> Principle of retribution: reciprocity and derogation of victim
> Attack the accuser

(*Scott, Lyman (1968: 51-52)* denial of victim or injury; *Semin, Manstead (1983: 92)* principle of retribution: reciprocity, derogation of victim; *McLaughlin, O'Hair, Cody (1983: 209-2*10) derogation of victim; Holtgraves (1989:4) victim deserved it; Benoit (1995: 77-78) attack accuser)

4. **Comparisons**

4.1 Differentiation

4.2 Past negative circumstances

Comparison to others: others commit worse acts and go unpunished; compare similar misdeeds of the reproacher- differentiation:
> Condemning of the condemner
> Reframe consequences and minimization of harm: looking at future and present benefits; compare past problems and other social groups, and worse-case scenarios.

(*Scott, Lyman (1968: 51-52)* condemnation of the condemner; Semin, Manstead (1983: 92) social comparison to others; *McLaughlin, O'Hair, Cody (1983: 209-210)* comparison to others; *McGraw (1990: 122)* compare past problems and other social

groups and worse-case scenarios; *Benoit (1995: 77-78)* differentiation: compare act with others)

5. Higher authority

5.1 Loyalty

5.2 Higher authority

Higher authority: allegiance or affection to others of power, higher status and rules of institution:

- ➢ Appeal to loyalties such as higher authorities which are powerful and high in status
- ➢ Obedience to powerful agents

(*Scott, Lyman (1968: 51-52)* appeal to loyalties; *Semin, Manstead (1983:92)* higher authority: powerful, higher status; *McLaughlin, O'Hair, Cody (1983: 209-210)* utilitarianism: law and order; *Schönbach (1990: 191-193)* obedience to powerful agents)

6. Higher values

6.1 Fairness

6.2 Facework

Higher values: political, moral, religious values and utilitarianism:

- ➢ Law and order, self-defense and there are more benefits
- ➢ Need for facework, its maintenance and reputation
- ➢ Reframe moral principles by appealing to social fairness and conscience
- ➢ Obedience to specific persons or higher-order values
- ➢ Transcendence by putting the act in a different context or different frame of reference

6.3 Transcendence

(*Semin, Manstead (1983: 92)* utilitarianism: benefits are more, values: political, moral and religious; need for facework; *McGraw (1990:122)* reframe moral principles: fairness, personal conscience; *Schönbach (1990: 191-193)* loyalties to higher-order values or specific persons; *Benoit (1995: 77-78)* transcendence: place act in different context or different frame of reference

7. Bolstering

Bolstering: reduces offensiveness or the degree of ill-feeling of audience by:

> ➢ Strengthening the positive feelings toward the actor

(*Benoit (1995:77-78)* bolstering: strengthen positive feelings toward actor)

Justification is then an admission of responsibility for the unacceptable conduct or situation in question, but denies negativity and/or offensiveness associated with it and that there is no need for reproach.

Excuse:

Excuse is an account in which one admits that the act in question is bad, wrong or inappropriate but at the same time denies full responsibility for it. According to Scott and Lyman (1968), excuses are likely to be invoked when a person is accused of having done something that is "bad, wrong, inept, unwelcome, or in some other of the numerous possible ways, untoward." Schönbach (1990) defines an excuse as any account which admits the occurrence of a failure event and some involvement of the actor in it, but pleads for mitigation in judgment on the basis of various arguments including claims of impairment and hence reduced causal responsibility.

There are basically seven types of excuses:

1. **Defeasibility**
1.1 No knowledge
1.2 Ignorance
Defeasibility is defined as:
> ➢ Claims that the person had lack of knowledge or that the information was not available
> ➢ Plea of ignorance by claiming that the harm was unintentional, or that the actor did not foresee the undesirable consequences as a result of his or her behavior

(*Scott, Lyman (1968: 47-50)* no knowledge, no free will, no intent, no knowledge of consequences; *McGraw (1990: 120-121)* plea of ignorance; *Read (1992: 4)* outside pressure)

2. **Intentions:**
2.1 Accident
2.2 Good intentions

2.3 Lack of intentions through:

➢ Appeals to accidents as the source of conduct or its consequences

➢ Unforeseen consequences due to lack of knowledge, skill or ability, lack of effort or motivations and environmental conditions; mistaken identity of target person

➢ Others or external forces have coerced the actor

(*Scott, Lyman (1968: 47-50)* accident; *Semin, Manstead (1983: 91-92)* denial of intent: accident, unforeseen consequences, mistaken identity of the target person; *Shaver* (*1985: 163-164*) denial of intention; *Holtgraves (1989:4)* deny intent; *Benoit (1995:76-77)* accident, good intention)

3. **Responsibility**

3.1 Horizontal

3.2 Vertical

Responsibility may be employed through:

➢ Scapegoating or appeal to one's own effort and concern before or during the failure event

➢ Horizontal diffusion of responsibility- in the sense that the failure event was a collective responsibility (such as committee decision)

➢ Vertical diffusion of responsibility- hierarchical responsibility, (In the political arena, excuses are used as an attempt to weaken perceptions of the causal link between the actor and the failure event, McGraw: 1990)

➢ Argument that the failure event was caused by outside pressure

(*McLaughlin, O'Hair, Cody (1983: 209)* diffusion of responsibility; *McGraw (1990: 120-121)* horizontal or vertical diffusion of responsibility; *Read (1992:4)* outside pressure)

4. **Causal excuse**

4.1 Alternative cause

4.2 Null cause

Causal excuses are employed by:

➢ Offering an alternative cause of the action that other people are responsible for the untoward behavior, or through a null cause by arguing that "it's not my job" and thereby cutting short the argument

- ➢ Minimize involvement by claiming to be just an innocent bystander or that the actor was just an insignificant part of many causal elements
- ➢ Arguing that there was no causal impact on the outcome, instead it is on other source/s which are external to the offender

(*Thompson (1980: 910-914)* causal excuse: (a) alternative cause- someone else has done the same, different or worse mistake, and (b) null cause- not my job; *Shaver (1985: 163-164)* minimize causal role: innocent bystander, insignificant part; *Read (1992: 4)* no causal impact on outcome: causality is on some other source, external to offender)

5. **Volition**

5.1 Compulsion

5.2 Impairment

Volition claims:

- ➢ Other's ignorance and compulsion in that no explicit order has been given
- ➢ Impairment of capacity due to temporal or permanent physical and psychological causes; lack of authority to act differently
- ➢ Appeal to biological defects such as impairment or disabilities as the reason for the failure event
- ➢ Impairment and diminished responsibility; impairment of volition due to the situation, time pressure, loyalties to values and specific persons and powerful agents

(*Thompson (1980: 910-914)* volitional excuse: (a) ignorance of actions of other officials, and (b) compulsion- dubious event is expected of official; *Semin, Manstead (1983: 91-92)* denial of volition: physical or psychological causes, lack of authority; *McLaughlin, O'Hair, Cody (1983: 209)* impairment and/or disability; *Holtgraves (1989: 4)* deny volition; *Schönbach (1990: 189-191)* impairment of capacity due to fatigue, alcohol, drugs, illness, mental illness; impairment of volition due to time pressure, loyalties to values and specific persons and/or powerful agents)

6. **Agency**

6.1 Joint production

6.2 Amnesia

Agency is:

> ➤ Denial pf agency by appealing to issues such as mistaken identity, amnesia and/or joint production
>
> ➤ Claims that the actor did not really perform the action called into question

(*Semin, Manstead (1983: 91-92)* denial of agency due to mistaken identity, amnesia, joint production; *Shaver (1985: 163-164)* denial of action)

7. **Mitigation**

7.1 Scapegoat

7.2 Sad tale

7.3 Present adverse conditions

7.4 Past adverse conditions

Mitigation of blame:

> ➤ Due to biological drives; scapegoating in the sense that the actor was provoked and as a result the other person should be blamed for the action
>
> ➤ Sad tales
>
> ➤ Mitigation of blame and consequences
>
> ➤ Participation of others in the action, their limitations, the actor's past and present adverse conditions including underprivileged past, as well as present status and good intentions

(*Scott, Lyman (1968: 47-50)* biological drives, scapegoating; *Semin, Manstead (1983: 91-92)* appeal to mitigating circumstances: scapegoating and sad tale; *McLaughlin, O'Hair, Cody (1983: 209)* scapegoating; *Shaver (1985: 163-164)* mitigation of blame; *Holtgraves (1989: 4)* mitigating circumstances; *McGraw (1990: 120-121)* mitigating circumstances: past or present adverse conditions; *Schönbach (1990: 189-191)* participation of others in misdeed such as their limitations or negative traits and misdeeds, actor's self- past or present, underprivileged past, good record, legitimacy of the failure, good intentions, compensation, learning experience; *Read (1992:4)* negative consequences were not foreseen; *Benoit (1995:76-77)* provocation: scapegoating)

An excuse is thus an account in which the excuse-giver admits that the act in question is indeed questionable and/or unacceptable, but then refuses to take responsibility (full or partial) for it.

Refusal/denial:

McLaughlin, Cody and O'Hair (1983:210) argue that refusal is:

> Failure management strategy in which the speaker/actor denies that he or she is guilty of the failure event; that the failure event occurred or that the accuser has the right to reproach.

Shaver (1985: 83) maintains that by using denial, a person denies personal causality and consequences of the act in question as well as the denial of the proximate causality.

According to Schönbach (1992:193), denial is:

> denial of failure event or actor's involvement; other person's responsible for the failure; evasions and mystifications; failure was unforeseeable; provocation; participation of others; limitations, negative traits and misdeeds of others; self-relevant comments: underprivileged past, good record/status; conviction of legitimacy, good intentions, effort and care, compensation; Minimization, denial of damage or event, positive consequences.

Benoit (1995: 75) argues that denial could be employed by simply denying the failure event and/or by shifting the blame, also known as victimage.

Denial is thus the denial of any offense due to the fact that there was no such thing as an unacceptable/ questionable conduct or rather situation, and for that reason the reproach is uncalled-for.

Concession:

McLaughlin, Cody and O'Hair (1983: 209) define: concession as acknowledgement of guilt, an apology and an offer of restitution.

According to Holtgraves (1989:3-4) concessions can be viewed as moves that admit blame for inflicting pain upon another through:

> Acknowledging the negative consequences, admit responsibility for act, express regret or remorse, ask for forgiveness, offer compensation, promise not to repeat act, apologize and, disparage oneself.

Schönbach (1990: 188) argues that a concession is:

> Acknowledgement of negative aspects of the act and the reproacher's right to reproach, admission of responsibility, guilt, mistake, shame and embarrassment; expression of regret; compensation and apology.

Benoit (1995:79) suggests that a concession is actually mortification: an admission of responsibility for the act and an apology.

Thus, concession is an acknowledgement of the questionable or unacceptable conduct, taking responsibility and causality for that situation and also seeking forgiveness for it.

4.2.2.2 Politeness:

1. Mitigation, aggravation:

McLaughlin, Cody and O'Hair (1983:212) proposed a mitigating-aggravating continuum for account types that allows for the possibility of facework as well as face attack. They investigated four types of accounts which fall along the other-oriented mitigating-aggravating continuum: *concessions* that are normally assumed to be the most mitigating, reflecting the greatest concern for other-face; *excuses* whereby the actor admits to the failure event but denies responsibility- fall next on the continuum; *justifications* are accounts in which the offender admits responsibility for the failure event but denies that the behavior was untoward- are seen to be more aggravating account type; and *refusals*-to offer an account or *denials* that an infraction occurred are perceived to be the most aggravating accounting types.

MITIGATION- AGGRAVATION CONTINUUM

1	2	3	4
Concession	excuse	justification	refusal

← →

Mitigation   aggravation

(least threatening)   (most threatening)
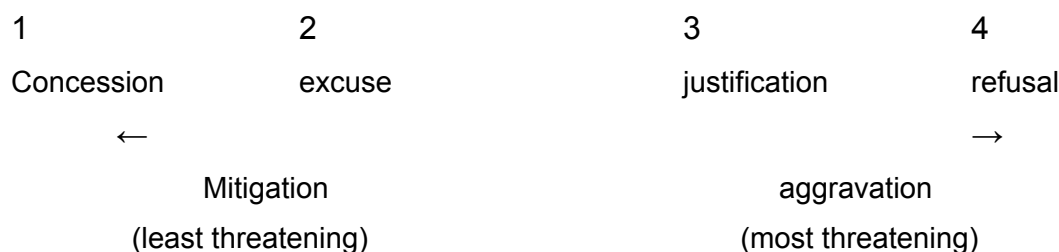
Holtgraves (1989: 8-14) argues that if accounts are viewed in terms of face, then the type of account used should be a function of the degree of face-threat implied by the failure event. What this means is that the greater the severity of the offense, the greater the likelihood that the face concerns will be encoded in an account. As far as

the effect of reproach severity is concerned, he maintains that the more aggravating or face-threatening the reproach is, the greater the need for the speaker to support his or her own face. He states that a concession which is actually admitting guilt together with an apology supports the hearer's positive face and possibly the negative face especially if restitution is included; simultaneously the admission of fault threatens the speaker's own positive and negative face. However, refusals do not threaten the speaker's positive and negative face, but increase the positive and negative face-threat to the person who has been offended. On the other hand, justifications [denying harm] provide less positive and negative face support for the hearer as they attempt to minimize the offensiveness of the act, although they admit the breach and so are more supportive to the hearer than do refusals. In so doing, justifications simultaneously provide greater support for the speaker's positive and negative face than do excuses [denying responsibility].

Holtgraves (1992) argues that accounts are linguistic devices employed whenever an action is subjected to evaluative enquiry because they have face-preserving functions. Actions that constitute an account can be interpreted in terms of the negative and positive face-threat, both of the speaker and that of the hearer. The account used should be a function of the degree of face-threat. For instance, if the severity of the offense is greater, then the likelihood that face concerns will be encoded in an account will also be greater. He further argues that accounts illustrate that the more attentive a speaker is to the hearer's face, the more the speaker's own face is humbled or threatened.

Gonzales (1992: 145-148) found that the best excuses are those that appealed to unavoidable external circumstances, whereas blaming others or playing down the importance of a wrongdoing such as justification, did not yield positive impressions.

Benoit (1997: 158-161) states that image is the perception of a person (or group, or organization) held by the audience, shaped by the words and actions of that person, as well as by the discourse and behavior of other relevant actors. Benoit argues that the analysis he gave on the Hugh Grant, Bill Clinton and Isuzu trooper situations shows that when one commits an offensive act, it is often best to employ mortification, because confession may not only be good for the soul, but also good for one's reputation. However, Benoit further points out that the contrast between political, corporate and entertainment image repair suggests that it is probably more

risky for some rhetors to engage in mortification. As a result it is generally difficult to use mortification particularly for those in positions with responsibility.

2. Face management:

Benoit (1995: 67-74) argues that humans frequently engage in acts of image or reputation restoration after an alleged or perceived wrong-doing. He suggests that the actual or perceived wrong-doing is a recurrent feature of human activity and as such when these misbehaviors occur, people are then impelled to rebuke, accuse, attack, berate, blame, complain, condemn, reproach and object to our behaviors. He is of the view that defensive utterances such as excuses, justifications, apologies, etc. are pervasive attempts used to reshape another's beliefs, to change his or her belief that the act in question was wrongful, or to shift his or her attribution of responsibility for that act.

Manusov et al. (2004: 516-518, 531-535) argue that the research related to facework shows that multiple strategies used by all parties who witness an infraction or part of an ccounting are available for face redress and protection. They focused more on the potential face implications stemming from accounts provided by offenders. Concessions, excuses, justification and refusals/denials were used as the primary categories in the independent variable and judgments of other's positive or negative face-attentiveness. Their findings showed significant differences in evaluations of other-face attentiveness for elicitors' perceptions of the accounters' positive face attentiveness and for the accounters' perceptions of their own attentiveness to the other's positive face. Manusov et al. also discovered a trend for differences in the elicitors' perception of the accounters' negative face-attentiveness, revealing some evidence that elicitors may have seen excuses as more negative face-attentive than they saw refusals. However, they argue that concessions did not differentiate from the other types.

3. Effect of severe reproaches on accounts:

According to Cody and Braaten (1992: 228-237), the reproach-account phase of the account episode has two hypotheses.

First Hypothesis: a "reciprocity" expectation with the prediction that reproach forms elicit similar kinds of accounts, such as the fact that polite reproaches elicit polite

accounts as much as hostile and/or aggravating forms elicit hostile and/or aggravating accounts.

<u>Second Hypothesis:</u> relies on psychological reactance theory and predicts that a severely phrased reproach form represents a threat to the account-giver's freedom and as a result produces defensive reactions. Thus, the central psychological reactance hypothesis is that threats to one's freedom will elicit a defensive reaction.

<u>Types of Severe Reproaches</u>

The Braaten et al. (1990: 232-237) data on severe reproaches revealed that the severely phrased reproaches could be coded in certain ways. There are two forms of severe reproaches: an attack on self-esteem and an attack on commitment and dedication. Both these forms give an indication and implication that the failure event was due to causes that are personal, intentional, controllable and stable.

Three other forms of severe reproaches include anger expressions, rude behavior and threats/warnings. Anger expressions (yelling, being aggressive and screaming) reflect a form of severe reproach that engages in behaviors that would be perceived as failure events in normal interpersonal settings. As such, anger should be an expression that individuals control, as it is perceived to be a violation.

Schönbach and Kleinbaumhüter (1990: 232-233, 241-242) suggested that the politeness issues are characterized by the following issues:

> The greater the severity of a reproach the more defensive the actor will be; the greater an actor's habitual need for control the more defensive will the reaction be when the reproach phase has exceeded the threshold value of severity.

They also argue that the account phase reactions of male actors are more defensive than those of female actors and they believe that men have stronger defensiveness compared to women. They maintain that a reproach with actor's sense of control as primary target, elicits defensive reactions.

4. Refusals and Politeness:

Turnbull (1992: 114-126) argues that communicators design what they say to establish, maintain or reduce desired images of themselves, others and that of their social relationships. This means that people try by all means to avoid threatening and

try to protect their own image and others' images of self. He states that the concept of face refers to the desire to have others accept the positive image one claims for oneself, to have others value one's values also known as the positive face (our values and desires should be values and desires of those we want to approve of us) and the desire to be free to pursue one's goals also known as the negative face (desire for autonomy, not to be taken unfair advantage of or be imposed upon). He argues that the impression management perspective focuses on the actor's goal of effectively presenting a positive image of self to both the self and the audience. He maintains that this conception of accounting is therefore interactional in nature with concerns of politeness being a central component. He is of the view that the offender's goal in making excuses is to maintain a positive image of self by lessening the responsibility for negative acts attributed by observers to the offender/ transgressor.

5. Constructing the account:

Read's (1992: 9-16*)* argues that there are two basic steps to be used or rather followed in making an account:

> *Step 1:* Activation of related concepts: the failure event should activate a wide range of associated concepts and then the activation of an explanation pattern may also activate various pieces of evidence or facts that are typically associated with that pattern. He suggests that the facts of the case should activate associated concepts and that our goals in constructing an account should also affect concepts that are activated, as these goals shape the kind of account we try to build (excuse, justification, concession and/or refusal).

> *Step 2:* Arriving at a coherent representation. He suggests that this process determines which of the activated concepts best characterizes the event and allows one to arrive at a coherent, consistent representation.

6. Effective accounts:

McGraw (1990: 126-128) argues that accounts that yield more favorable evaluations elicit the highest satisfaction ratings. Effective accounts include: (a) justifications that appeal to norms- fairness or conscience; (b) justifications that emphasize positive-past or future consequences directly relevant to the unhappy constituency; (c) excuses that claim mitigating external circumstances that are least partially

responsible for the outcome. Ineffective accounts include (a) pleas of ignorance; (b) justifications that focus on outcomes not directly relevant to the unhappy constituency specifically other districts and hypothetical possibilities; and (c) excuses that attempt to diffuse responsibility to other decision makers.

McGraw (1991: 1140-1142) states that role obligations require elected officials to be aware of the consequences of their actions and failure to fulfill these obligations cannot be easily excused and/or justified.

McGraw, Hubbard (1996: 154-157) postulate that justifications appealing to normative principles-ethical standards such as fairness and the dictates of one's conscience are generally among the more effective accounts. Justifications that are directly challenging perceptions of the consequences of the policy, such as those pointing to additional benefits are more acceptable than those involving more abstract comparisons. Among excuses, claims of mitigating circumstances are relatively effective, reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances. They also maintain that excuses involving diffusions of responsibility or pleas of ignorance are consistently poor accounts.

Meier (2004: 5-9) points out that the following accounts are highly effective:

> Full-blown apology: apologize, confess, and refrain from bad behavior
> in the future, request, forgiveness, offer compensation; Excuse coupled
> with Regret; Regret and Justification coupled with Regret.

Smith, Powers, Suarez (2005: 122-128) argue that the effectiveness of accounts or blame avoidance strategies in satisfying constituents particularly following a scandal may become a determining factor in the politician's election or re-election, or his or her ability to avoid removal from office. They maintain that how politicians account for their transgressions has important consequences for public opinion and/or that those politicians' personal characteristics have a potential to influence public judgments especially following a scandal.

4.2.2.3 Language and style

In the analysis of the accounts, focus will be given on issues pertaining to syntactic level (length and complexity of sentences); lexical level such as lexical diversity (technical and English terms), language imagery (metaphor and simile) and equivocal language. The accounts will then be judged according to these three criteria:

Politeness of accounts is based on the types of accounts that are least or most threatening against the accuser's face. The least threatening accounts are highly mitigating in nature and are the concessions and excuses. Justifications and denials/refusals are the most threatening and highly aggravating against the accuser's face.

Effectiveness refers to the accounts that have been used by the accounters, which are standardized and deemed polite by the public such as these justifications: higher values (fairness) and higher authority respectively. Excuses that are regarded as polite are: defeasibility, responsibility, causal excuse, and/or volition respectively.

Argumentation refers to the number of reasons or rather arguments given by the accounter in support of the accounts that have been used. Accounts that have a high number of reasons are then considered to be most persuasive and the account with low number of arguments given in support is considered as least persuasive.

4.3   ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS IN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

4.3.1   Interview no: 1

4.3.1.1 Former Model C schools:

Reproach: The level of education in feeder primary schools is not up to standard and the primary schools are not managed properly.

1.1.   Justification:

Appeal to higher values: Fairness:

The justifier wants to reframe the moral principles underlying this reproach by focusing on the principle of fairness, which is societal fairness. In this regard,

he mentions the issue of discrimination. There is no justification of discrimination by claiming a loophole in policy or that the department does not measure the performance level in these schools. (EI1, Q1: 1-4)

1.2.   Justification:

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. There should be future benefits because an existing program is to be extended and more resources will be made available. He put these issues as follows:

a. Matric results are used to measure performance level: this program should be extended to lower grades (EI1, Q1: 4-11, 19-22)
b. Resources should also go to lower grades and not only to higher grades (EI1, Q1: 11-15, 22-24)

1.3.   Denial:

The denier simply denies the reproach. The reproach (by the former Model C schools) is not true. (EI1, Q1: 15-24)

1.4.   Justification:

Derogation of victim:

The justifier attacked the reproacher (the former Model C schools) with the hope that such an attack may lessen the failure aspects or may divert attention away from his department. He attacked them in the following manner:

a. They discriminate against affected and disadvantaged learners through the use of language proficiency tests (EI1, Q1: 25-29, 31-34)
b. They should improve the situation (EI1, Q1: 37-39)
c. They make Model C schools inaccessible to those affected children who do not meet requirements (EI1, Q1: 38-41)
d. They discriminate against learners and that is against the constitution (EI1, Q1: 41-42)

e. They disregard others' right to education (EI1, Q1: 42-43)

1.5. <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Comparison: Past negative circumstances</u>:

The justifier claims that the presence of disadvantaged learners in schools is the legacy of the apartheid system (EI1, Q1: 29-31)

The former Model C schools should take note of this by knowing and learning more about the historical background (EI1, Q1: 34-36)

4.3.1.2 School fees:

Reproach: The department of Education does not make enough resources available for schools, and this is the reason why the former Model C schools are forced to demand high school fees.

2.1. <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver focused attention on two adverse conditions facing the department at present such as the budget constraints and transformations:

a. Limitation and inelasticity of the budget (EI1, Q2: 1-6, 9-13)
b. Challenges and transformation of the department are a heavy duty to deal with: they need the private sector resources (EI1, Q2: 6-9)

2.2. <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigating circumstances: Past adverse conditions:</u>

The South African budget was originally meant for few and now it caters for more beneficiaries, but it is undergoing a process of transformation (EI1, Q2: 13-18)

2.3. <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Derogation of the victim: attacking the accuser:</u>

The excuse-giver argues that these high fees are not justified because:

a. They make access to schools impossible for all children (EI1, Q2: 18-21)

b. Disadvantaged children have no access to these schools (EI1, Q2: 21-23)

c. These schools do not make any contribution for the benefit of learners (EI1, Q2: 23-25)

2.4. Justification:

Higher values: Reframe principles:

The issues within the department should be put in the context of various principles such as discrimination and free access to education. In this regard the justifier mentions the following:

a. Historical background (EI1, Q2: 25)

b. Discrimination against constitution (EI1, Q2: 26-28)

c. Government will offer free education for disadvantaged learners (EI1, Q2: 28-31)

2.5. Justification:
Minimization: Reframe consequences:
Present benefits:
The justifier argues that there should be benefits of school fees:

▪ Shortage of teachers in public schools and of resources: thus school fees are used to employ more teachers (EI1, Q2:31-36

2.6 Justification:

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier is trying to reframe the negative consequences of the act by appealing to positive future benefits that are intended for the minimization of the blame on the part of the department. He mentions that:

▪ Model C schools should make plans to deal with disadvantaged learners such as exemption of fees and subsidies. Then such fees will benefit children (EI1, Q2: 36-42)

4.3.1.3 Learner performance:

Reproach: There is a general poor performance of learners and the department should take responsibility for that as well as for under-qualified and ill-disciplined teachers.

Excuse:

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver goes to great lengths in accepting responsibility for the poor performance of learners and the low level of preparedness of teachers:

I   Teachers' contribution:
   a. Acceptance of poor standards of teachers according to their training and qualification, lack of capacity: (EI1, Q3: 1-11)
   b. Teachers do not have enough time for training. Balance should be sought between time for training and teaching. (EI1, Q3: 11-21)
   c. Morale of teachers is low because of their grievances about staff establishment and salaries, the teacher unions also complained. (EI1, Q3: 21-34)
   d. In this way teachers contributed to the poor learner performance. (EI1, Q3: 34-35)

II   Learners contributed to this problem in the following manner:
   a. Lack of discipline: abolishment of corporal punishment. (EI1, Q3: 35-40)
   b. Lack of parents' involvement in learners' education. (EI1, Q3: 41-52)
   c. Late-coming to school. (EI1, Q3: 52-54)
   d. Drug abuse. (EI1. Q3: 55-56)
   e. Lack of cooperation with teachers. (EI1, Q3: 56-57)

Justification:

Minimization of harm: Reframe consequences: Future benefits

The justifier then goes on to deny that these issues are responsible for excessive harm by making an appeal to positive consequences once some problems have been solved. Minimization of harm is thus employed and the justifier wants to reframe the consequences by looking at benefits which may accrue because of the following

measures taken by the department concerning a better relationship between the department and the teachers as well as giving attention to senior management within the department:

a. Cooperation between teachers and the department need to be established. (EI1, Q3: 57-61)

b. Instability within the senior management of the department to be addressed. (EI1, Q3: 61-63)

c. There are many vacancies in the senior management of the department which need to be filled. (EI1, Q3: 63-65)

d. These challenges are the cause of the department's service delivery. (EI1, Q3: 65-67)

4.3.1.4 The high rate of educators' absenteeism:

Reproach: educators blame the adverse conditions under which they must teach as the primary reason for their absenteeism.

Excuse:

Mitigation of Blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver freely admits the adverse conditions under which teachers have to operate and mentions specifically the following:

a. Poor conditions of schools, no learner support materials, ill-disciplined learners. (EI1, Q4: 1-10, 14-18)

b. School principals do not have proper leadership qualities and do not do their jobs properly. (EI1, Q4: 18-36)

c. Teachers tend to give priority to their own personal development programs to the detriment of the learners. (Ei1, Q4: 36-47)

d. There is tension between teachers and the department. (EI1, Q4: 48-50)

e. The department has staff shortages. (EI1, Q4: 51-53)

Justification:

Minimization of harm: Reframe consequences: Future benefits

These issues may be justified because the potential harm may not be very high. Some positive consequences will develop and future benefits may then accrue because of the following initiatives of the department:

a. Teachers were asked to support the various departmental programs. (EI1, Q4: 10-11)
b. The department is looking at capacity building of principals. (EI1, Q4: 30-31)
c. The tension between the department and teachers has stabilized. (EI1, Q4: 50)
d. Teacher-learner ratio has improved to 40 learners. (EI1, Q4: 53-59)

The justifier also mentions in support of the justification for minimum harm that not all teachers are bad. There are dedicated teachers (EI1, Q4: 12-14) as well as principals (EI1, Q4: 24-25).

4.3.1.5 Planning and migration:

Reproach: Parents move their children from one school to another to find better education because schools in their communities offer poor quality education.

5.1 Excuse:

Mitigation: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver agrees with most of the problems mentioned in the reproach:

a. Poor conditions of schools and infrastructure. (EI1, Q5: 1-8)
b. No care, low quality of educators and principals. (Ei1, Q5: 8-11)
c. Education in towns is better than in rural areas. (Ei1, Q5: 11-13)

5.2 Justification:

Minimization: Reframe consequences: future benefits

These factors give rise to the migration of learners to urban areas. However, the justifier thinks that this harm may be minimized because of the plans that the department has put in place, which will allow for better benefits in the future:

a. The department will renovate and build more schools. (EI1, Q5: 13-14)

b. The department has a rationalization program in which two or more schools in one area will be integrated into one school. (EI1, Q5: 15-32)

5.3 Justification:

Appeal to higher values: Reframe principles: Fairness:

The justifier is of the opinion that the problems which have been identified in paragraph 5.1 above may not be the sole reasons for migration of learners. Research should be conducted in the name of fairness to establish the reasons of this migration. Thus, this approach will give rise to new insights into the migration and will give rise to greater fairness in the teaching community. (EI1, Q5: 32-40)

4.3.1.6 Redeployment

Reproach: The issue of redeployment of educators has been discussed for a long time and schools are not in favor of such a method to bring about equity as it makes it difficult to find the best educator for a specific subject or grade:

Justification:

Appeal to higher values: Reframe principles: Fairness:

The justifier expresses the general agreement concerning the measurement of the number of teachers within the province. It is felt that the way in which the ratio is measured is not stable. (EI1, Q6: 1-13)

The justifier thus wants the department to conduct a proper research into the problem to establish another set of principles within which the problem may be solved. This research will result in the principle of fairness to everybody in the society.

1. **Language and style:**

1.1 *Syntactic level:*

a. *Length of sentences:*

The account-giver has mostly used long sentences such as: Q1: 6-13 This sentence is actually composed of seven lines. This is not a problem at all as the sentence is

easier to understand and comprehend. Another example is that of a sentence starting from line 25- 33 (Q1: 25-33)

b. *Complexity of sentences:*

In his account, the legislator has used a lot of subordinate clauses mostly with complementizers and conjunctions as well as coordinate clauses with conjuncts, indicative and subjunctive clauses. For instance: "ndicinga <u>ukuba</u> (complementiser) yonke le nto yitechinicality nje wena <u>kuba</u> (conjunction) awukwazi <u>ukuyithethelela</u> (infinitive subordinate clause) into yocalulo ngokuthi…" (EI1, Q1:1-2)

Another example: "Esi sesinye sezizathu ezenze <u>into yokuba</u> sigqibe (complemetiser) <u>kwelokuba</u> isebe (complementiser) kufuneka linike ingqwalasela <u>ukususela</u> kumabanga aphantsi <u>ukuya</u> kuma kwimatriki (indicative clauses). Ndifun'<u>ukuthi</u> (infinitive subordinate clause) ke leyo into siyiphawule siyikomiti njengengxaki ekhoyo, <u>andiqisekanga</u> ke ngokohlalutyo olunikwa zizikolo eziziiModel C ngokwesi sityholo ( ) <u>nokuba</u> (conjunct) zizama <u>ukuthi</u> isebe alinankathalo ngokusebenza (indicative clause) <u>okanye</u> umgangatho wamabanga aphantsi (subjunctive clause) nto leyo endingakholelwa <u>ukuba</u> eneneni injalo (complementiser), <u>kodwa</u> (conjunct) ke oyena ndoqo <u>yinto yokuba</u> impazamo yenzekile (complementiser) <u>ngokuthi</u> kusetyenziswe ibanga leshumi njengesixhobo sokumeta iperfomance level yezikolo (conjunction) <u>nangani</u> loo nto ingathethi (conjunction) <u>into yokuba</u> amabanga aphantsi atyeshelwe (complementiser)" (EI1, Q1:13-22)

1.2 Lexical level:

a. *Lexical diversity:*

i. *Technical terms:* In terms of lexical diversity, the account-giver has used quite a number of modern terms such as: *umgaqo-siseko; inkqubo; izixhobo zokufundisa; ikomiti; uhlenga-hlengiso; ucalulo; amaxhoba; ukutyeshela; ukunyhasha; amalungelo.* These terms have been made popular mostly by the new government dispensation and it is not surprising that the account-giver has these terms on the tip of his tongue as he is the legislator.

ii. *English terms:* The account-giver has also used a large number of English words due maybe to laziness to think of the equivalent Xhosa terms. He uses

such words as: *yitechnicality* instead of bubucukubhede EI1, Q1:1); *kwimatriki* instead of kwibanga leshumi (EI1, Q1: 15); *iperfomance leve*l instead of umgangatho/izinga lokusebenza (EI1, Q1: 21); *nelegacy ye-apartheid* instead of isiqhamo sombuso wocalu-calulo (EI1, Q1:30).

b. *Language imagery:*

i. ***Simile:***

The accounter does not use much language imagery in his speech repertoire except for a simile here and there: "…*kusetyenziswe ibanga leshumi njengesixhobo sokumeta iperformance level yezikolo*…", "…*oko ungakuchaza njengocalu-calulo ngokwebala*…", and "…*andikuboni oko njengesisombululo*…"

1.3 Equivocal language:

The account-giver has used unequivocal language almost throughout his account except for one or two instances where he showed some element of uncertainty concerning the reproach: "…*andiqinisekanga ke ngokohlalutyo olunikwa zizikolo eziziiModel C ngokwesi sityholo*…"

2. **Language use:**

2.1 Politeness issues:

The accounter has tried to take heed of the face-threatening acts and thereby acknowledging the other's (reproacher) face by agreeing to the reproaches and accepting them, thereby preserving the other's positive face and sacrificing his positive face. However, he goes back to justifying the whole situation, in fact he does mostly in response to reproaches 3-6. This manifests itself through the major use of the justification strategy, which poses a threat to the reproacher's positive face and also to the justifier's negative face. This strategy is regarded as less polite due to its high level of aggravation.

The use of an excuse strategy though is perceived as polite due to its mitigation qualities as it is less threatening to the other's face, but sacrificing the excuse-giver's positive face.

2.2 *Effectiveness:*

This accounter has specifically and maybe intentionally chosen mostly two accounts which are believed to have a potential to be more effective and acceptable by the reproacher. Among the so-called "effective" strategies used are justifications and excuses. There are basically two types of justifications that have repeatedly been used by the justifier: appeals to higher values in terms of fairness and justifications that appeal to additional benefits. Both these justification strategies have been employed with the intention of reframing consequences of the failure event. Another justification that has been employed is that of derogation of the victim by attacking the accuser with the intention of reducing the credibility of the source of the accusations and to divert attention away from the accusation. This justification is also employed to reduce the damage to one's image and that of the department. The interviewee has employed a total of 14 justifications:

Present benefits	1 [1 argument]
Future benefits	6 [16 arguments]
Appeal to higher values: Fairness	3 [3 arguments]
Comparison, negative past	1 [2 arguments]
Higher values: Reframe principles	1 [3 arguments]
Derogation of victim: Attack accuser	2 [8 arguments]

Excuses that have been employed are those that are claims of mitigating circumstances because they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances such as present and past adverse conditions. A total of 5 excuses have been employed:

Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	4 [19 arguments]
Mitigation: Past adverse conditions	1 [1 argument]

2.3 *Power of speech style:*

The interviewee has decided to use strategies that avoid blame and that claim credit for what the department has done or is going to do for the people. Such a strategy is justification particularly the minimization of the negative aspects of the failure through appealing to additional benefits.

Interview no: 1 of the department of Education
Isebe lezeMfundo

Kwintetho yomnyaka ka-2005 yoLwabiwo-mali neNkqubo karhulumente ebisenziwa ngohloniphekileyo uMphathiswa wezeMfundo waseMpuma Koloni, kuye kwaphawulwa iingxaki ezithile eziqgamileyo kwiSebe lezeMfundo.

Department of Education

In the 2005 Budget and Policy speech of the honorable MEC for Education of the Eastern Cape, certain problems were clearly identified within the Education Department.

First reproach: p.1

Iingxaki ezimalunga noYilo lweNguqu oluDityanisiweyo kwezeMfundo (p. 407)

1.   Umphathiswa obekekileyo uqale ngokugxininisa "kwiinguqu eziqhubekekayo kwizikolo ezazifudula zibizwa ngokuba zii-model C. Izityholo zobuhlanga, ukutshintsha-tshintsha kwemigathango yesebe ngokuphathelele kulwamkelo lwabantwana ezikolweni oluquka ulawulo lovavanyo lolwazi lolwimi kwakunye nokutyeshelwa kwemithetho yolwimi, zizinto ke ezi ezivelayo kule meko" (p. 4) Ngokuphathelele kuvavanyo lolwazi lolwimi kunye nemithetho yolwimi yeSebe, siqwalasela oku:

Izikolo ezazifudula zibizwa ngokuba ziiModel-C zona zivakalisa ukuba ezi mvavanyo azijoliswanga ekutshintsha-tshintsheni kweimgathango yolwimi ngokuphathelele kulwamkelo lwabantwana kunye nemithetho yolwimi. Izikolo zikwavakalisa nento yokuba izinga lemfundo kwizikolo ezinikezela abantwana abaya kumabanga aphezulu alikho mgangathweni. Ngenxa yale meko izikolo ziye zibe noxanduva lokuziqulunqela iimvavanyo zazo ukuze ziqinisekise ukuba abafundi abasuka kwizikolo zamabanga aphantsi banganakho na ukumelana nesilabhasi yezikolo zamabanga aphezulu. ISebe lezeMfundo alizilawuli ngokugqibeleleyo izikolo zamabanga aphantsi.

Ndicinga ukuba yonke le nto yitechnicality nje wena kuba awukwazi ukuyithethelela into yocalulo ngokuthi likhona isolotya kumgaqo-siseko okanye isebe alinayo inkqubo ecacileyo yokujonga umgangatho wemfundo ofumanekayo kwezo zikolo. Inyaniso yeyokuba okokuqala ikhona ingxaki ngokuphathelele izinga lemfundo efumanekayo kwizikolo zamabanga aphantsi, siyifumanisile loo nto kutyelelo ebesilwenza ezikolweni ukuba ikhona loo ngxaki.   Sifumanise ukuba isebe liyimeta iperformance yezikolo ngeziphumo zebanga leshumi kwaye le yinto esifumanise ukuba asikholelwa ukuba yindlela elungileyo kuba ke kufuneka le nkqubo siyinabisele nakwizikolo zamabanga aphantsi kuquka nokunikezelwa kwezixhobo zokufundisa nanjengoko sifumanise ukuba le nto ayiphelelanga nje kuphela kwinto yotyelelo, nokunikezelwa kwezixhobo kukwatsoliswe ikakhulu kwezi zikolo zamabanga aphezulu kube ngolo hlobo kuchaphazeleka la mabanga aphantsi. Esi sesinye sezizathu ezenze into yokuba sigqibe kwelokuba isebe kufuneka linike ingqwalasela ukususela kumabanga aphantsi ukuya kuma kwimatriki. Ndifun'ukuthi ke leyo into siyiphawule siyikomiti njengengxaki ekhoyo, andiqinisekanga ke ngokohlalutyo olunikwa zizikolo eziiiModel C ngokwesi sityholo nokuba zizama ukuthi isebe alinankathalo ngokusebenza okanye umgangatho wamabanga aphantsi nto leyo endingakholelwa ukuba eneneni injalo, kodwa ke oyena ndoqo yinto yokuba impazamo yenzekile ngokuthi kusetyenziswe ibanga leshumi njengesixhobo sokumeta iperformance level yezikolo nangani loo nto ingathethi into yokuba amabanga aphantsi atyeshelwe. Siyakholelwa ke ukuba luzakubakhona uhlenga-

hlengiso oluzakwenziwa ngokuthi izixhobo zokufunda nokufundisa zifumaneke kuwo onke amabanga ngokulinganayo kwaye ke le meko inikwe ingqwalasela.

Andikholelwa ukuba ezi zikolo zingayithethelela into yokuhlenga-hlengisa abantwana abasuka kwezinye izikolo ngokuthi bavavanywe kuqala phambi kokuba bangene kwezi zikolo zabo kuba loo nto ingatheth'ukuba lukhona ucalulo olukhoyo nanjengoko kuthi kuchaneke abantwana abaninzi ingakumbi abo basuka kwiindawo ezihlelelekileyo; naleyo into yokuhlelekula kwabantwana bethu yayamene nelegacy ye-apartheid kuba ke eneneni ekugqibeleni abantwana abadisadvantaged ngaba abamnyama. Asifuni ke ukuya apho kodwa ubunyani bobokuba ezi mvamvanyo za zisenziwa emaxesheni amaninzi amaxhoba ibangabantwana abasuka kwezi zikolo zabamnyama kwaye ke oko ungakuchaza njengocalu-calulo ngokwebala. Mna ke andikuboni oko njengesisombululo, esona sisombululo banokuza naso sesokuba banokuthi njengaye nawuphi na ummi waseMzantsi Afrika onolwazi ngemvelaphi yethu bazame ukwazi banzi ngalo mvelaphi baze bajonge ukuba zeziphi na iindlela abanokuthi bafak'isandla ngazo ukuphucula loo meko kuba ke eneneni le nto bayenzayo ivalel'amathuba abo bantwana bangakwazi ukufunda kwizikolo abafuna ukufunda kuzo, uyayibona loo nto leyo kuba engakwazi ukuyifikelela imigaqo ebekiweyo ibe loo nto ibacalula ngokwebala nangokwemvelaphi yabo nto leyo engahambisani nomgaqo-siseko welizwe. Nabo aba bantu bane element yokuwatyeshela nokuwanyhasha amalungelo abantwana okufunda.

Problems related to the Integrated Education Transformation Plan *(p. 407)*

1   <u>*The Hon. MEC focused attention firstly on "the continuing transformation of ex-model C schools. Allegations of racism, flouting of departmental instructions on admission such as the administering of language proficiency tests and the ignoring of language policies, do surface" (p. 4)*</u>

   <u>*With regard to the language proficiency tests and the Department's language policies:*</u>

   <u>*The former Model C schools argue that such tests are not aimed at flouting departmental instructions on admission and language policies. The schools are of the opinion that the level of education of the children in their feeder primary schools is not up to standard. The schools are thus forced to administer their own tests to ascertain whether these children from the primary schools will be able to follow the syllabus in the high school. The department of Education does not manage the primary schools very well.*</u>

I think that this is all just a technicality because you cannot justify discrimination by claiming that there is loophole within the policyor that the department does not have a clear program of measuring the performance level in these schools. The truth is that there is a problem concerning the lower grades and we have discovered that when we were making visits in these schools. We have discovered that the department is using matric results to measure the performance level of schools and we do not believe that this is a right strategy because this programme should be extended also to the lower grades including pumping up of resources as we have discovered that when it comes to resources the higher grades are also prioritized at the expense of the lower grades. This is one of the reasons why we concluded that the department has to focus on all grades. All I am trying to say is that we have noted that as a challenge the department is faced with even though I am not so sure about the analysis given by the Model C schools whether they are trying to imply that the government about the performance level of lower of learners something which I believe is true, but the main issue is that the mistake has be done that of focusing

more on Matric and using its results as a measuring tool and at the same time not implying that lower grades are neglected. We do believe that there will be transformation by pumping resources and learner support materials equally to all grades, and this matter is being considered.

I don't believe that these schools can justify the issue by assessing learners from other schools before admitting them because that would mean they are being discriminated against as it happens that those who are affected are mostly the disadvantaged ones; the issue of disadvantaged children is also linked to the legacy of apartheid because at the end the disadvantaged children are Black.We do not want to go there, but the reality is that when these proficiency tests are done the victims are those disadvantaged children from the Black public schools and that can be explained as discrimination in terms of color or race. I do not see that as a solution, the solution that they can come up with is to know more about our historical background and as any South African see what contribution they can make to improve thata situation because what they are doing now is realy a way of making their schools inaccessible to those schools on the basis that he or she cannot meet the requirements and thereby discriminating them because of their background smething which is against the constitution. And, these people thay hav an element of neglecting and disregarding others' rights to education.

Second reproach: p. 2

2. Okwesibini, umphathiswa obekekileyo uye wabalula nomba wentlawulo yesikolo:"sifumanisa ukuba kwezinye izikolo ulwamkelo lwabafundi ithityazwa zizixa zemali ezingathethekiyo ezifunwayo" (p. 5).

   Ngokuphathelele kwintlawulo yezikolo, nekukholeleka ukuba yengathethekiyo nenyanzelisa ukuba kukhangeleke kunzima kubafundi abaninzi ukuba baye kwizikolo ezithile esezikhankanyiwe (ezo zazizi-Model C), iinqununu zazo zivakalisa ukuba ukuze kufundiswe kwaye kufundwe ngokuggibeleleyo kufuneka izikolo zibeenovimba abafana neelebhu, amathala eencwadi, iilebhu zekhompiyuta, kwaye izikolo kufuneka zikwazi ukuthatha abantwana zibase kukhenketho lwemfundo ngaphandle nto leyo inokubanceda ekusebenziseni nasekugxininiseni ulwazi abaluzuze kwiincwadi zezifundo naseklasini. Abanqununu babanga ngelithi iSebe lezeMfundo liyasilela ekumiseleni abavimba ezikolweni, kwaye ke nanjengokuba iyinjongo yesikolo ukunikezela imfundo egqwesileyo ndawonye nokuvelisa abafundi abachubekileyo nabazithembileyo, oku kunyanzela ukuba bacele abazali ukuba babaxhasi ngemali ethe kratya.

Masiyithethe into yokuba ingumdla wesebe into yokuba isikolo zibe nezixhobo ezaneleyo neelaboratries, iincwadi zabafundi kuquka nabefundisi-ntsapho, kodwa olona celomngeni lolokuba ekugqibeleni oko kwenziwa ngurhulumente kuxhomekeke kumthamo wolwabiwo-mali. Ulwabiwo-mali lunelunemiqathango ntoleyo ke ekhokelela ekubeni kuthi xa kusenziwa ulwabiwo kunyanzeleke ukuba urhulumente aprioritise. Iyinyani yona into yokuba lo mthwalo wemiceli-mngeni kuquka notshintsho olwenzekayo kwezemfundo yinkqubo enzima kakhulu kungoko ke urhulumente ekhuthaza namaziko azimeleyo ukuba afake isandla ekuncediseni ngezixhobo. Ndifun'ukuthi ke ndiyavuma ukuba ngenene isebe liyasilela ngezixhobo kodwa ukuba unolwabiwo-mali olunqongophelelyo wenza njani ukukufeza oko, lowo ke ngumbuzo. Kufuneka sibe scientific ke kulento yolwabiwo-mali e-inelastic kuba ke unikwa esi sambuku ube ulindeleke ukuba wenze izinto ezininzi kuso kodwa ilishwa layo yonke le nto ke kukuba ulwabiwo-mali lwaseMzantsi Afrika lukwiprocess yokutshintshwa kuba ngaphambili ikakhulu beyisekelwe ukwamkela nje ugcuntswana kwaye ngokunje abo baxhamlayo kulwabiwo-mali lwesebe lezemfundo

lunwenwisiwe, yiyo loo nto ke ndiyigxininisa into yemiqathango ngenxa yokuba ulwabiwo-mali lu-inelastic babe abaxhamlayo bongezelelekile. Into endiza kuyo ke le yokuxhonywa kweemali kwezi zikolo ayinako ukuthetheleleka kwaye yenye yezi zinto sithetha ngazo ekufanel'ukuba isebe lizijonge ingabi yindlela yokuvalela amathuba abantwana abasuka nakweliphi na iqondo lentlalo bangakwazi ukungena kwezo zikolo. Le nto ke ibuyela kulamba wokufikelela kwezi zikolo kuba ukonyusa amaxabiso kuvimb'ilungelo lokungena ezikolweni kwaba bantwana bahlelelekileyo. Yintoni ke ngoku inxaxheba oyenzayo ukuqinisekisa ukuba aba bantwana nabo ekupheleni kosuku bayaxhamla? Ndizama ukuthi le historical background inayo loo nto kuba ayikhuthazwa into yokuba abantwana bacalulwe kwaye inxamnye nomgaqo-siseko karhulumente into yokuvimba abantwana ilungelo lokufunda ngenxa yokuba bengenamali. Yiyo loo nto urhulumente esiza nale mbono yemfundo yamahala kuba wonke umntu unelungelo lokufunda, yimeme yesebe ke ukuqininisekisa ukuba wonke umntu uyakwazi ukungena esikolweni ngaphandle kokucalulwa. Kukho ke ucelomngeni lokuba xa usiya kwezi zikolo zikarhulumente kukho ukushokoxeka kootitshala, okwezixhobo nokuba urhulumente akakwazi ukuhlangabezana ngokukuko nezi zinto kwaye into abayithethayo kukuba ezi titshala zikwezi zikolo ziziiModel C azonelanga ngoko ke inxalenye yeemali zabo isetyenziselwa ukubhatala iititshala; yingongoma evakalayo ke leyo kodwa ke nangani kunjalo akufanelekanga ukuba yenziwe ngendlela apha ezakwenz'ukuba kubenzima ukungena kwezi zikolo kubantwana abahlelelekileyo. Kufanel'ukuba benze uyilo lokuhlangabezana noko kuba kwezinye isikolo eziziiModel C kukho umgaqo we-exemption kwaye zikhona nee-subsidies ukulungiselela abo bafundi basuka kumakhaya ahlelelekileyo; ukuba oko kunokuphunyenzwa kungaba kuhle kakhulu kwaye nale yokuba imali isetyenziselwa ingenelo yabafundi iyancomeka kakhulu.

2   *Secondly, the Hon. MEC mentioned the school fees: "We find that in some schools access is deliberately frustrated by the exorbitant fees demanded" (p. 5).*

As far as school fees are concerned, which are believed to be exorbitant and thereby making it difficult for most learners to get access to the schools in question (former Model C), the principals argue that for effective teaching and learning to take place there must be resources such as laboratories, libraries, computer laboratories, and that schools should be able to take learners to field excursion to supplement and endorse the information and knowledge that they have obtained in their textbooks and learned in the classroom. They claim that the Department of Education is incapable of making those resources available and since it is the schools' aim to provide quality education and to be able to produce competent and confident individuals in their students, they have to ask the parents for more money.

It is the department's interest to see to it that all schools have all the necessary resources such as laboratories, learner support material including teachers, but the challenge is that at the end all this is the government's responsibility and is dependant on the budget. The budget has its own limitations something that results to prioritization when it comes to allocation. It is true that the load of challenges and the transformation that the department is entering into is very heavy and this is the reason why government has appealed to private sectors to make a contribution especially when it comes to resources. I want to agree that the department indeed is falling short when it comes to resources but then what do you do when you have an inelastic budget and that is the question. We have to be very scientific when it comes to this issue of an inelastic budget because you are given this amount and be

expected to do a lot with it, but the disadvantage about this is that the South African budget is undergoing a process of transformation because it ws initially meant for the few by the previous system and now it has been extended to accommodate more beneficiaries and this the reason why I am emphasizing on this issue of inelastic budget even there are more beneficiaries now. The point I am coming to that of exhorbitant fees in these schools can never be justified and these are some of the things that the department has to take into consideration, that they should not be used as means of making access to these schools imposible for the children from all spheres of the society. This goes back to that issue of accessibility because when fees are high that makes it difficult mostly for disadvantaged children to get to these schools. What contribution are you then making to ensure that these children also benefit? I am trying to say the historical background has that element as it is not encouraged to discriminate against children in any way because denying access to children in having an education where they want based on the fact that they have no money is against our constitution. This is why government has come up with this initiative of free education because it is her responsibility to ensure that everybody has access to education without being discriminated against. There is a view that when you go to the public schools there is a shortage of teachers and resources and the government does not have a strategy of properly dealing with these things and they also maintain that teachers in Model C schools are not enough as a result a portion of their funds is used to pay more teachers; that is a valid point even though that doesn't mean that disadvantaged children should be denied access to those schools. They should make a plan of dealing with such situations because in other Model C scholls there is a policy of exemption and there are subsidies set aside as a provision for disadvantaged children. It will be very good if that can be implemented because even this notion that these monies are used for the benefit of the learners is commended.

Third reproach: p. 3

3.   uMphathiswa obekekileyo ukhathazwa kukusebenza kwabafundi: "izinga lokusebenza kwabantwana kwizigaba zonke zemfundo kufuneka liphuhle" (p. 5).

Umphathiswa uchan`ucwethe kulo mgqaliselo: icace gca okwekat` emhloph` ehlungwini ingxaki yokusilela kwabafundi ekwenzeni umsebenzi ogqwesileyo.

Izikolo zivakalisa uluvo lokuba isebe lezeMfundo nalo liyabandakanyeka kwingxuba kaxaka yokusilela kwabafundi ekugqweseni kumsebenzi wabo wesikolo:

Okokuqala, isebe kufuneka lilawule abafundisi ntsapho ngendlela engcono: kunzima ngokungathethekiyo ukululeka abafundisi ntsapho.

Okwesibini, izinga lootitshala alikho mgangathweni. Kungakuhle xa ootitshala banokufumana uqeqesho oluthe kratya kwiindlela zokufundisa izifundo zabo. Ikhangeleka iyintsinda-badala into yokuba ootitshala abangaqeqeshwanga kakuhle kulindeleke ukuba bavelise umsebenzi ophuhlileyo.

Le nto iquka izinto ezimbini ingakumbi ukuba sithetha ngeMpuma Koloni ekuyenye yamaphondo anezinga eliphantsi kakhulu lokuphumelela kwabafundi, zininzi izinto ezingunobangela woko. Ngokwefindings zethu sifumanise ukuba ukusebenza kootitshala akukho mgangathweni onguwo, nalapho ke zininzi izinto ezinokukhokelela koko njengoqeqesho mhlawumbi nento yokuba ezinye iititshala kufumaniseke ukuba azikulungelanga ukuba ngootitshala kube kungazeki ukuba zingene njani na kwisystem yesebe. Ndiyavuma ukuba umba wecapacity ngomnye

wemiphumela kule ngxaki sithetha ngayo kuba ukuze utshintsho luqhubeke ngendlela eyiyo kufuneka kubekho uqeqesho kwizinto ezinjengoo-OBE, ukutshintsha iindlela zokwenza izinto, umntu ukuze akwazi ukuziqhelanisa nezi concepts zintsha kufuneka eqeqeshiwe. Umzekelo nakule nto yeOBE kubekhona ukuxinga kuba ootitshala xa besisiya kubo bathi ingxaki yabo ixesha elabelwe uqeqesho kwezi nkqubo zintsha zesebe alonelanga nje kwaphela. Leyo ke yeyona ngxaki kuba izesha elabelwe uqeqesholweetitshala lunokongezwa, oko kungaba nomphumela ombinanjengoko kunokuthi kuchaphazele ixesha labo lokufundisa kuba ixesha elininzi bazakuba beye kwezintlanganiso zoqeqesho. Le nto ingenza ukuba kubekho ukulungelelanisa izinto ngokuthi kubekho uthethwano kuthi mhlawumbi kusetyenziswe ixesha leeholide ukuqhuba uqeqesho olufunekayo lweetitshala, njl-njl. Nako oku kuthi kufunise into yokuba kubakho intsebenziswano nakwicala leetitshala kodwa ke eyona nto ingundoqo yile yokuba ixesha elabelwe uqeqesho lweetitshal alonelanga kwaye okwesibini kukho nalo mba womdla (morale), wehlile kakhulu nditsho apha eMpuma Koloni. Kule minyaka mibini idlulileyo kufumaniseke kuba enye into engunobangela wokuphelelwa ngumdla kweetitshala ngumba wezikhalazoabanazo apha esebeni ngokuphathelele kwinto yokusekwa kwabasebenzi, imivuzokunye neminye imiba, kodwa umba womdla uqhubile ixesha elide benezikhalazo kwisebe kangangokuba kubekho into yee-go-slows kwezinye izikolo kude kuphunywe ngentsimbi ye11:00. Yenzeke ixesha elide ke le nto kukho ukungaboni ngasonye kube kungekho sisombululo; sesinye sezizathu zkwehla kwezinga lokusebenza kodwa iziphumo ziye zisihla emva kuka 2004 emva kwesummit yezemfundo apho inyunyoni zootitshala zathi zavakalisa ukuba izimvo zazo azikhange zisiweso zaze zenza sibhambhathiso sokuba abazikusebenzisana nesebe, nditsho ukuba isebe lithe labandakanyeka kwezo zinto zokungaboni ngasonye nootitshal kunye nokuhla komdla weetitshal kumseenzi wabo. Le yindlela iititshala ezithathe inxaxheba ngayo kule ngxaki. Xa sisiza kwindima edlalwe ngabafundi ke yile yokuba kulento yotshintsho apha eMzantsi Afrika kuthe kwaqalwa inkqubo entsha yedemocracy ngokuthi kupheliswe icorporal punishment kuba keeneneni umntu akadalelwanga kubethwa kuloko kufuneka uzame ukumbonisa indlela. Kukho imigaqo emitsha yokujongana nabafundi ngokuphathelele kuqeqesho nangona abafundi bona beyixhaphaza nje loonto kuquka nabazali abangayiqhelanga le nkqubo intsha yokuthath'inxaxheba ngokuncedisana nabantwana babo kumsebenzi wabo wesikolo luxanduva olutsha olu kubo kuba mandulo bebezixelela ukuba umntwana xa esesikolweni ootitshala kufuneka badlale indima yokuba ngumzali naleyo yokuba ngutitshala kuba abaseyomeme yabo ngoku okukokwabo kukuhlal endlini babaphekele qha. Endizam'ukukutsho kukuba xa kusiziwa kuqeqesho abazali abakafikeleli kwelo zinga kodwa xa usiya kwezi zikolo zabamhlophe nakwabanye ke abantu abafundileyo ngokujonga indlela ababancedisa ngayo abantwana babo kumsebenzi wesikolo yahlukile nje kwaphela kuba amaxesha amaninzi abantwaba abafunda kwizikolo zikawonke-wonke nabantwana babantu abahlelelekileyo abanayo la capacity yokuzinikezela emsebenzini wabo. Yidisadvantage ke leyo kwaye ibuyela kula nto yenxaxheba yabazali kwimfundo yabantwana babo kuba iyabandakanyeka kulento yabantwana kuba umba wesimilo sabantwana kwizikolo ezininzi ungunozala wokufika kade esikolweni okanye ukutshaya kwabo intsangu ngexesha lesikolo benze zonke ezo zinto zingavumelekanga baze bangabi nantsebenziswano bangawenzi nomsebenzi wesikolo kuba kaloku yinkululeko kubo le nto yokuba bengazikohlwaywa. Kodwa ezi ayizongxaki ezingenakungasombululeki ukususela kule yoqeqesho um yinto enokusombululeka, ifuna nje intsebenziswano xa imeko intle phakathi kootitshal nesebe yinto yokuqala leyo efanel'ukusekwa kuba ke eneneni le into yokungaboni ngasonye yona iyazinza nanjengoko nesebe libe nokungazinzi kwiqondo labaphathi

besebe abaphambili nanjengoko bekutshintshwa ooSG amaxesha ngamaxesha. Kwakhona kubakho umsantsa omkhulu kwisebe ngenxa yezinga lezithuba ezingavalwayo kwiqondo lamaphathi abaphezulu ebelingaphezu kwama-50%. Uyabona ke ukuba uthi wakujonga ukuqala kwicapacity yesebe ukuba ingaba linakho na ukuzis'iinkonzo ngokukuko xa kukho ucelomngeni olungaka kwii-ofisi zalo kuyakubekelaphi ke kwiititshala, njl-njl.

3. *The Hon. MEC is troubled by the performance of learners: "the performance of learners at all levels of the system must improve" (p. 5).*

The Hon. MEC is correct in this observation: there is clearly a problem with regard to the poor performance of the learners. The schools are of the opinion that the department of Education has to shoulder some blame for this poor performance of learners: Firstly, the department should manage the teachers in a better way: it is difficult to discipline teachers.

Secondly, the quality of the teachers is not up to standard. They should have more training in the methods of their subjects. It is a big problem to expect that poorly trained teachers should be able to perform well.

This is two-fold especially if we are talking about the Eastern Cape which is one of the provinces with very poor results and there are many reasons for that. According tour findings we discovered that the level of teachers is not up to standard and there are also a lot of reasons that could be the cause such as the lack of training offered for teachers and that some do not even qualify to be teachers even though it is not known how they managed to get to the system. I agree that the issue of capacity is one of the consequences of the problem that we are talking about because for transformation to be effective there should be a thorough training for such things as OBE, changing approaches and systems so that the teacher can be acquainted with the new concepts and modes. For example there was a deadlock even on this OBE because teachers felt that the time allocated for training was not enough as the department has new programmes. Time allocated for training is the major challenge and if it can extended it can have negative impact on the core business as that would mean teachers are not in class teaching thise learners because they are attending the trainings; balance should therefore be maintained through negotiating with teachers maybe to have those trainings during school holidays, etc. for this to happen would require cooperation and flexibility on the part of the teachers, but the main thing is that time allocated is not enough and secondly that there is this question of teachers' morale which has been discovered to be very low especially here in the Eastern Cape. The other thing that has been discovered these past two years which is affects themorale of teachers is the question of their grievances against the department concerning staff establishments, salaries and other issues, but this question of marale prolonged for some time to an extent that there has been things such as go-slows and in some schools with knock-off at 11:00. So, these tensions between the department and teacher unions continued for quite some time without being resolved and this has resulted into decrease in the level of learners thereby affecting their end-year results especially in 2004 and after the Education summit where teacher unions had complained that their grievances are being considered so they made a declaration that they are not going to cooperate with the department until their demands and grievances are considered. So, I am saying the department was involved in such tensions and demotivation of teachers. This is the way in which teachers contributed to this problem of learner performance. Now, coming to learners' contribution is that in the process of transformation in the democratic South Africa government decided to abolish corporal punishment and this is a humane thing to do because human beings are not meant to be beaten instead

you have to persuade him or her. There are therefore new methods to deal with learners as far as discipline is concerned even though learners are abusing those rights including parents as they are not used to the new system that of assisting their children with school work because before this era they believe that teachers have to play both the role of being a teacher and that of being a parent, all they do is to stay home, cook for their children and the teacher will do the rest. What I am trying to say is that when it comes to discipline parents have not yet reached that level, but when you go to these Model C schools and those parents that are enlightened as far as assisting their children with their school work is concerned it is totally different because in the majority of cases children going to public schools and those from disadvantaged backgrounds do not have that capacity to maintain the learning and studying discipline. This is the major disadvantage and it goes back to the parents' role in their children's education and it has an impact on the issue of discipline. The second contributory factor to the learners' discipline in most schools is late-coming and use of drugs such as smoking of dagga during school hours and lack of cooperation in school work because they feel that they are free to do whatever they like and want as they know that they will not be punished. But, these are not problems that cannot be solved, all it requires when the environment is conducive for a good relationship between teachers and the department is cooperation and that is the first thing that needs to be established because tensions have stabilized . There has also been a lot os instability within the level of senior management of the department as you know that SGs were being changed time and again, and there has also been a vacuum of vacancies in the level of senior management as a result when the MEC was making his presentation in Mphekweni he made a point that the number of vacancies in the senior management level is above 50%. You see these are the conxequences of such things from the departemental capacity considering if it has all what it takes to deliver when looking at these challenges in its offices to teachers, etc.

Fourth reproach: p. 4

4.　Liphakamile kakhulu izinga lokungaphangeli kootitshala (p. 6-7). Umphathiswa uthethe wenjenje: "Ayamkelekanga kwaphela into yokuba ootitshala babe ixesha labafundi ngenxa yeengxaki zabo nangalo naliphi na ixesha elimiselwe ukufunda" (p. 7).

Kukho isivumelwano ekufikelelwe kuso ngokuphathelele nalo mba wokuvamisa ukungaphangeli kwabafundisi ntsapho. Abafundisi ntsapho banembono yokuba oku kungaphangeli makungabi malunga nokwenza izinto ezingangqinelani nemfundo. Iimeko ezenzeka phantsi kwazo azibonakali zikhuthaza ukufundisa ngokugqwesileyo: abafundi abaninzi baswele imbeko, inkxaso efumaneka kubaphabathi besikolo incinci okanye ayikho, ootitshala kufuneka bejongene namanani aphezulu kumagumbi okufundela kube kulindeleke ukuba bequkumbele umsebenzi omninzi. Oku kusilela kwenkxaso ootitshala abaninzi baye babenezigulo ezayamene nodandatheko lwentliziyo, nto leyo ibanyanzela ukuba bangabina kuphangela.

Silwenzile utyelelo kwizikolo ezininzi sazibonela ngokwethu ukuba imeko yesikolo imbi kakhulu, kodwa ziyashiyana izikolo kwaye ubukhulu becala iimeko yezikolo zethu ayikho kumgangatho olindelekileyo nanjengokuba bendikhe ndatsho kuqala ukuba ngokwezixhobo zokufunda, umgangatho wezakhiwo zezikolo, ifenitshala zinto ezifana needesika njl-njl., namagumbi okufundela zinqongophele kwaye ezo zizinto eziqhelekileyo. Okokoko sathi sayiqala lento yolu tyelelo sisoloko sisiza neengxaki ezifanayo njengezi sele ndizikhankanyile kuquka nokufika kade kweencwadi zokufunda zabafundi nokungabikho kweelaboratories. Le miba ke ilucelo-mngeni

esebeni kwaye ezi zinto zinako ukumtyhafisa utitshala nangona bathe bacelwa ootitshala ukuba banike inkxaso kwezo nkqubo isebe elizama ukuza nazo ngokuthi ootitshala babonise ukuzinikezela. Bakhona ke ootitshala abazinikezeleyo emsebenzini wabo ngokude babe nee-initiatives ezizezabo ukuncedisana nesebe ukuqinisekisa ukuba umgangatho wezikolo uyaphucuka babebekhona ke nabo balovayo benazo zonke izixhobo zokufundisa. Kukho loo meko injalo yootitshala abohluka-hlukeneyo kuba abanye bayayivuyela into yokungabkho kwezixhobo nokugeza kwabantwana bayisebenzise loonto njeng-excuse nangona ingathethi ukuba utitshala makangawenzi umsebenzi wakhe. Okwesibini, asiyonto ejamileyo ngohlobo lokuba ungade uthi yeyona ngxaki kuba yipocket problem, iyashiya-shiyana ngolo hlobo kwaye eny'into engundoqo wezi ngxaki yinto yokuba ulawulo kwizikolo ezininzi lunqongophele ukususela kwinqunnu apho ufumanisa ukuba alukho nje uluvo lokuzinikezela ekwenzeni umsebenzi wabo. Kwezinye isikolo akukho kwa ezoSMTs (School management teams), akukho ntsebenziswano, akukho noluhlu lweentlanganiso zootitshala kodwa uphinde ufumanise ukuba kwezinye izikolo kukho ucwangco kwinto yonke kuba kaloku inqunnu yesikolo inozimiselo ngomsebenzi wayo. Ngoko ke ukuba inkokheli yesikolo ayinalo ulwazi lokukhokela awunakulindela ukuba kubekhona intsebenziswano kweso sikolo. Into endifun'ukuyitsho kukuba sifumanise ukuba enye yeengxaki eziphambili isebe ejamelene nazo kukuba akukho khokhelo kwezi zikolo mhlawumbi ngenxa yokuba isebe aliniki nkxaso ngokuphuhlisa ezinqunnu ukuzisa uluvo lokuzinikezela nokukhokela ngokukuko. Uye ufumanise kanye xa kuqala unyaka ngoJanyawari ukuba ezinqunnu azikho ezikolweni, uzakubalindela njani ke ootitshala ukuba babekhona xa inkokheli yabo ingekho kwaye ingenankathalo! Kulo mba wokuhamba isikolo ndifun'ukuthi awukwazi ukuziphumeza iindlela zokuqeqesha xa wena ophetheyo ungaqeqeshekanga kuqala. Ootitshala ke nangona ikhuthazwa into yokuba bazibandakanye neenkqubo zophuhliso ngokwemfundo kukhuthazwa into yokuba ixesha labo lokufunda lingangqubani nexesha labo lokufundisa okanye lokwenza umsebenzi wabo kuba uye ufumanise ukuba kanye ngeli xesha lokufundisa ootitshala abekho kuthiwe bayokubhala iimviwo zabo okanye baye eziklasini zabo zokufunda babe abantwana bona bechaphazeleka yiloo nto. Kungangcono ke ukuba ezinkqubo zabo banokuzizamela elinye ixesha elingazikuphazamisana nomsebenzi wabo kuba ke eneneni undoqo ngumsebenzi wabo wokufundisa; akutshiwo ukuba mabangafundi kodwa loo nto ayithethi ukuba mababeke abantwana kwidisadvantage ngenxa yophuhliso lobuqu kuba loo nto iselfish ngolona hlobo, ndiyaxolisa ngokusebenzisa elo gama alikho elingcono endinokulisebenzisa. Eli ke lelinye igalelo kule ngxaki yokungahanjwa kwesikolo, enye ke nanjengokuba besele nditshilo yile yokusetyenziswa kokukungaboni ngasonye okukhoyo phakathi kwesebe nootitshala, kodwa njengokuba zizinza nje ezo zinto kuya kusiba bhetele. Zizinto ke ezi ebesisoloko sisitsho kwisebe ukuba maliseke inkqubo yokuziqwalasela kodwa ke isebe lona lithi libotshw'izandla ngenxa yokuba alinabasebenzi boneleyo. Nakulento yamagumbi okufundela kuyafana kuba ndicinga ukuba ndiyavumelana nawe, lento ye teacher-learner ratio iyinyani kodwa ukuba ujonga i-average kwiindawo ezininzi sikwazile ukuyifikelela imiqathango ebekiweyo apha eMpuma Koloni, zezo zikolo nezo apho ufumanisa ukuba abafundi bade bayekuma kuma-80 kwigumbi ngalinye. Zikhona iimeko ezinjalo kodwa kwakhona xa uqwalasela i-average abantwana bafika kuma-40 kwigumbi ngalinye nangona loo meko ishiyana ngokwezikolo.

4. *There is a high rate of absenteeism among educators (p. 6-7). The Hon. MEC said "It is unacceptable that educators steal time from our learners for their own affairs at any time of the school year" (p. 7).*

There is agreement with the problem of the high rate of absenteeism in the teaching staff. The educators are of the opinion that such absenteeism is not for the purpose of conducting their own affairs. The conditions under which they operate are not conducive to good teaching: there is a lack of discipline in the learners, there is little or no support from the school management, they have to cope with large classes of learners and they have to finish a lot of work. Without proper support educators tend to have a lot of stress-related illnesses which force absenteeism.

We have witnessed this in the visits that we made to many schools that the situation in schools is realy bad even though that differs from one school to the other and most of then are in dilapidated conditions as have said earlier that you find that there are no learner support material, no resources, no equipment in things like desks and the like, few classrooms and that those are common problems. Ever since we started these visits to schools we have always come up woith the same problems such as these that I have just mentioned and that the learner support material never arrives in time and the unavailability of laboratories in most schools. These issues are a major challenge to the department and they can demotivate teachers even though they have been asked to support to those programmes that the department is trying to implement by showing dedication. There are teachers who are realy dedicated to their work to an extent of having their own initiatives to assist the department in ensuring that the level of education is improved and there are those lazy teachers who are using these problems of unavailability of resources and ill-disciplined learners as an excuse even though that does not mean a teacher must not do his or her job. This is not something that is glaring because it a pocket problem, it differs from one situation to the other and one other major contributing factor to these problems is the issue of principals who do not seem to have a sense of what deication to ones' work is. In some schools there are no SMTs, no cooperation, no clear programme for staff meetings for the year only to find that in some schools there is order because the leader has a sense of dedication and has the capacity to lead. Therefore, if the leader of the school has no capacity to lead you cannot expect cooperation and order in that school. What I am trying is that we discovered that one of the main problems the department is faced with is that there is no leadership in these schools maybe because the department does not give support in terms of capacitating these principals in order to bring forth that sense of dedication. You wil find that right at the beginning of the year in January, these principals are not at schools then how can you expect teachers to be at schools whentheir leaders are not there and do not even show that they care! I want tosay in this issue of school attendance you cannot be able to implement or enforce disciplinary measures if you are not disciplined. Even though teachers are encouraged to develop or capacitate themselves educationaly, they are requested to ensure that that does not clash with their core business that of teaching those learners because you will find that in most cases when teachers are not at school they are said to be attending classes or writing their examinations at the expense of learners. It would be better then if they could to arrange another time for their personnal programes, time which does not coincide with their core business that of educating those learners because it is not said that they should study, but that should be at the disadvantage of learners as that would be very selfish, I am sorry to use that word- I am short of a better word. This is one cause for this problem the other one as I have said earlier is the use of the existing tensions between teachers and the department, but now that those issues are stabilized things are improving as well. Thess are some of the issues that we have always been nagging the department about that it should take them into consideration, but the excuse was that the department is hand-tied because of being

short-staffed. Again, on this issue of classrooms I think I agree with and this teacher-learner ratio is also a fact, but in the Eastern Cape if you look on average we have managed to meet the required standards; it is only in few schools where yo find tha learners have gone up 80 in a class. There are such cases but again if you look on average there are 40 learners per class and this varies from one school to the other.

Fifth reproach: p. 5

5.   Iingxaki ezimalunga noYilo kunye neMfuduko (p. 10-11)

Umphathiswa uthe: "ixhaphakile kakhulu into yokufuduka ngaphanyazo kwabafundi baseMpuma Koloni besuka kwesinye isikolo besiya kwesinye, nto leyo ibanga ubunzima kwimeko yokulawula indlela yokuceba nokumiselwa kootitshala" (p. 10).

Kuye kwavunyelwana nalo mbandela: abazali bayakhupha abantwana babo kwesinye isikolo babase kwesinyeparents. Esona sizathu basibekayo kule meko sesokuba bazama ukufumanela abantwana babo imfundo engcono. Into ekhankanywa rhoqo yeyokuba izikolo zasekhaya ezikufuphi namakhaya abafundi zinikezela imfundo ekumgangatho ophantsi. Le nto ke iye inyanzele abazali ukuba bakhangelele abantwana babo izikolo ezizizo, zikolo ezo zinikezela imfundo engcono nekwizinga eliphezulu.

Le nto yokufuduka ibangelwa yinto yokuba amanani kwizikolo angabinaluzinzo ntoleyo ethi ichaphazele uyilo kwicala lesebe; yinyani leyo. Umzekelo masithi esi sikolo sibhodlo-bhodlo sifuna ukulungiswa kodwa kufumaniseke ukuba inani labantwana lehlile laya kuma kuma-50 kuba abazali babathathile abantwana babo babasa kwezinye izikolo ngenxa yokubona imeko-bume yesikolo nangona isikolo sona besizakulungiswa. Ndiyavuma ukuba olu lucelomngeni kodwa le nto iphinda ibuyele kwinto ye-infrastructure development kuba yenye yezinto ezingunozala wale meko kuba abazali bebathatha nje abantwana kungokuba akukho nkathalo, ootitshala abafundisi lento besithetha ngayo apha kuquka nabalawuli besikolo kuba ngokuqinisekileyo akukho mzali unokuba nomdla wokugcina umntwana wakhe kwisikolo esinjalo. Enye yezinto ezifak'isandla kwezizichazwayo yilento yokuba abazali ezilalaini ababona kungcono kwizikolo zasezidolophini kodwa ukukhawulelana nalo meko ke kukuba isebe linenkqubo yokuphucula izikolo ngokuzakha nokuzilungisa nangona lisithi lisengxakini ngoku ngenxa yale nto yale mfuduko. Lukhona uyilo okukhoyo lwesebe olu lokuba ukuba umzekelo unesikolo samabanga aphakamileyo apha esinabantwana abangama-20 uze kumgama weekhilomitha ezimbini okanye ezintathu uphinde ubenenye enabantwana abangama-800, kusenokwenzeka ukuba iimeko zimbi kwesi sinabantwana abambalwa baze abazali babasuse abantwana babo babase kwesi sinabantwana abaninzi ngenxa yokuba iimeko zokufundisa zintle ngaphandle nje kwemeko-bume yesikolo efuna ukulungiswa, ngoko ke uqinisekisa njani ukuba awuzikuchithamali wakhe isikolo esizakuthi emva kweminyaka emibini nemithathu sibe yiwhite elephant ekubeni loo mali nge isetyenziselwe enye into. Isebe lithe leza nento ye-rationalisation ukuhlangabezana nale nto, umzekelo ukuba kukho izikolo ezimeleneyo sibe esinye sinabantwana abambalwa esinye sinabantwana abaninzi, uzidibanisa njani ukuze ushiyeke nesikolo esinye kuloo ngingqi! Yonke le nto ineengxaki zayo kuba ukuba uyasivala esinye isikolo bazakwanda abantwana kwesiya esinye ngoko ke kufuneka uqinisekise ukuba ngokwesakhiwo ukulungele ukubathatha aba bantwana, uqinisekise kwakhona ukuba ngomgama abazakuwuhamba ukuya nokubuya esikolweni, ngawaphi ke amalungiselelo othutho owenzileyo. Le nto yerationalisation inezo ngxaki ke kuba igunyazisa into yokuba phambi kokuba ube kanti uyayiphumeza kufuneka wenze uphando kuqala ujonge

unobangela wemfuduko ukuba yinytoni na, ingaba kukufudukela ezidolophini kwabazali bahambe neentsapho zabo okanye kungenxa yeemeko ezingancumisiyo. Ukuba imeko yeso sikolo ebeyimbi uye wayiphucula ingaba izakuyisombulula le ngxaki yokufuduka? Kufuneka uphando olukumila kunjalo kuba awunakusuke uthi ndiyasivala isikolo ungakhange uzivelele ezo nkalo kwaye nangani into yemfuduko ilucelo-mngeni olukhulu kodwa zikhona iindlela zokuhlangabezana noko.

5. Problems related to Planning and Migration (p. 10-11)

The Hon. MEC said "it has become commonplace for learners within the Eastern Cape to move from one school to another almost at whim, making planning and staffing impossible to manage" (p. 10).

There is agreement with this statement: parents do move their children from one school to another. Their only concern with such movement of their children is to find better education for them. It is often the case that local schools near the home of the learners offer a poor quality of education. The parents are then forced to find a proper school for their children, a school which has a good quality of education.

This migration is caused by the instability of numbers in schools and that affects government's planning; that is true. Take foe example very dilapidated shools with only 50 learners because parents have taken their children to other schools being influenced by the condition of school even though the school was going to be renovated, that plan will not be effected I agree that this is a major cahallenge but this goes back to the question of infrastructure development as the contributing factor based on the fact that parents remove their children from those because they see that there is no care, teachers are not doing their jod including principals and in reality there is no parent who would want to keep her or his child in such conditions. In addition to that is the question of parents who believe the education offered in urban schools is much better, but the department has decided to renovate and build more schools to counter that even though that programme is being hampered by this migration. The department has another plan that if for instance you have a high school that has only 20 learners and in two or three kilometers away you have another high school with 800 learners, it might happen that the condition of the school that has few learners is bad and therefore parents would send their children to this other school with big numbers because the educational conditions there are much better even the physical condition of the school is bad, then how do you ensure that you are not going to waste money by renovating this school without it becoming a white elephant in two or three years. The department has introduced a rationalization programme to deal with this situation, for example if you have a school with few learners and one with large numbers in the same area then how do you integrate these schools into one school. All this has its consequences because if you are closing one school there will be learners in the other school then you should ensure that you have enough space to accommodate them and that you have provision for transport as some of them will traveling for long distances. This programme of rationalization has such problem because it warrants that before you implement it you should do research first and find out the causes for migration, is tit because parents are migrating to urban areas and thereby taking theie children along or is it because of unfavourable conditions of and in schools. If you have improved the poor condition of a school, would that bring about change and stability? You have to conduct such research because you cannot say you are closing down a school without looking at all angles and even though this is a great challenge there are programmes in place to deall with it.

<u>**Sixth reproach: p. 6**</u>

<u>**6. Iingxaki eziphathelele nenkcitho-mali kubasebenzi** (p. 7-9)</u>

<u>Kuvunyelwene jikelele "ukuba kungqinelaniswe amanani ootitshala namanani abafundi" (p. 8). Le nkqubo iza kuqinisekisa ukulingana phakathi kwezikolo. Eyona ngxaki ngokuphathelele kwalo mthetho jikelele, isekumiselweni kwawo. Kukhangeleka ngathi isebe lezeMfundo lifuna ukusombulula le ngxaki ngokuthunyelwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo. "Ukufuduselwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo sesona sixhobo sisemthethweni sikhoyo esinokusetyenziswa liSebe ukuthumela ootitshala kwizikolo apho iinkonzo zabo zifuneka khona, izikolo abafunwa kuzo ncakasana." (p. 8)</u>

<u>Umba wokuthunyelwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo sekulithuba uxoxwa kwaye kufumaniseka ukuba izikolo ezininzi ziyawuchasa le ndlela yokuzisa ukulingana phakathi kwezikolo. Zininzi izizathu zoku, umz: ingxaki yokufumana utitshala oqgwesileyo wesifundo esithile kwibanga elithile. Ubukhulu becala izikolo zizifumana zikwimeko yokuba zamkele ootitshala ezingabafuniyo ngenxa yokungafaneleki kwabo kuloo msebenzi uthile okanye ukungabi namava kwabo: xa kunokubakho ithuba lokuveza la mathuba omsebenzi koonondaba, mhlawumbi izikolo zinganenyhweba yokufumana ootitshala abangcono kunabo bathunyelweyo.</u>

Zimbini izinto kulo mba. Okokuqala kulento yeredeployment isebe xa lithetha ngento yestaff establishment lithetha ngenani elithile elingama-62 000 yootitshala kwiphondo lonke lize lithi isixhobo abasisebenzisayo ukumeta inani lootitshala linani labantwana nto leyo eyenza ukuba kungabikho luzinzo kulo mba we-redeployment yootitshala. Njengokuba ubusitsho sisuka kwinto yofuduko apho uzakuthi kwesisikolo ndinabantwana abangama-200 ngoko ndifuna iititshala mhlawumbi ezisibhozo, behle abantwana babeli-100 uthi ke wena hayi ngoku ndifuna iititshala ezine; uzakuthini ngezi zine! Ukusebenzisa inani labantwana njengesixhobo sokumeta akulunganga kuba alimanga ndawonye, liyehla liphinde lonyuke libe lichaphazela ootitshala, lithi isebe lezemfundo ngokwenani labafundi nezikolo ezingama-6 000 ndifanelwe ngootitshala abangama-62 000, inani labafundi xa lehlile andikwazi ukuqesha ootitshala ukongeza kulama-62 000, kufuneka ke ndiphungule kwesi sikolo ndiyokongeza kwesiya. Le ke yimeko enzima kakhulu kwaye lucelomngeni isebe elijamelene nalo oluzakuthatha ithuba phambi kokuba isombululeke kuba xa uphungula ootitshala esikolweni loo nto inemiphumela yayo ebingasekwanga ephathelele kwisiseko sezifundo zeso sikolo apho ufumanisa ukuba ititshala nganye inoqeqesho olukhethekileyo kweso sifundo isihlohlayo, xa umkhupha ngubani ozakushiyeka ehlohla eso sifundo kuba nabo bashiyekileyo banezabo izifundo abaqeqeshwe kuzo ingesiso esi salo uhambayo. Uyayibona ke lemeko ukuba inzima kakhulu yiyo ubona kwezizikolo ziziModel C bayazifunela abantwana bazongezele nootitshala bababhatale ngeemali seSGB; yinto ke le ebesiyixoxa nesebe ukuba ukuba uthi ngokwesi sixhobo sokumeta asikho kwesi sikolo unesisiseko sezifundo nootitshala abanga abaqeqeshelwe ukuhlohla ololuhlu lwezifundo sukujonga inani labantwana nokuba liyehla na zigcine ezo titshala kuba ziqeqeshiwe ngokukhethekileyo ukuhlohla ezo zifundo. Ndicinga ukuba le nto ayisokuze isombululeke ngenxa yokuba inesocial factor kuba xa uthatha lo titshala apho onosapho lwakhe umse ngaphaya ePort st Johns, usapho luyachaphazeleka ngendlela ezininzi. Sithe ke kwisebe ukuba bafuna uzinzo ngokweteacher-curriculum requirement kufuneka bamete ngokwesiseko sezifundo ezinikezelwayo kweso sikolo endaweni yale yokusetyenziswa kwenani labafundi abakhoyo kweso sikolo. Kum le yeyonanto inokwenziwa kuba ilucelomngeni ngenene lento nanjengoko sithe safumanisa ukuba kwezinye izikolo ootitshala bane kuphela kodwa izifundo ezisekiweyo zeso sikolo zilithoba, loo nto leyo yenza ukuba abanye abantwana

bangafundiswa izifundo ezithile baphele ke befudukela kwezinye izikolo. Uyayibona ke le ngxaki, enye ingxaki izala enye ingxaki, ziyathungelelana nje.

6. Problems related to personnel expenditure (p. 7-9)

There is general agreement "to match educator numbers with learner numbers" (p. 8). Such a procedure will guarantee equity between schools.

The problem with this general policy is in the implementation. It seems as if the department of Education wants to solve this problem with redeployment of educators. "Redeployment is the only legal instrument at the disposal of the Department to move educators from one school where their services are not needed, to a school where they are needed" (p. 8)

The issue of redeployment of educators has been discussed for a long time and in general schools are not in favor of such a method to bring about equity. There are many reasons for this, i.e. the problem of finding the best educator for a specific subject or grade. Schools may find that they have to accept educators whom they do not want because such educators may be underqualified or inexperienced: in advertising for such posts, schools may be able to obtain the services of better educators than these redeployed ones.

This issue is two-fold. Firstly the department talks about a number that is 62 000 teachers in the whole province when talking about staff establishment and the tool used to measure the number of required teachers is the number of learners something which results to instability when it comes to the redeployment of teachers. As you were saying we are coming from the problem of migration where you will say in this school I have 200 learners and then I will need say eight teachers; in a year the number of learners drops to 100 and now you say I need four teachers, what are you going to do with the other four! To use the number of learners as a measuring tool is not right because the numbers are not satable, it fluctuates thereby affecting teacher and the department says according to the number of learners and schools which are 6 000 in the province I am entitled to 62 000 teachers, if the number of learners drops then I cannot employ more teachers to add to this 62 000, I have to redeploy from one school to the other. This is a difficult situation and a challenge to department that will take time before it is solved because the redeploment of teachers has unintended consequencesconcerning the curriculum of the school where you find that each teacher has specialized in a particular subject and if you redeploy that teacher who will teach that subject because even those who are remaining are specializing in other subjects and not that one. This is the reason why you find that the Model C school do their own recruiting of learners and teachers and pay them out the SGB funds and this is what we were discussing with the department that the tool they are using to measure the number of required teachers instead of usintg the curriculum of the school and should remain with the number of teachers whether the numbers of learners are droping or not. I think this problem of redeployment will never be solved as it has a social factorbecause if you take a teacher who has a family and send himor her to Port St Johns the family is affected in a anumbetr of ways. We have then said to the department if they want stability according to the teacher-curriculum requirement they should measure according to the curriculum offered in that school instead of using the total number of students in that school. To me this is what should be done because this is indeed a challenge as we have discovered that in some schools there are only four teachers whereas there are nine subjects that are offered to an extent that some learners are not taught certain subjects and because of that they end up migrating to other schools. Do you see this, one problem leads to another, they are intertwined.

Follow-up reproach:

Le nto ke yile eyenza ukuba omnye utitshala athi engowaseBhayi athunyelwe eLusikisiki aze agqibe kwelokuba makaphume aphele kwalapha ekubeni ngutitshala afune omnye umsebenzi bhetele.

Injalo kanye, iyanxunguphalisa ngolona hlobo kanganokuba sithe xa besihleli nezi titshala safumanisa into yokuba ezinye zeengxaki abanazo zizizo kuba uthi ubone ukuba ayithandabuzeki ngenene indlela abazinikezele ngayo emsebenzini wabo kungakhathaliseki ukuba zikhona na izixhobo okanye azikho kodwa basuke bavelelwe zezi meko zemiqathango emininzi kwisebe lezemfundo.

This is what sometimes leads to cases whereby yo find that a teacher from Port Elizabeth would be redeployed to Lusikisiki and because of that the teacher decide to quit teaching and look for another job somewhere.
That is true and is very frustrating and in meetings that we had with the teachers we discovered that some of their problems are genuine becaue you do not doubt sometimes that they are really dedicated to their work whether there are resources or not, but only to encounter such limitations from the department of education.

4.3.2 Interview no: 2

4.3.2.1 Former Model C schools:

Reproach: The level of education in feeder primary schools is not up to standard and the primary schools are not managed properly.

1.1 <u>Concession</u>

The legislator acknowledges the negative aspects of the situation and the right to reproach:

- There is a problem with rural schools and they are different from private schools (EI2, Q1: 6-7)

1.2 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of the situation within the department by reframing the consequences of the failure event. She argues that there are benefits:

a.   The department of Education is trying to integrate these schools for the benefit of learners from rural/public schools (EI2, Q1: 8)

b.   The department of Education is setting up a program of addressing these problems, which includes transforming educators in public schools as far as teaching is concerned (EI1, Q1: 9-13)

4.3.2.2 School fees:

Reproach: The department of Education does not make enough resources available for schools, and this is the reason why the former Model C schools are forced to demand high school fees.

2.1 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Present benefit:</u>

The interviewee argues that there are benefits associated with the situation and they outweigh the failure event:

▪ The allocation for schools has been increased to R526, 000 to assist also with those learners who cannot be able to pay for school fees (EI2, Q2: 1-7)

2.2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Past adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate the blame by appealing to past negative situations:

▪ The Province constitute of a former Transkei homeland, which is very disadvantaged and poverty stricken (EI2, Q2: 7-9)

Reproach on shortages of teaching and learning resources:

2.3 <u>Justifications</u>

<u>Minimization: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier argues that even though the situation seems bad, there are benefits in that:

▪ The newly built schools have reserved rooms specifically for computer laboratories and libraries (EI2, Q2: 13-17)

2.4 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Future benefits:</u>

The situation might seem, but there are programs which if successfully implemented might bring positive outcomes:

- The proposed intervention program to integrate public and private schools so to bridge the existing gap (EI2, Q2: 17-23)

4.3.2.3 Learner performance:

Reproach: There is a general poor performance of learners and the department should take responsibility for that as well as for under-qualified and ill-disciplined teachers.

3.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Responsibility: Diffusion of responsibility:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to disconnect self from the reproach by presenting another source, which should bear responsibility for the negative consequences of the situation. She mentions teachers as one such source:

- Teachers do not understand OBE (outcomes based education) and yet they are expected to teach it to the learners (EI2, Q3: 1-8)

3.2 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Present benefits:</u>

a. Workshops are conducted throughout the Province (EI2, Q3: 8-9)
b. Teachers are also trained so that they can train other teachers (EI2, Q3: 9-13)

3.3 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the blame by pointing out the adversity of the current situation. The argument is that all the intervention programs might be in place

but they can be hampered by the present adverse situation. She mentions such situation as:

- Educators resist change/ transformation because of the quality of education which they received (Ei2, Q3: 13-17)

4.3.2.4 The high rate of educators' absenteeism:

Reproach: educators blame the adverse conditions under which they must teach as the primary reason for their absenteeism.

The role played by educators:

4.1 Excuse

Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility:

An excuse has been employed to vertically diffuse responsibility:

- Educators will come up with all sorts of excuses just to be away from school and classrooms (EI2, Q4: 1-7)

4.2 Justification

Derogation of victim: Attacking the accuser:

The justifier argues that educators (reproachers) have no right to reproach because they are not playing their part by attending school regularly and doing their job effectively. They absent themselves from school for no apparent reason (EI2, Q4: 7-14)

The role played by learners:

4.3 Concession

The interviewee acknowledges the failure event and the right to reproach. She agrees that in some schools, learners are very ill-disciplined, they arrive late at school, they use drugs and classes are overcrowded (EI2, Q4: 18-29)

Role played by school management and governing bodies:

4.4 <u>Concession</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the negative aspects of the failure:

a. School managers lack the capacity to manage schools (EI2, Q4: 30-35)
b. School governing bodies are inefficient and they lack insight of their responsibilities to the school and its stakeholders (EI2, Q4: 35-39)

Reproach on depression:

4.5 <u>Denial</u>

The interviewee is simply denying the reproach and the victim's right to reproach. She argues that such a thing as depression does not even appear on the Time-book (EI2, Q4: 40-42)

4.3.2.5 Planning and migration:

Reproach: Parents move their children from one school to another to find better education because schools in their communities offer poor quality education.

5.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way, she wants to disconnect self from the reproach with the intention of putting the causality of the act on some other source, external to herself. She identifies such external sources as follows:

a. Learners who migrate to those schools which have better results (EI2, Q5: 1-4)
b. Crime within school premises drives learners to other schools (EI2, Q5: 4-7)
c. Learners are not disciplined enough and they move around as they please (EI2, Q5: 7-13)

4.3.2.6 Redeployment

Reproach: The issue of redeployment of educators has been discussed for a long time and schools are not in favor of such a method to bring about equity as it makes it difficult to find the best educator for a specific subject or grade:

6.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Defeasibility: Plea of ignorance:</u>

The excuse-giver mentions that because of ignorance, the department has failed to foresee the undesirable consequences associated with the situation in the sense that the department should at least consider the number of subjects offered in that particular school before redeploying teachers instead of using learner numbers (EI2, Q6: 3-10)

1. **Language and style**

1.1 Syntactic level:

a. Length of sentences:

The account is characterized by long sentences. See *i.a.* Q1: 1-5 and 6-13. These sentences range from five to seven lines. However, the length of the sentences poses no problems because it is a general phenomenon in isiXhosa language that the spoken word tends to have longer sentences than the written one.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences that have been used by the interviewee are quite complex in that each sentence has more than one verb. See i.a. Q1.1: 1-6, the sentence has 8 verbs: *ndingathi, kufuneka siqwalasele, sithetha, uthetha, zokuncedisa, ukuze bafundiseke, isilela, ekufanel'uba ziyenziwa.*

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban or modern version of isiXhosa as it is not the pure Transkeian and Ciskeian kind of isiXhosa. It is not a dialect though, but just a modern standard of the language that is mostly used by the urbanized Xhosa speakers.

1.2 Lexical level:

a. Lexical diversity:

i. *Technical terms:* The interviewee has used such technical terms as: *umgomo, iphondo,* etc. She uses these terms because as the legislator these terms are always on the tip of her tongue as she is expected to teach the public about government policies and programs which entail these terms.

ii. *English terms:* the accounter has also used a lot of English terms probably because parliament deliberations are mostly conducted in English and that it is sometimes difficult to find suitable Xhosa words of such terms. Examples of these terms are: *ono-school-fee free, OBE, iiworkshops, districts, cluster, iimemorial service, SGB, SMT, icurriculum, Model C, iredeployment,* etc.

iii. *Innovative Xhosa words:*

The interviewee did not use any innovative words.

b. Language imagery:

i.   Metaphor

The account-giver uses metaphors in her speech repertoire such as: *"…zonke ezi zinto zenza kubekhona ukughwalela kumba wokuhanjwa kwesikolo."* (Q3: 13-14). This means the existing problems result in poor school attendance.

ii.   Simile

The account-giver did not use simile in her speech repertoire.

1.3   Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used some equivocation in her account such as: Q5: 1, *"Zisenokuba khona iimeko ezinjalo…"* (There might be such cases…) This equivocation of language use threatens the source credibility and that of the perceived quality of arguments. Most of the information provided by the accounter is unequivocal though as it is directly stated.

1.   <u>Language use</u>

2.1 Politeness:

The interviewee has tried to avoid the FTAs (Face Threatening Acts) by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat. However, the account-giver has chosen to perform the FTA, that she did on-record and off-record. On-record is expressed unambiguously through the use of justifications in his account especially the appeal to present and future benefits. The off-record strategy is performed or expressed ambiguously so that the accounter cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent. The conclusion of the expression is thus left to the reproacher to make.

2.2 Effectiveness:

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the accounter has chosen to use mostly excuses and justifications. Justifications that have been used are those that minimize the failure aspects of the act and reframe the consequences by appealing to present and future benefits. A total of 6 justifications have been employed in this account.

Present benefits	4
Future benefit	1
Derogation: Attacking the accuser	1

The excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances as they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances. The mitigating excuses that have been employed are those that appeal to the present adverse conditions. The interviewee has employed 6 excuses in his account:

Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	2
Diffusion of responsibility	2
Causal excuses	1
Defeasibility: Plea of ignorance	1

The interviewee has chosen strategies that have the potential of success. She has decided to employ mostly excuses that mitigate the blame and its circumstances because they are among strategies that are deemed effective.

2.3 Power of speech style:

The interviewee has decided to use strategies that minimize the blame and reframe the consequences of the reproach. Such a strategy is justification.

Interview 2

Isebe lezeMfundo

Kwintetho yomnyaka ka-2005 yoLwabiwo-mali neNkqubo karhulumente ebisenziwa ngohloniphekileyo uMphathiswa wezeMfundo waseMpuma Koloni, kuye kwaphawulwa iingxaki ezithile eziggamileyo kwiSebe lezeMfundo.

Department of Education

In the 2005 Budget and Policy speech of the honorable MEC for Education of the Eastern Cape, certain problems were clearly identified within the Education Department.

First reproach: p. 1

Iingxaki ezimalunga noYilo lweNguqu oluDityanisiweyo kwezeMfundo (p. 407)

1. uMphathiswa obekekileyo uqale ngokugxininisa "kwiinguqu eziqhubekekayo kwizikolo ezazifudula zibizwa ngokuba zii-model C. Izityholo zobuhlanga, ukutshintsha-tshintsha kwemigathango yesebe ngokuphathelele kulwamkelo lwabantwana ezikolweni oluquka ulawulo lovavanyo lolwazi lolwimi kwakunye nokutyeshelwa kwemithetho yolwimi, zizinto ke ezi ezivelayo kule meko" (p. 4)

   Ngokuphathelele kuvavanyo lolwazi lolwimi kunye nemithetho yolwimi yeSebe, siqwalasela oku:

   Izikolo ezazifudula zibizwa ngokuba ziiModel-C zona zivakalisa ukuba ezi mvavanyo azijoliswanga ekutshintsha-tshintsheni kweimqathango yolwimi ngokuphathelele kulwamkelo lwabantwana kunye nemithetho yolwimi. Izikolo zikwavakalisa nento yokuba izinga lemfundo kwizikolo ezinikezela abantwana abaya kumabanga aphezulu alikho mgangathweni. Ngenxa yale meko izikolo ziye zibe noxanduva lokuziqulungela iimvavanyo zazo ukuze ziqinisekise ukuba abafundi abasuka kwizikolo zamabanga aphantsi banganakho na ukumelana nesilabhasi yezikolo zamabanga aphezulu. ISebe lezeMfundo alizilawuli ngokugqibeleleyo izikolo zamabanga aphantsi.

Ewe ndingatsho, umzekelo ngelixesha besiphuma thina le ntetho kaMphathiswa ibingade ingqinelane nento esithe sayiphawula yokuba kwezi zikolo zalamabanga aphantsi kukuba ukuba ngaba ukuba uthetha nomntwana owenza ibanga lesixhenxe akakwazi ukubhala igama eli lakhe okwesibini akakwazi ukuthetha ngesilungu sele umbuza igama eli lakhe athintilize kuba nzima. Ukhona ke umohluko okhoyo phakathi kwezi zikolo zethu apha ezilalini ingakumbi xa uzithelekisa nezi zizimeleyo, ndingatsho ndithi ikhona ingxaki kodwa isebe liyazama ukuzidibanisa ezi zikolo ukwenzela ukuba aba bantwana bamkelwe kwezi zikolo okanye kubekhona inkqubo enokulandelwe enolawulo olucacileyo olunokwenza ukuba kubekhona unxibelelwano mhlawumbi nendlela yokujonga ukuba le ngxaki ingasombululeka njani na nokujonga ukuba iititshala zesiya sikolo zinokwenziwa njani ukuba zitshintshe zikwazi ukuncedisana naba bantwana.

Problems related to the Integrated Education Transformation Plan *(p. 407)*

1. *The Hon. MEC focused attention firstly on "the continuing transformation of ex-model C schools. Allegations of racism, flouting of departmental instructions on admission such as the administering of language proficiency tests and the ignoring of language policies, do surface" (p. 4)*

   With regard to the language proficiency tests and the Department's language policies:

   The former Model C schools argue that such tests are not aimed at flouting departmental instructions on admission and language policies. The schools are of the opinion that the level of education of the children in their feeder primary schools is not up to standard. The schools are thus forced to administer their own tests to ascertain whether these children from the primary schools will be able to follow the syllabus in the high school. The department of Education does not manage the primary schools very well.

I could say that, for example when we making visits we have also noticed what is highlighted by the MEC's speech that in primary schools most Grade 9 learners cannot write even their own names and they cannot speak English even when you are asking what their names are it becomes so difficult. There is a difference in our rural schools especially when comparing them with the private schools, I would say there is a problem but the department is trying to integrate these schools so that all learners can accepted in these schools or to have a clear programme that can be followed to enable interaction and means of addressing these problems including transforming teachers of these rural schools so that they can be in a better position of assisting their learners.

Follow-up question:

Ingaba loo nto yenza into yokuba ezi zikolo zivumeleke ukuba zizisekele eyazo imigathango?

Ngokukarhulumente akukavunyelwana kuloo nto ube ungekho nomgomo obavumelayo ukuba bangakwenza oko, kodwa ke loo nto isaxoxwa.

Does that mean that these schools are free to set their own laws?

According to government, such an agreement has not been entered into and there is no policy that restricts them from doing that, but that is still being debated.

Second reproach: p. 2

2. Okwesibini, umphathiswa obekekileyo uye wabalula nomba wentlawulo yesikolo:"sifumanisa ukuba kwezinye izikolo ulwamkelo lwabafundi ithityazwa zizixa zemali ezingathethekiyo ezifunwayo" (p. 5).

   Ngokuphathelele kwintlawulo yezikolo, nekukholeleka ukuba yengathethekiyo nenyanzelisa ukuba kukhangeleke kunzima kubafundi abaninzi ukuba baye kwizikolo ezithile esezikhankanyiwe (ezo zazizi-Model C), iinqununu zazo zivakalisa ukuba ukuze kufundiswe kwaye kufundwe ngokugqibeleleyo kufuneka izikolo zibeenovimba abafana neelebhu, amathala eencwadi, iilebhu zekhompiyuta, kwaye izikolo kufuneka zikwazi ukuthatha abantwana zibase kukhenketho lwemfundo ngaphandle nto leyo inokubanceda ekusebenziseni nasekugxininiseni ulwazi abaluzuze kwiincwadi zezifundo naseklasini. Abanqununu babanga ngelithi iSebe lezeMfundo liyasilela ekumiseleni abavimba ezikolweni, kwaye ke nanjengokuba iyinjongo yesikolo ukunikezela imfundo egqwesileyo ndawonye nokuvelisa abafundi abachubekileyo

nabazithembileyo, oku kunyanzela ukuba bacele abazali ukuba babaxhasi ngemali ethe kratya.

Ukuba uyakhumbula urhulumente ebefudula enemali ayinika izikolo ibikade ke ilapha kooma-R200 000 enento ngoku kunomthetho opasisiweyo ka-2005 no. 14 ono-school-fee free, ithi ke yona njengokuba bebefudula benikwa imali ekuma-R200 000 ngoku yonyusiwe bazakunikwa phaya kuma-R526 000 mhlawumbi ke loo nto iyakwenza ukuba nezi zikolo zibone ukuba ikhona inkxaso eyenziwayo ngurhulumente ukujongana ikakhulu naba bantwana bahlelelekileyo bangakwazi ukuzibhatla iimali. Umzekelo ukuba ujonga kweli cala ebelifudula liliphandle leTranskei uyakufumanisa ukuba lelona ebelifudula lihlelelekile kwaye nendlala kulapho ijiye khona, ngoko ke ngokupasisa lo mthetho urhulumente uzama ukuba kubekhona indlela yokuba aba bantwana abebekade bengamkeleki kwezi zikolo bakwazi ukungena bafunde kusetyenziswa le mali ibekelwe bucala ngurhulumente.

2.   *Secondly, the Hon. MEC mentioned the school fees: "We find that in some schools access is deliberately frustrated by the exorbitant fees demanded" (p. 5).*

   As far as school fees are concerned, which are believed to be exorbitant and thereby making it difficult for most learners to get access to the schools in question (former Model C), the principals argue that for effective teaching and learning to take place there must be resources such as laboratories, libraries, computer laboratories, and that schools should be able to take learners to field excursion to supplement and endorse the information and knowledge that they have obtained in their textbooks and learned in the classroom. They claim that the Department of Education is incapable of making those resources available and since it is the schools' aim to provide quality education and to be able to produce competent and confident individuals in their students, they have to ask the parents for more money.

If you remember government used to have a budget for school and it was about R200 000 and something but now there is a new law that has been passed of 2005 no. 14 that has a school-fee-free which says the budget that they used to get has now been increased to R526 000, maybe this make these schools realize that there is something that is being done by the government to cater for the disadvantaged children who cannot afford to pay for their school fees. For example, if you look at the former Transkei you will find that it is the most disadvantaged and poverty is very rife and therefore by passing this law government is trying to come up with means to opening doors to those children who were denied access to these schools.

Follow-up question:

Kuthekani ke ngoku ngalo mba wokushokoxexa kwezixhobo zokufunda nokufundisa?

Uyabona ke kwezi zikolo zakhiwa ngurhulumente ngokunje kukho amagumbi asekelwe ukuba kubekho ezi zixhobo uthetha ngazo, umzekelo ikhompyutha, namathala eencwadi apho abantwana bezawukwazi ukuba bafumane iincwadi abazakuzifunda bengadanga babe bayaphuma baye ezidolophini beyokufuna ezo ncwadi. Ndicinga ukuba urhulumente uyazama ukuncedisana nale meko ezama kananjalo ukuba ezi zikolo zisemaphandleni zifane nezi zabucala ezi zenza into yokuba umntwana abalekele kuzo kuba ecinga ukuba eyona mfundo ibhetele uzakuyifumana phaya. Le ndlela urhulumente azama ukudibanisa ngayo ukuhlangabezana nemeko yezikolo zethu kwinto ebezikade ziyiyo, ndicinga ukuba

izakuza nesisombululo sokuba zibonwe zidibana kungabikho msantsa phakathi kwazo.

What about the shortage of teaching and learning resources?

You see in these schools that are built by the government lately, there are rooms that are reserved for such resources, for example computers, libraries where learners can go and get all the information they need. I think then that government is trying to assist in this situation and also trying to put the rural schools on the same level as the private schools without learners having to migrate to town schools as she or he believes that she or he can only get quality education from those schools. The integration programme proposed by the government in addressing the current situation of our schools I think will be able to bring about solution and change so that there can be no gap between these schools.

Third reproach: p. 3

3. uMphathiswa obekekileyo ukhathazwa kukusebenza kwabafundi: "izinga lokusebenza kwabantwana kwizigaba zonke zemfundo kufuneka liphuhle" (p. 5).

uMphathiswa uchan`ucwethe kulo mgqaliselo: icace gca okwekat`emhloph`ehlungwini ingxaki yokusilela kwabafundi ekwenzeni umsebenzi ogqwesileyo.

Izikolo zivakalisa uluvo lokuba isebe lezeMfundo nalo liyabandakanyeka kwingxuba kaxaka yokusilela kwabafundi ekugqweseni kumsebenzi wabo wesikolo:

Okokuqala, isebe kufuneka lilawule abafundisi ntsapho ngendlela engcono: kunzima ngokungathethekiyo ukululeka abafundisi ntsapho. Okwesibini, izinga lootitshala alikho mgangathweni. Kungakuhle xa ootitshala banokufumana uqeqesho oluthe kratya kwiindlela zokufundisa izifundo zabo. Ikhangeleka iyintsinda-badala into yokuba ootitshala abangaqeqeshwanga kakuhle kulindeleke ukuba bavelise umsebenzi ophuhlileyo.

Uyabona ke kukho le nto kuthiwa nguOBE, uyakuphawula ke ukuba apha ezikolweni kwa aba bantu bafundisa lo OBE abamqondi bona kuqala nangona bebeqeqeshiwe. Ndicinga ukuba mhlawumbi olu tshintsho lwenzekayo eburhulumenteni lufikela kwiingqondo zabantu ebekunzima kakade kubo nabo abebefumene imfundo ebingakhange ikwazi ukubancedisa ngoku xa kufika olu tshintsho lufikela kwiintloko ezilukhuni bangakwazi ke ngoku ukuziqonda ncam ezi zinto zabaOBE ntoleyo eyenza kube nzima kubo ukuhamba bayoyikhuphela le nto kwabanye abantu. Ukuba uthetha ngorhulumente zikhona iiworkshops eziqhutywayo kwezi districts zonke kubekhona neetitshala eziqeqeshelwa ukuba ziqeqeshe ezinye iititshala, ziyaqhubeka iiworkshops umzekelo ngokunje phaya kula ngingqi yaseLusikisiki ebizwa ngokuba yiPort St Johns cluster kukho iiworkshops ezizakuqhutywa phaya ezizama ukutshintsha iingqondo zeetitshala ukuze zikwazi ukulungela le meko ekhoyo. Urhulumente uyazama yena kodwa zonke ezo nzame zifikela ebantwini abangqondo zilukhuni ebebekade nabo befumene laa mfundo ngoku kutsho kube nzima neziphumo nazo zibe kwanjalo kuba kaloku kunzima kwakwezi titshala kuqala, abaziqondi ezi zinto ekufanele bezifundise abantwana.

3. *The Hon. MEC is troubled by the performance of learners: "the performance of learners at all levels of the system must improve" (p. 5).*

The Hon. MEC is correct in this observation: there is clearly a problem with regard to the poor performance of the learners.

The schools are of the opinion that the department of Education has to shoulder some blame for this poor performance of learners:

Firstly, the department should manage the teachers in a better way: it is difficult to discipline teachers.
Secondly, the quality of the teachers is not up to standard. They should have more training in the methods of their subjects. It is a big problem to expect that poorly trained teachers should be able to perform well.

There is this thing called OBE and you will notice that even these people who are supposed to teach this OBE they do not understand it. I think this governmental transformation reaches the minds of people who were already suffering intellectually who received an education that was not meant to assist them right from the beginning and when this transformation programmes are implemented it becomes very difficult for them to deliver or teach these to their learners. Government does have workshops conducted in all districts and sometimes teachers are trained so that they can be able to train others, such workshops are in progress as a result in the Port St Johns cluster there will workshops intended to transform the mindset of teachers to make it ready for the changes that are taking place. Government is trying it can but all those attempts get to people who are very resistant to change due to the quality of education they received and that has a negative impact on the school results.

Fourth reproach: p. 4

4. Liphakamile kakhulu izinga lokungaphangeli kootitshala (p. 6-7). Umphathiswa uthethe wenjenje: "Ayamkelekanga kwaphela into yokuba ootitshala babe ixesha labafundi ngenxa yeengxaki zabo nangalo naliphi na ixesha elimiselwe ukufunda" (p. 7).

    Kukho isivumelwano ekufikelelwe kuso ngokuphathelele nalo mba wokuvamisa ukungaphangeli kwabafundisi ntsapho. Abafundisi ntsapho banembono yokuba oku kungaphangeli makungabi malunga nokwenza izinto ezinganggqinelani nemfundo. Iimeko ezenzeka phantsi kwazo azibonakali zikhuthaza ukufundisa ngokuqgwesileyo: abafundi abaninzi baswele imbeko, inkxaso efumaneka kubaphabathi besikolo incinci okanye ayikho, ootitshala kufuneka bejongene namanani aphezulu kumagumbi okufundela kube kulindeleke ukuba bequkumbele umsebenzi omninzi. Oku kusilela kwenkxaso ootitshala abaninzi baye babenezigulo ezayamene nodandatheko lwentliziyo, nto leyo ibanyanzela ukuba bangabina kuphangela.

Hayi ke, hayi ke kwelo cala mntanasekhaya kubi, uyabona njengokuba simane siphuma sindwendwela izikolo umzekelo izolo bendiseXhorha kuvulwa isikolo phaya iNqayiya; ndithe xa ndithetha ngomba wokungahambi sikolo kweetitshala nto leyo okwazi ukuyibona phaya kulanto kuthiwa yi-timebook engasayinwayo, loonto ke ebonakalisa ukuba ekuqgibeleni iziphumo azisoze zibe zihle kuba kaloku iititshala azisihambi isikolo ngooLwezihlanu nangeMivulo ukanti ukuba kuyanetha abezi esikolweni. Bathi ke xa bezithethelela, iindlela abahamba kuzo xa bephangela azikho ntle kwaye neendawo abafundisela kuzo zifana nezitali zamahashe ntoleyo eyenza ukuba bangabi namdla wokuya esikolweni okanye bangabi nawo umdla sele befikile esikolweni wokuya emagumbini okufundisa. Ikhona ke loo nto yokungahambi sikolo kootitshala ingakumbi xa kukho iimemorial services, iintlanganiso zemibutho yootitshala, iiworkshops naxa kuphela inyanga; zonke ezi zinto zenza ukuba kubekho ukuqhwalela kumba wokuhanjwa kwesikolo. Isebe lona liyazama ukuba yeyiphi na enye indlela enokwenziwa ukulungisa ezi ziphene kuba kaloku xa sibuya kolu tyelelo

siyikomiti siye sihlale phantsi nesebe sithi nantsi into esiyifumeneyo khanikhe nizame ukujonga oku noku kuba uyonzakala urhulumente ngoluhlobo kwenzeka ngalo.

4. *There is a high rate of absenteeism among educators (p. 6-7). The Hon. MEC said "It is unacceptable that educators steal time from our learners for their own affairs at any time of the school year" (p. 7).*

There is agreement with the problem of the high rate of absenteeism in the teaching staff. The educators are of the opinion that such absenteeism is not for the purpose of conducting their own affairs. The conditions under which they operate are not conducive to good teaching: there is a lack of discipline in the learners, there is little or no support from the school management, they have to cope with large classes of learners and they have to finish a lot of work. Without proper support educators tend to have a lot of stress-related illnesses which force absenteeism.

You see when it comes to that things are really bad, yesterday I was in Elliotdale to open a school called Nqayiya there and I spoke this high rate of teacher-absenteeism because that is something you can witness from that thing called time-book which is not even signed proving that at the end results will not be good if teachers are not regular at school especially on Mondays and Fridays, and sometimes if it is raining they do not bother by going to school. They defend themselves by saying that the roads they travel in are not in good condition and that the classrooms they use arm re like stables something which is very discouraging or to find that sometimes they do not have the courage to go to the classrooms even when they are already at school. It is common for teachers not to go to school especially when there are memorial services, union meetings, workshops and on pay days and this has a major impact on school attendance. The department is then trying to come up with some intervention programmes in order to address these challenges because what is that when we return from these visits we discuss our findings with the department so that they can be rectified instead of letting the government suffer further.

Follow-up reproach:

Ukongeza kwezi zinto uzibalulayo zokuba iimeko abaphangela kuzo bazibeka njengezizathu ezenza ukuba bangabi namdla wokuya esikolweni mhlawumbi amagumbi abafundisela kuwo, bakwabalula bona ngelokongeza nomba wokonyuka kwezinga lokuswel'imbeko kwabafundi nokungabikho kwenkxaso eyoneleyo esuka kubaphathi besikolo ukanti nomba wamanani aphezulu kakhulu abantwana kumagumbi okufundela.

Ndingavumelana nabo kwelo cala kuba kwezinye zezikolo umzekelo eJojo eMount Ayliff abantwana baphaya bafika kade esikolweni, baqaqadekile batshaya intsangu nezinye ke iziyobisi esingazange sikwazi ukuzibona thina kodwa indlela le abaziphethe ngayo phaya baphatha iimela esikolweni ntoleyo eyenza ukuba ootitshala babe madol'anzima ukujongana nabafundi. Zigcwele izikolo umzekelo i-Mount Ayliff Comprehensive School abantwana abaphaya bangaphezulu kwama-900 apho ufumanisa ukuba igumbi ngalinye lilayisha abantwana abangaphezu kwama-60 nama-70 kugcwele kakhulu kuba kaloku abanye abantwana bayasuka kwisikolo esithile bayokugcwalisa kwesinye kuba bebona ngathi ikhona intshukumo ekhoyo kweso sikolo nokuba iziphumo zibantle ukuphela konyaka, kodwa ke kwezinye iindawo uye ufumanise ukuba isikolo sigcwele nje kube kungekho nto iqhubekayo kugquba nje indelelo.

To add on some of the things that you have highlighted as the working conditions such as demotivation and the condition of classrooms, teachers are also highlighting

the issue of ill-discipline among learners and the lack of support from school managers including overcrowding in classrooms.

I would agree with them in that because for example in Jojo, Mount Ayliff learners do arrive in time at school, they are so disrespectful and they smoke dagga including other drugs that we could not see, but the way they conduct themselves is such that they carry knives or weapons at schools and making it difficult for teachers to control and manage learners. Schools are overcrowded, for example the Mount Ayliff Comprehensive School learners are more than 900 where you find that in each classroom there are about 60- 70 learners; it is really overcrowded because learners migrate from one school to the other hence they notice that there is some movement in that school irrespective of the end-year results, but you find that some schools are just overcrowded when there is nothing happening.

Follow-up question:

Kuthekani ke ngoku kulo mba wokungafumani nkxaso kubaphathi besikolo?

Umzekelo iSGB neSMT, uyayibona ke loo nto kuthiwa yiSMT yeyona nto ityhafe nyhani kwezi zikolo kuba kwabantu aba kuthiwa ngabaphathi bezikolo abakabinalo ulwazi olwaneleyo lokujongana neengxaki ezivelayo esikolweni, okanye iSMT ibengumntu omnye ngenxa yeenani labantwana besikolo elithi ligqibe ukuba bangaphi ootitshala abafanele babekhona kweso sikolo nto leyo ke ethi ikhokelele ekubeni inqununu isilawule yodwa eso sikolo. IiSGBs zona nangona ziqeqeshwa nje zisayibona into yokujongana nesikolo njengento nje engahoyekanga zibe zingayiboni le yokuba izikolo zezabo ntoleyo eyongeza uxanduva kootitshala kungekho nkxaso esuka ebazalini nabantwana babe beyilento bayiyo ngendlela abaziphethe ngayo.

What about this view that there is no support from the school management?

Such as SGB and SMT, you see that thing called SMT is the most inefficient in these schools because even the school managers do no t have enough skills and capacity to deal with problems in their schools or to find that the SMT constitutes of only one person because of the learner ratio at school which is measuring tool used to calculate the number of teachers required by that particular school resulting then to the principal being the only SMT member. As for SGBs even though they are trained, still do not consider school running and management as something of significance, something that they should own and support instead they see it as the teachers' responsibility.

Follow-up reproach:

Le yokuba ke ngoku besithi bona into eyenza ukuba bangabikho ezikolweni luxinzeleko ngenxa yeemeko abaphangela phantsi kwazo!

Hayi, hayi, hayi, umzekelo xa ujonga kula timebook yabo awusoze ufumane into ethi depression ngaphandle nje kokuba ufike kubhalwe sick-leave kube kungekho nto icacileyo yokuba ugula yintoni kanye-kanye.

What about the claim that the reason why they are not at school is depression caused by the working conditions?

No, no, no! for example if you look at the school timebook you will never see depression written there except that the teacher is on sick leave and no specifications on that sick leave.

Fifth reproach: p. 5

Iingxaki ezimalunga noYilo kunye neMfuduko (p. 10-11)

5. Umphathiswa uthe: "ixhaphakile kakhulu into yokufuduka ngaphanyazo kwabafundi baseMpuma Koloni besuka kwesinye isikolo besiya kwesinye, nto leyo ibanga ubunzima kwimeko yokulawula indlela yokuceba nokumiselwa kootitshala" (p. 10).

Kuye kwavunyelwana nalo mbandela: abazali bayakhupha abantwana babo kwesinye isikolo babase kwesinyeparents. Esona sizathu basibekayo kule meko sesokuba bazama ukufumanela abantwana babo imfundo engcono. Into ekhankanywa rhoqo yeyokuba izikolo zasekhaya ezikufuphi namakhaya abafundi zinikezela imfundo ekumgangatho ophantsi. Le nto ke iye inyanzele abazali ukuba bakhangelele abantwana babo izikolo ezizizo, zikolo ezo zinikezela imfundo engcono nekwizinga eliphezulu.

Yilanto bendikhe ndathi kuwe ukuba uya eMount Ayliff kulento yokugcwala kwamagumbi okufundela yinto yokuba abantwana bathi bakujonga iziphumo zokuphela konyaka bafumanise ukuba zihle kakhulu kunezo zaseJojo bazibone ke behamba beyokufunda kwesiya sikolo. Okwesibini, ubundlobongela buphezulu eJojo esikolweni babe abanye abantwana benomdla wokufunda okanye ufumanise ukuba kwa iqununu le yesikolo iza esikolweni inxilile abantwana bangabi namdla ke ngoku baphele besishiya eso sikolo. Kwakhona abantwana bethu bathande ukungalawuleki ngoku, umntwana ufuna ukuya kule ndawo afuna ukuya kuyo ngoko ke awunakumbek'ityala urhulumente ngalo nto kuba le into isemntwini kuba ke nasi isikolo urhulumente usakhile; umzekelo urhulumente uyakwazi ukusakha isikolo sibe namagumbi ali-12 kuquka amathala eencwadi, iikhompyutha zikwalapha nayo yonke into sibe sihle sibenjeya kodwa basishiye bahambe baye kwiindawo apho umntu ezakufika azilawule.

Problems related to Planning and Migration *(p. 10-11)*

5. *The Hon. MEC said "it has become commonplace for learners within the Eastern Cape to move from one school to another almost at whim, making planning and staffing impossible to manage" (p. 10).*

There is agreement with this statement: parents do move their children from one school to another. Their only concern with such movement of their children is to find better education for them. It is often the case that local schools near the home of the learners offer a poor quality of education. The parents are then forced to find a proper school for their children, a school which has a good quality of education.

This is what I said to you that if you go to Mount Ayliff you find that classes are overcrowded because learners once they realize that results are much better in that school than Jojo, then they migrate to that school. Secondly, crime is very rife at Jojo S.S.S. whilst other learners are keen to learn or sometimes find that the principal is drunk during school hours and that discourages some learners resulting to them migrating to other schools. Another issue is that our children are so uncontrollable nowadays; they want to go wherever they want and you can never blame government for that because she has played her role by building schools. For example, schools are built by government with 12 classrooms including libraries, computer laboratories and everything only to find that learners will leave those schools and go where they will be able to do whatever they like.

Sixth reproach: p. 6

Iingxaki eziphathelele nenkcitho-mali kubasebenzi (p. 7-9)

6. Kuvunyelwene jikelele "ukuba kungqinelaniswe amanani ootitshala namanani abafundi" (p. 8). Le nkqubo iza kuqinisekisa ukulingana phakathi kwezikolo.

Eyona ngxaki ngokuphathelele kwalo mthetho jikelele, isekumiselweni kwawo. Kukhangeleka ngathi isebe lezeMfundo lifuna ukusombulula le ngxaki ngokuthunyelwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo. "Ukufuduselwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo sesona sixhobo sisemthethweni sikhoyo esinokusetyenziswa liSebe ukuthumela ootitshala kwizikolo apho iinkonzo zabo zifuneka khona, izikolo abafunwa kuzo ncakasana." (p. 8)

Umba wokuthunyelwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo sekulithuba uxoxwa kwaye kufumaniseka ukuba izikolo ezininzi ziyawuchasa le ndlela yokuzisa ukulingana phakathi kwezikolo. Zininzi izizathu zoku, umz. Ingxaki yokufumana utitshala ogqwesileyo wesifundo esithile kwibanga elithile. Ubukhulu becala izikolo zizifumana zikwimeko yokuba zamkele ootitshala ezingabafuniyo ngenxa yokungafaneleki kwabo kuloo msebenzi uthile okanye ukungabi namava kwabo: xa kunokubakho ithuba lokuveza la mathuba omsebenzi koonondaba, mhlawumbi izikolo zinganenyhweba yokufumana ootitshala abangcono kunabo bathunyelweyo.

Kulento ine-redeployment bukhona ubunzima obukhoyo kuba umzekelo masithethe ngeJiba, ndizakwenza imizekelo ngezi zikolo ndikhe ndaya kuzo, eJiba S.S.S. amanani abantwana kwesa sikolo aphantsi kakhulu; le nto ineredeployment ithi ke ukuba ngaba inani labantwana liphantsi kufuneka nenani leetitshala lilingane nenani labo bantwana yenze ke loo nto ukuba ziphungulwe iititshala zisiwe kwezinye iindawo. Kuphinde kufumanise ukuba kwesi sikolo kukho abantwana abenza iMaths nescience kodwa ibe ingekho ititshala ehlohla ezi zifundo ibe ithathwe yayophoswa kwesinye isikolo bashiyeke aba abantwana bengenatitshala ngenxa yale redeployment kuba inazo ke nyhani izinto enazo eziphazamisana nenkqubo yokufunda nokufundisa.

Problems related to personnel expenditure *(p. 7-9)*

6. *There is general agreement "to match educator numbers with learner numbers" (p. 8). Such a procedure will guarantee equity between schools.*

The problem with this general policy is in the implementation. It seems as if the department of Education wants to solve this problem with redeployment of educators. "Redeployment is the only legal instrument at the disposal of the Department to move educators from one school where their services are not needed, to a school where they are needed" (p. 8)

The issue of redeployment of educators has been discussed for a long time and in general schools are not in favor of such a method to bring about equity. There are many reasons for this, i.e. the problem of finding the best educator for a specific subject or grade. Schools may find that they have to accept educators whom they do not want because such educators may be underqualified or inexperienced: in advertising for such posts, schools may be able to obtain the services of better educators than these redeployed ones.

There is a lot of difficulty with redeployment because if for example you look at Jiba S.S.S., I will make examples with these schools that I have visited, numbers are very low at that school; according to redeployment if learner numbers are low then teacher numbers should be adjusted according to the number of learners resulting to

teachers being deployed to other schools. You will find that in this school there are learners doing Maths and science but there is no teacher for that learning area he or she has been moved to another school only to leave learners in this school without a teacher because of redeployment. Redeployment indeed has elements that are affecting effective learning and teaching in schools.

4.3.3 Interview no: 3

4.3.3.1 Former Model C schools:

Reproach: The level of education in feeder primary schools is not up to standard and the primary schools are not managed properly.

1.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Sad tales:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate the blame by appealing to the sad tales of the dismal past:

- These schools have different backgrounds, some are from very poor background and others from a well-off background (EI3, Q1: 1-6)

1.2 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefit:</u>

The justifier focused on the strategy in which he tried to reframe the outcome or consequences of the failure event. To do this he concentrated on certain plans for addressing this reproach: the purpose of this reframing of the consequences of the reproach is to convince the reproacher that when these plans are eventually implemented, they will lead to future benefits and people will eventually experience such positive outcomes. He mentions one such strategy that the department will implement to minimize this problem of admission into these former Model C schools:

- A new legislation have been passed to cater for those learners that are denied access to education by these former Model C schools (EI3, Q1: 6-9)

1.3 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse condition:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the blame and its consequences by appealing to the adversity of the present situation. He argues that learners migrate to urban schools because it is believed that they offer far better education to that offered in rural and public schools (EI3, Q1: 11-15)

1.4 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to disconnect self away from the reproach and the failure event. He does this by presenting another source that should bear responsibility for the negative consequences of the situation.

a. He argues that the department of Education does not provide assistance in terms of all the necessary resources to public schools such as those in townships and in rural areas (EI3, Q1: 15-21)
b. Government does not provide enough money so that the department can be able to deal with the problems as mentioned in (a) above (EI3, Q1: 24-26)
c. Teachers are not dedicated to their work (EI3, Q1: 27-28)

Reproach on rules and regulations:

1.5 <u>Denial</u>

The denier is silently denying the reproach and the right to reproach (EI3, Q1: 33-48)

4.3.3.2 School fees:

Reproach: The department of Education does not make enough resources available for schools, and this is the reason why the former Model C schools are forced to demand high school fees.

2.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver has used a null cause in his excuse to disconnect himself and his committee from the reproach by putting the causality of the act on some other source, external to himself. He identifies the lack of parents' involvement in the development of their schools as one source that should take responsibility for this reproach (EI3, Q2: 2-4)

2.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is focusing more on the adverse conditions at present that contribute to the sad situation affecting the primary healthcare system. He identifies the following as such problems:

- Parents have no money especially in rural areas (EI3, Q2: 4-6)

2.3 <u>Concession</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the failure event and the right to reproach. He argues that the situation in these former Model C schools is such that it discourages learners from disadvantaged schools from applying for admission to those schools (EI3, Q2: 10-13)

4.3.3.3 Learner performance:

Reproach: There is a general poor performance of learners and the department should take responsibility for that as well as for under-qualified and ill-disciplined teachers.

3.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate the blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions. The excuse-giver mentions such situations as:

a. The administration of the department of Education still needs to be strengthened to bridge all the loopholes (EI3, Q3: 1-3)

b. Schools are not provided with enough well-trained teachers in all levels (EI3, Q3: 4- 6)

c. Schools lack the necessary resources for effective teaching and learning to take place (EI3, Q3: 6-8)

3.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way, she wants to disconnect self from the reproach with the intention of putting the causality of the act on some other external source. He mentions two such external sources:

a. Parents are not supportive enough and they do not show interest in their children's education (EI3, Q3: 9-12 and 20-22)

b. Learners are ill-disciplined and are not dedicated to their schoolwork (EI3, Q3: 12- 20)

4.3.3.4 The high rate of educators' absenteeism:

Reproach: educators blame the adverse conditions under which they must teach as the primary reason for their absenteeism

4.1 <u>Denial</u>

The interviewee is silently denying the reproach: (EI3, Q4: 1-12)

4.2 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Comparisons: Past negative circumstances:</u>

The justifier argues that the present situation does look bad, but it is a whole lot better than the way it has been in the past:

- It was common for teachers to wait for almost six months before getting their first salary, but that has changed now (EI3, Q4: 18-16)

4.3.3.5. Planning and migration:

Reproach: Parents move their children from one school to another to find better education because schools in their communities offer poor quality education.

5.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver is disconnecting self from this reproach by presenting parents as an external source that should take full responsibility for the failure:

- Parents lack proper control of their children and cannot provide proper guidance to their children (EI3, Q5: 1-11 and 15-18)

5.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the blame by appealing to the present adverse conditions associated with the situation. He mentions such situation as:

- There are schools that always have poor results (EI3, Q5: 11-18)

4.3.3.6 Redeployment

Reproach: The issue of redeployment of educators has been discussed for a long time and schools are not in favor of such a method to bring about equity as it makes it difficult to find the best educator for a specific subject or grade:

6.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse condition:</u>

This excuse has been employed to mitigate the blame by appealing to present negative and adverse conditions such as:

a. The program of redeployment results to the breakdown of families (EI3, Q6: 1-6 and 14-18)
b. The process does not consider moving people within their districts, which is quite reasonable (EI3, Q6: 6-9)

c. The manner in which it is conducted is not conducive enough (EI3, Q6: 9-11)

1.   Language and style

1.1   Syntactic level:

a. Length of sentences:

The account is characterized by long sentences. See *i.a.* Q1: 1-6, 6-15, and 15-21. These sentences range from six to ten lines. However, the length of the sentences poses no problems because it is a general phenomenon in isiXhosa language that the spoken word tends to have longer sentences than the written one.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences that have been used by the interviewee are quite complex in that each sentence has more than one verb. See i.a. Q1.1: 1-6, the sentence has 8 verbs: *ndingathi, kufuneka siqwalasele, sithetha, uthetha, zokuncedisa, ukuze bafundiseke, isilela, ekufanel'uba ziyenziwa.*

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban or modern version of isiXhosa because it is not the pure Transkeian and Ciskeian kind of isiXhosa. It is not a dialect though, but just a modern standard of the language that is mostly used by the urbanized Xhosa speakers.

1.2   Lexical level:

a. Lexical diversity:

i.   *Technical terms:* The interviewee has used such technical terms as: *inkqubo-zicwangciso*, *uMphathiswa, iphondo,* etc. He uses these terms because as the legislator these terms are his daily bread and he should be teaching the public about government policies and programs which entail these terms.

ii. *English terms:* the accounter has also used a lot of English terms in his account probably because parliament deliberations are mostly conducted in English and that it is sometimes difficult to find Xhosa terms of such terms. Examples of these terms are: *icurriculum, Model C, iredeployment, iiconstituencies,* etc.

iii. Innovative Xhosa words: The interviewee did not use any innovative words.

b. Language imagery:

i. Metaphor

The account-giver uses metaphors in his speech repertoire such as: *"…ngomnye umlenze ke lo obalulekileyo, kodwa ke usaghwalela."* (Q2: 10-13). This means that parents are also a very important component in education, but at the moment this component is ineffective.

ii. Simile

The account-giver used the following simile in his speech repertoire.

"…njengesixhobo…" (Q2: 22)
"…njengakoomaRhini…" (Q2: 23)
"…ezinjengokungafumani pay-slip…" (Q4: 12)

1.3 Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used some equivocation in his account such as: Q5: 1, *"Zisenokuba khona iimeko ezinjalo…"* (There might be such cases…) This equivocation of language use threatens the source credibility and that of the perceived quality of arguments. Most of the information provided by the accounter is unequivocal though as it is directly stated.

2. Language use

2.1 Politeness:

The interviewee has tried to avoid the FTAs (Face Threatening Acts) by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat. However, the account-giver has chosen to perform the FTA, that he did on-record and off-record. On-record is expressed unambiguously through the use of justifications in his account especially the comparison by appealing to past negative circumstances. The off-record strategy is performed or expressed ambiguously so that the accounter cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent. The conclusion of the expression is thus left to the reproacher to make.

2.2 Effectiveness:

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the accounter has chosen to use mostly excuses and justifications. Among justifications that have been used are comparison, appealing to the past negative circumstances and an appeal to present benefits. A total of 2 justifications have been employed in this account.

Comparison: Past negative circumstances	1
Present benefits	1

The excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances as they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances. The mitigating excuses that have been employed are those that appeal to the present adverse conditions. The interviewee has employed 10 excuses in his account:

Mitigation of blame: Sad tales	1
Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	5
Diffusion of responsibility	1
Causal excuses	3

The interviewee has chosen strategies that have the potential of success. He has decided to employ mostly excuses that mitigate the blame and its circumstances because they are among strategies that are deemed effective.

2.3 Power of speech style:

The interviewee has decided to use strategies that mitigate the blame and those in which he tries to disconnect himself away from the failure event by presenting another source that should bear the causality for the reproach. Such a strategy is an excuse.

Interview 3

Isebe lezeMfundo

Kwintetho yomnyaka ka-2005 yoLwabiwo-mali neNkqubo karhulumente ebisenziwa ngohloniphekileyo uMphathiswa wezeMfundo waseMpuma Koloni, kuye kwaphawulwa iingxaki ezithile eziggamileyo kwiSebe lezeMfundo.

__Department of Education__

__In the 2005 Budget and Policy speech of the honorable MEC for Education of the Eastern Cape, certain problems were clearly identified within the Education Department.__

First reproach: p. 1

Iingxaki ezimalunga noYilo lweNguqu oluDityanisiweyo kwezeMfundo (p. 407)

1. Umphathiswa obekekileyo uqale ngokugxininisa "kwiinguqu eziqhubekekayo kwizikolo ezazifudula zibizwa ngokuba zii-model C. Izityholo zobuhlanga, ukutshintsha-tshintsha kwemiqathango yesebe ngokuphathelele kulwamkelo lwabantwana ezikolweni oluquka ulawulo lovavanyo lolwazi lolwimi kwakunye nokutyeshelwa kwemithetho yolwimi, zizinto ke ezi ezivelayo kule meko" (p. 4)

    Ngokuphathelele kuvavanyo lolwazi lolwimi kunye nemithetho yolwimi yeSebe, siqwalasela oku:

    Izikolo ezazifudula zibizwa ngokuba ziiModel-C zona zivakalisa ukuba ezi mvavanyo azijoliswanga ekutshintsha-tshintsheni kweimqathango yolwimi ngokuphathelele kulwamkelo lwabantwana kunye nemithetho yolwimi. Izikolo zikwavakalisa nento yokuba izinga lemfundo kwizikolo ezinikezela abantwana abaya kumabanga aphezulu alikho mgangathweni. Ngenxa yale meko izikolo ziye zibe noxanduva lokuziqulunqela iimvavanyo zazo ukuze ziqinisekise ukuba abafundi abasuka kwizikolo zamabanga aphantsi banganakho na ukumelana nesilabhasi yezikolo zamabanga aphezulu. ISebe lezeMfundo alizilawuli ngokugqibeleleyo izikolo zamabanga aphantsi.

Ndingathi mna mhlawumbi la manqaku anobunyani macala kodwa ke kufuneka siqwalasele into yokuba imbali yezi zikolo sithetha ngazo ayifani kuba kwelinye icala uthetha ngezikolo ezisezilalini ezingenazinto zokuncedisa ootitshala ukuze abantwana bafundiseke ngendlele eyiyo ibe necurriculum le yabo isoloko isilela kwizinto ezininzi ekufanel'ukuba ziyenziwa ngabantwana besikolo, kwelinye icala ube ke unezikolo ezinayo yonke into njl-njl. Olwam uluvo ke lolokuba isebe lizenzile iinzame ingakumbi kwelicala lemithetho apho thina ke sithatha inxaxheba khona sizama ukukhulula yonke le mithetho ibinemiqobo ngokuthi kufakelwe imithetho ezakuthi incedisane nemfundo yabantwana kuba mna okokuqala ndicinga into yokuba eyona nto ibalulekileyo yimfundo yabantwana, okwesibini loo mfundo yabantwana incediswa njani lisebe lezemfundo kuba isizathu sokuba abantwana babaleke, ndifuna ukuqala kuloo nto mna kuba ndikholelwa kwelokuba sesinengxaki nje kwezi zikolo zingooModel- C yinto yokuba kukho le nkolelo okanye uluvo lokuba phaya kwezazikolo zisezilalini akufundiswa kwaye nemfundo efumanekayo apho iphantsi kakhulu. Loo nto ke ibinokuphenduleka ukuba isebe lezemfundo belincedisa ngokupheleleyo kweziya zikolo zisezilalini okanye emaphandleni kangangokuba loo nto kuthethwa ngayo iphele nya, izikolo zibe kumgangatho olinganayo kodwa ke ezo zinto zenziwa ziimeko ngeemeko; okokuqala zizinto ezincedisa ootitshala ukuba bafundise abantwana nokuba uthetha ngeencwadi zesikolo, izixhobo zokufunda nokufundisa, nokuba uthetha ngantoni na yimeko nje le yesikolo. Ukuba ezo zinto bezinokulungiswa nje kuba ke isebe liyazenza iinzame zokuzam'ukuncedisana nezi zikolo zisezantsi ukuphucula imeko le yazo ibesemgangathweni ocacileyo, liyayenza loo nto kodwa ke imali inqongophele ayininzanga ngokwaneleyo ukuncedisana nale meko yokuphuculwa komgangatho wezikolo. Ndizam'ukuthi ke kwelinye icala zikhona izinto ezizama ukuncedisana naloo meko kube kwelinye icala ootitshala babe bengazimiselanga ukuba bafundise abantwana ngokwaneleyo; kukho loo miceli-mngeni ke eyenza ukuba kubekhona olu luvo luvelayo kwaye ke yiyo nalento

abazali befundusa abantwana babo bebasa kweza zikolo kuthiwa ngooModel- C zona ezibonwa zinika imfundo encomekayo kunale yezizikolo, zezo nkolelo ke ekufuneka nathi thina bantu bapasisa le mithetho siziphelisile ukuze kuzam'ukuncediswana nezi zikolo.

Problems related to the Integrated Education Transformation Plan *(p. 407)*

1. *The Hon. MEC focused attention firstly on "the continuing transformation of ex-model C schools. Allegations of racism, flouting of departmental instructions on admission such as the administering of language proficiency tests and the ignoring of language policies, do surface" (p. 4)*

   With regard to the language proficiency tests and the Department's language policies:

   The former Model C schools argue that such tests are not aimed at flouting departmental instructions on admission and language policies. The schools are of the opinion that the level of education of the children in their feeder primary schools is not up to standard. The schools are thus forced to administer their own tests to ascertain whether these children from the primary schools will be able to follow the syllabus in the high school. The department of Education does not manage the primary schools very well.

I would like to say that some of these issues might be true but we also have to consider that these schools have different backgrounds because on the other hand you have a school in rural areas without resources to assist teachers in providing quality education, on the other you have a school that has everything. My view then is that the department has done everything especially on the side of legislation where we have played a role in trying to loosen all the limitations that were set by the previous system and replacing it with laws that will cater fully for the education of our children because I think that what is more important is children's education. Secondly, we have look at how this education is assisted by the department because I believe that he reason why we have a problem with these Model-C schools is because there is belief that in rural or township schools education and teaching is not effective. This notion can be addressed if the department could provide assistance to the schools in townships and rural areas with all the necessary resources so that they can be on par with other schools, but these problems are caused by various reasons such as resources even if you are referring to books, teaching and learning material, or anything. If these things can be addressed because the department is indeed trying to bridge the gap by developing these schools but the budget is not enough to deal with this programmed. I am trying to say that there are strategies employed to address this situation, but on the other side you have teachers who are not dedicated to educating these children. We have these challenges contributing to this view about these schools and is the reason why most parents decide to take their children to these former Model-C schools which are believed to be providing effective education for the children; it such beliefs then that we as legislators have to abolish to assist the disadvantaged schools.

Follow-up question:

Kuthekani ke ngoku kulo mba wokuba ezi zikolo ebezifudula ziziModel-C ekufumaniseka ukuba zizisekela imithetho nemigathango engeyazo, umzekelo apho mhlawumbi umntwana ehlala kufuphi neso sikolo abe enelungelo lokufunda kuso kodwa kufuneke abhale uvavanyo kuqala aze athi akungaluphumeleli kuthiwe akazungena kweso sikolo?

Uyabona ke yonke imiqathango ebekwayo zizikolo kufuneka ingabikho nxamnye nenkqubo-zicwangciso yesebe lezemfundo, kufuneka thina sibacacisele abantu ukuba ezo zinto azilunganga ekungafanalekanga ukuba zibe ziyenziwa zezo zikolo kuba nangoku nje uyazi ukuba sisenengxaki yento yokuba njengokuba isebe belizama into yokuba kubekhona ukulingana kwezizinto zootitshala ngokubathatha kwesinye isikolo sibase kwesinye, sasincinga ukuba loo nto izakwenz'into yokuba ezi zikolo zihlelelekileyo zikwazi ukuxhamla kootitshala abaqeqeshwe ngokuphangaleleyo kodwa ayibanga njalo loo nto kuba ezi zikolo ingakumbi ezi zingooModel-C kukuba zithi ezi titshala zikwi-eccess zikwazi ukubaqesha bucala. Zizinto ke ezi isebe kuquka nathi bantu baseka le mithetho esiye saziphelisa kuba azizimisi izinto ngendlela eyiyo ngenxa yokuba ngoku uye ufumanise into yokuba zona zinesakhono esingaphezulu sokufundisa kuba zona ziyakwazi ukuziqeshela ootitshala abongezelelekileyo bucala zize zigqwese ke ngoku emsebenzini wazo. Kuyafuneka ke kodwa into yokuba ezi meko zivezwa zezi zikolo zingooModel-C sizinqande siqinisekise kwakhona ukuba nesebe liyazinqanda zingaqhubeli phambili.

What happens then to a situation where you find that these former Model-C schools have their own rules and regulations , where say for example a child is staying closer to that particular schools and has right to go to that schools but to do that she or he has to write the language proficiency tests, if she or he fails then she or he will not be accepted?

You see all rules and regulations set by a school must not be against the department's policy and we have to explain to the public that such acts are not acceptable at all and as you know that we were busy coordinating teacher numbers through redeployment, we thought that some of these disadvantaged areas will be able to benefit from the services of some of the qualified teachers but that did not succeed because these former Model-C schools decided to retain all their teachers who are in excess and pay their them using school funds. These are some of the things that the department and us as legislators have decided to abolish because you now find that these schools end up having more skills than others resulting to good results as they are able to hire more skilled teachers privately. It is important then that such acts as practices by these schools are addressed by the department before they get too far.

Second reproach: p. 2

2. Okwesibini, umphathiswa obekekileyo uye wabalula nomba wentlawulo yesikolo:"sifumanisa ukuba kwezinye izikolo ulwamkelo lwabafundi ithityazwa zizixa zemali ezingathethekiyo ezifunwayo" (p. 5).

Ngokuphathelele kwintlawulo yezikolo, nekukholeleka ukuba yengathethekiyo nenyanzelisa ukuba kukhangeleke kunzima kubafundi abaninzi ukuba baye kwizikolo ezithile esezikhankanyiwe (ezo zazizi-Model C), iingunuzazo zivakalisa ukuba ukuze kufundiswe kwaye kufundwe ngokuggqibeleleyo kufuneka izikolo zibeenovimba abafana neelebhu, amathala eencwadi, iilebhu zekhompiyuta, kwaye izikolo kufuneka zikwazi ukuthatha abantwana zibase kukhenketho lwemfundo ngaphandle nto leyo inokubanceda ekusebenziseni nasekugxininiseni ulwazi abaluzuze kwiincwadi zezifundo naseklasini. Abanqunuzu babanga ngelithi iSebe lezeMfundo liyasilela ekumiseleni abavimba ezikolweni, kwaye ke nanjengokuba iyinjongo yesikolo ukunikezela imfundo egqwesileyo ndawonye nokuvelisa abafundi abachubekileyo nabazithembileyo, oku kunyanzela ukuba bacele abazali ukuba babaxhase ngemali ethe kratya.

Kwakhona lo mbuzo ungqamene nala nto besikhe sayithetha ngaphambili le yomahluko phakathi kwezi zikolo zozibini, kodwa ke liyinene elithi abazali kufuneka babenalo igalelo ekuphuhliseni izikolo zabo ngokoluhlobo kuchazwa ngalo apha zeziModel-C kuba uyakuqaphela into yokuba kwezinye zezi zikolo zisemaphandleni nokuba loo mizamo iyenziwa ayiphumeleli kuba eneneni ke abazali abanamali, akukho apho bathatha khona yiyo loo nto kufuneka kuqinisekisiwe into yokuba igalelo lesebe lezemfundo libe ngathi liyaqiniswa ekuncediseni ezi zikolo ukuba zifumane le mfundo ifanelekileyo kunye nezinye izinto ekunokuncediswa ngazo ukuze bavuleke ezingqondweni. Nangani sisitsho ke kodwa nam ndiyayingqina into yokuba ngamanye amaxesha ukonyuka kwamaxabiso eemali ezifunwayo kwizikolo ezithile noko kuyayithibaza okanye akubakhuthazi abantwana abasuka kumakhaya angathathi ntweni ukuba baye kwezo zikolo; inzima ke loo nto, inzima kuba nesebe lezemfundo alinawo amandla okunqanda ukuba loonto ingenzeki yiyo ke loo nto thina zilegislators kufuneka sizame ukuqwalasela ukuba ingaba ngumthetho onjani na onokuzama ukuthibaza loo nto. Kodwa ke, sisitsho sinjalo kuyafuneka into yokuba siphinde sikwazi nokuyiphendula into ethi uncedo luzakuvelaphi xa ezi zikolo zingabathathi abantwana abangathathi ntweni. Ndiyacinga ke ukuba olu lolunye lwemiceli-mngeni esijamelene nayo kuba ke asinako ukusuka sithi hayi le nto ayinako ukwenzeka sibe singenalo ichiza lokuyiphendula lemiceli-mngeni ijongene nezi zikolo kodwa ke ngaxeshanye ukuba le nto isetyenziswa njengesixhobo sokunqamla abantwana bangangeni kwezo zikolo, ibambi ke xa injalo njengokuba usazi ukuba kwezinye izikolo njengakoomaRhini jli-njl apho iimali ziphezulu kangangokuba awuphuphi nokuphupha ukumsa umntwana wakho kwezo zikolo singekathethi ke ngezi zingooModel-C.

2. *Secondly, the Hon. MEC mentioned the school fees: "We find that in some schools access is deliberately frustrated by the exorbitant fees demanded" (p. 5).*

   As far as school fees are concerned, which are believed to be exorbitant and thereby making it difficult for most learners to get access to the schools in question (former Model C), the principals argue that for effective teaching and learning to take place there must be resources such as laboratories, libraries, computer laboratories, and that schools should be able to take learners to field excursion to supplement and endorse the information and knowledge that they have obtained in their textbooks and learned in the classroom. They claim that the Department of Education is incapable of making those resources available and since it is the schools' aim to provide quality education and to be able to produce competent and confident individuals in their students, they have to ask the parents for more money.

Again, this question is related to what we spoke about earlier that of the difference between these two schools, but it is a fact that parents should play a role in upgrading or developing their schools according to the standards mentioned by these Model-C schools here because you will notice that even if strides are being taken in improving schools in rural areas they are in vain as we know that parents there are very disadvantaged, they do not have money and this is why it is important that the system of the department of education is strengthened to a position where it will be able to assist these schools will the necessary resources in order for effective education to take place. I also want to agree with the fact that sometimes the amount of money demanded by some of these schools discourages and makes it difficult for these children to get access to these schools and that is difficult because even the department does not have enough powers of preventing that from happening; perhaps as legislators we have to look at the most effective policy that can be able to

deal with that situation. But, if children from disadvantaged backgrounds we should also be able to find some assistance to cater for them. I think this is one of the challenges that we are faced with because we cannot just say this cannot happen without having a solution for some of challenges that these schools are faced with, but at the same time if fees are used as a weapon of discouraging and denying access for other children in these schools then that becomes a terrible thing as you will remember that in some of the schools in Grahamstown fees are exorbitant that a parent does not even dream of taking his or her children to those schools.

Third reproach: p. 3

3.   uMphathiswa obekekileyo ukhathazwa kukusebenza kwabafundi: "izinga lokusebenza kwabantwana kwizigaba zonke zemfundo kufuneka liphuhle" (p. 5).

Umphathiswa uchan`ucwethe kulo mggaliselo: icace gca okwekat`emhloph`ehlungwini ingxaki yokusilela kwabafundi ekwenzeni umsebenzi ogqwesileyo.

Izikolo zivakalisa uluvo lokuba isebe lezeMfundo nalo liyabandakanyeka kwingxuba kaxaka yokusilela kwabafundi ekugqweseni kumsebenzi wabo wesikolo:

Okokuqala, isebe kufuneka lilawule abafundisi ntsapho ngendlela engcono: kunzima ngokungathethekiyo ukululeka abafundisi ntsapho. Okwesibini, izinga lootitshala alikho mgangathweni. Kungakuhle xa ootitshala banokufumana uqeqesho oluthe kratya kwiindlela zokufundisa izifundo zabo. Ikhangeleka iyintsinda-badala into yokuba ootitshala abangaqeqeshwanga kakuhle kulindeleke ukuba bavelise umsebenzi ophuhlileyo.

Ewe ndiyafuna ukuyingqina le nto uyithethayo ukuba ngenene injalo kodwa ke eyona nto ibalulekileyo yile ubukhe wayichaphazela yokuba ulawulo lwesebe lezemfundo kuyafuneka luqinisiwe ngendlela emangalisayo, ndibona ukuba leyo yeyona nto isilelayo, ngamanye amazwi, isikolo ngasinye sibenayo inkxaso epheleleyo esuka kwisebe lezemfundo ngokobonelelo lweetitshala nokuthi ziphinde ziqeqeshwe kumazinga afanelekileyo ngelo xesha zize okwesithathu ziphinde zixhaswe ngokupheleleyo ngezixhobo ezifunekayo ezikolweni ukuze zikwazi ukufundisa ngendlela eyiyo; liyinene elo nam ndiyangqina. Okwesibini, abazali nabo kufanele into yokuba bathathe inxaxheba kwimfundo yabantwana babo; inqabile ke loo nto ingakumbi phaya ezilokishini nasemaphandleni kuba bayasilela kakhulu abazali, ngomnye umlenze ke lo obalulekileyo, ubaluleke kakhulu kodwa ke usaqhwalela. Okwesithathu, kukuziphatha kwabantwana kuba kaloku umntwana akafiki aziphathe kakubi esikolweni nje kukho apho isuka khona lo nto yengqeqesho nokuziphatha kuba kaloku usuka ekhaya ngoko ke akanakusuka afike esikolweni sele engaphatheki engafuni ukuya esikolweni. Ukhona ke undonakele nokuphatheka kwabantwana emakhaya kwaye le yenye ingxaki ebethayo le kuba kaloku ukuba uyathelekisa elaxesha lakudala indlela esasifunda ngayo thina nelixesha likhoyo apho izinto ezininzi zivulelekileyo uyakumangaliswa yinto yokuba kutheni ingxaki iya ikhula nje ngoku thina sicinga ukuba noko izinto zibhetele zikhululekile, kodwa ke mna ndisathi yile mmo yabazali abangayidlaliyo indima yabo ukwenzel'into yokuba imfundo yabantwana babo iphucuke ukusukapho basuke babalekele koomaModel-C.

3.   *The Hon. MEC is troubled by the performance of learners: "the performance of learners at all levels of the system must improve" (p. 5).*

     The Hon. MEC is correct in this observation: there is clearly a problem with regard to the poor performance of the learners.

The schools are of the opinion that the department of Education has to shoulder some blame for this poor performance of learners:

Firstly, the department should manage the teachers in a better way: it is difficult to discipline teachers.

Secondly, the quality of the teachers is not up to standard. They should have more training in the methods of their subjects. It is a big problem to expect that poorly trained teachers should be able to perform well.

I would like to support what you are saying that it is indeed like that, but then the most important thing is what you have mentioned earlier that the departmental system needs to be massively strengthened because I see that as a loophole, in other words, each school must be provided with enough teachers and must be trained in all areas, and that thirdly they must be provided with enough resources to reinforce the culture of learning and teaching; I support that. Secondly, parents should be hands-on in their children's education; this is not common especially in townships and in rural areas because this is another important pillar in education, but it still needs to be strengthened. The third point is ill-discipline of learners because these children have a background and the behaviors they portray at schools are not behaviors learnt or acquired at schools. There is then a problem with the way in which children are disciplined at home and if you compare the our time at schools and today where there are a lot of opportunities for these children you will be surprised to find that problems are escalating instead of getting better, but I still believe that parents' attitudes in the discipline and education of their children is to blame because they do not want to play a role instead they run to Model-C schools.

Fourth reproach: p. 4

4. Liphakamile kakhulu izinga lokungaphangeli kootitshala (p. 6-7). Umphathiswa uthethe wenjenje: "Ayamkelekanga kwaphela into yokuba ootitshala babe ixesha labafundi ngenxa yeengxaki zabo nangalo naliphi na ixesha elimiselwe ukufunda" (p. 7).

Kukho isivumelwano ekufikelelwe kuso ngokuphathelele nalo mba wokuvamisa ukungaphangeli kwabafundisi ntsapho. Abafundisi ntsapho banembono yokuba oku kungaphangeli makungabi malunga nokwenza izinto ezingangqinelani nemfundo. Iimeko ezenzeka phantsi kwazo azibonakali zikhuthaza ukufundisa ngokugqwesileyo: abafundi abaninzi baswele imbeko, inkxaso efumaneka kubaphabathi besikolo incinci okanye ayikho, ootitshala kufuneka bejongene namanani aphezulu kumagumbi okufundela kube kulindeleke ukuba bequkumbele umsebenzi omninzi. Oku kusilela kwenkxaso ootitshala abaninzi baye babenezigulo ezayamene nodandatheko lwentliziyo, nto leyo ibanyanzela ukuba bangabina kuphangela.

Hayi mna andifuni kuyingqina loo nto kuba kaloku into endiyiqaphelayo yeyokuba ootitshala bethu bayonqena kakhulu kwaye abafuni kusebenza nanjengokuba bendikhe ndatsho ngaphambili into yokuba ukuba uyathelekisa amaxesha uyakufumanisa ukuba zininzi ngoku zinto ezifumanekayo ezikolweni kunangaphambili ngoko ke ayikho nje kwaphela le nto yokuba akukho sihoyo ngakwicala lesebe lezemfundo kuba ke eneneni zikhona izinto kwezi zikolo ezenziwa lisebe lezemfundo ezintle nezincomekayo kodwa ke eyona nto ndiyibonayo yilento kuthiwa kukungazimiseli nokuzinikezela kootitshala kwaye ke ezi zinto zininzi zonakalayo zenziwa koko kunqongophala kokuzinikezela nokuzula aph'esithubeni ngexesha lokuphangela nezi zizathu bazibekayo kukusithela nje ngesebe lenkawu kuba ke eneneni imfundo yabantwana bayayibulala. Zikhona ke iingxaki ezinjengokungafumani ipay-slip ngexesha okanye into yakhe yengqesho ingenziwa

ngexesha kodwa ukuba uthelekisa nangaphambili uyakufumanisa into yokuba utitshala ebekwazi ukuhlala into eyileyo phaya kwiinyanga ezintandathu engabhatalwa, ayifane yenzeke ke into enjalo ngoku kuba noko ukhona umohluko. Ndizam'ukuthi ke ezinye zeengxaki abazibekayo zinjalo kwaye kudala zikhona kodwa ayamkeleki nje kwaphela into yokuba umntu angayi esikolweni.

4. *There is a high rate of absenteeism among educators (p. 6-7). The Hon. MEC said "It is unacceptable that educators steal time from our learners for their own affairs at any time of the school year" (p. 7).*

There is agreement with the problem of the high rate of absenteeism in the teaching staff. The educators are of the opinion that such absenteeism is not for the purpose of conducting their own affairs. The conditions under which they operate are not conducive to good teaching: there is a lack of discipline in the learners, there is little or no support from the school management, they have to cope with large classes of learners and they have to finish a lot of work. Without proper support educators tend to have a lot of stress-related illnesses which force absenteeism.

I would not agree with that because what I have noticed is that our teachers are very lazy and they do not want to work as I have said earlier that if you compare thing nowadays you will find there are a lot of resources made available in schools than in previous years and as such these allegations that the government is not supportive are just an excuse for the lack of commitment and dedication from the teachers' side in delivering services. You see all these things that are going wrong within the teaching field are caused by this lack of commitment and/or dedication and this high rate of absenteeism instead of being in class teaching those learners because in reality teachers are destroying our children's opportunity to better education. There are problems such as not receiving a pay-slip in time or the delays in processing of employment, but in previous years it was common for a person would not be paid for almost six months after employment and things are different now as result things are not common. What I am trying to say is that some of the problems highlighted by these teachers are true and they have been around for some time now, but it is not at all acceptable for teachers to absent themselves from school.

Fifth reproach: p. 5

Iingxaki ezimalunga noYilo kunye neMfuduko (p. 10-11)

5. Umphathiswa uthe: "ixhaphakile kakhulu into yokufuduka ngaphanyazo kwabafundi baseMpuma Koloni besuka kwesinye isikolo besiya kwesinye, nto leyo ibanga ubunzima kwimeko yokulawula indlela yokuceba nokumiselwa kootitshala" (p. 10).

Kuye kwavunyelwana nalo mbandela: abazali bayakhupha abantwana babo kwesinye isikolo babase kwesinyeparents. Esona sizathu basibekayo kule meko sesokuba bazama ukufumanela abantwana babo imfundo engcono. Into ekhankanywa rhoqo yeyokuba izikolo zasekhaya ezikufuphi namakhaya abafundi zinikezela imfundo ekumgangatho ophantsi. Le nto ke iye inyanzele abazali ukuba bakhangelele abantwana babo izikolo ezizizo, zikolo ezo zinikezela imfundo engcono nekwizinga eliphezulu.

Zisenokuba khona iimeko ezinjalo kodwa ke ngaxeshanye ndingatsho ukuthi le yenye yezinto ezingamkelekiyo ezenziwa ngabazali kuba kaloku ukuba uyaqaphela uyakufumanisa into yokuba aba bazali abanalo ulawulo olululo kangangokuba aba bantwana bayazenzela zonke ezi zinto uzichazayo, umntwana asuke kwesi sikolo ayongena kwesiya, asuke nakweso ayongena kwesinye afike ekhaya selesithi

andisekho kwesaa sikolo ndikwesiya ngoku. Ndiyafuna ke ukuthi le nto ikwayile ngqeqesho engekhoyo ebazalini ekuzameni ukuphatha abantwana nasekulawuleni indlela abahamba ngayo isikolo, ngokokwam ukubona ke yonke le nto ibangelwa kukungabi nalulawulo luluqilima kwabazali ebantwaneni babo kwaye ke abakwazi ukuba balisuse ityala balinamathisele kwabanye abantu okanye kwezinye iimeko; ewe zikhona izikolo apho mhlawumbi ngelinye ixesha iziphumo zisoloko zisezantsi ndiyazazi nam eBhofolo umzekelo nase-Adelaide kwezindawo ndinee-constituencies kuzo, ndiyazi ukuba izinga lokufundisa kweza zikolo lisezantsi kakhulu kangangokuba unyaka nonyaka iziphumo ziyehla. Kodwa ke ngaxeshanye, nangani kunjalo abazali bebenakho ukufunquka ukuzama ukuphucula izinga lemfundo kweziya ndawo zabo kuba ke eneneni ukuzula nokufuduka akuzuyiphucula imeko kube kungenako ukuzisa inguqu okanye isisombululo.

Problems related to Planning and Migration (p. 10-11)

5. *The Hon. MEC said "it has become commonplace for learners within the Eastern Cape to move from one school to another almost at whim, making planning and staffing impossible to manage" (p. 10).*

There is agreement with this statement: parents do move their children from one school to another. Their only concern with such movement of their children is to find better education for them. It is often the case that local schools near the home of the learners offer a poor quality of education. The parents are then forced to find a proper school for their children, a school which has a good quality of education.

There might be such cases but at the same time I would say this is one of those things that are not acceptable caused by parents because if you notice you will find that these parents do not have proper control over their children as a result children do all these things that you are talking about on their own moving from one school to the other, parents are just told that I am no longer in that school now I am in that one. I want to say this is the result of this lack of discipline and control by parents over children's movement and school attendance, because of this reason then parents cannot shift the blame to other people or situations. Yes there are schools where you find that results are always poor and I know some of those in these areas where I have constituencies such as Fort Beaufort and Adelaide I know that the learning and teaching standard is very low as a result the end-year results are dropping each and every year. But at the same time parents can be involved in upgrading the standard of education in their areas that can bring about change and solution to this situation because migrating to other schools cannot improve the current situation of those schools.

Sixth reproach: p. 6

Iingxaki eziphathelele nenkcitho-mali kubasebenzi (p. 7-9)

6. Kuvunyelwene jikelele "ukuba kungqinelaniswe amanani ootitshala namanani abafundi" (p. 8). Le nkqubo iza kuqinisekisa ukulingana phakathi kwezikolo.

Eyona ngxaki ngokuphathelele kwalo mthetho jikelele, isekumiselweni kwawo. Kukhangeleka ngathi isebe lezeMfundo lifuna ukusombulula le ngxaki ngokuthunyelwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo. "Ukufuduselwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo sesona sixhobo sisemthethweni sikhoyo esinokusetyenziswa liSebe ukuthumela ootitshala kwizikolo apho iinkonzo zabo zifuneka khona, izikolo abafunwa kuzo ncakasana." (p. 8)

<u>Umba wokuthunyelwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo sekulithuba uxoxwa kwaye kufumaniseka ukuba izikolo ezininzi ziyawuchasa le ndlela yokuzisa ukulingana phakathi kwezikolo. Zininzi izizathu zoku, umz: Ingxaki yokufumana utitshala oggwesileyo wesifundo esithile kwibanga elithile. Ubukhulu becala izikolo zizifumana zikwimeko yokuba zamkele ootitshala ezingabafuniyo ngenxa yokungafaneleki kwabo kuloo msebenzi uthile okanye ukungabi namava kwabo: xa kunokubakho ithuba lokuveza la mathuba omsebenzi koonondaba, mhlawumbi izikolo zinganenyhweba yokufumana ootitshala abangcono kunabo bathunyelweyo.</u>

Uyabona ke enye yeengxaki neziphumo zalento ye-redeployment yilento yokuba iqhekeza iintsapho, ibuyele ke loo nto kulangxaki yasezimayini kwaye ke le yenye yemiqathango ekhoyo kangangokuba ukuba isekhona i-redeployment awunakho ukuyibaleka le ngxaki kuba iintsapho zizakuqhubeka ziqhekeka nabantu bagule bangayi nakwezo zikolo kuba ke andiqondi ukuba yenzeka ngendlela mhlawumbi umntu abenokuthanda ukuba yenzeke ngayo nanjengoko ingajongi into yokuba ibasuse abantu ngokwezithili apho izakuthi ibasasaze abantu kwakweso sithili bebekuso, ukusukapho ithatha umntu olapha iyokumlahla eLusikisiki okanye eBhayi njl-njl. Ndinabo ke abantu abaninzi abanye bade baswelekele ezindleleni ngenxa yale meko ye-redeployment kuba indlela eqhutywa ngayo nangani injongo nesizathu sisihle sokuba ufuna kulungelelaniswe amanani eetitshala, intle loo nto kodwa indlela eyenzeka ngayo iyingxaki kuba ke eneneni ibinokuba ntle kakhulu njengokuba bendisitsho xa ibinokuthi iqhutywe okanye ilawulwe ngendlela ecacileyo kodwa ke ngokohlobo ethe yenzeka ngalo izonzakalisile kakhulu iitsapho ezininzi kwaye ke zininzi kakhulu iintsapho endizaziyo ezonakeleyo ngenxa yale ngxaki; khawufan'ucinge mna lo xa kunokuthiwa ngomso mandihambe ndiyosebenza eSterkspruit ukuba kuzakwenzeka ntoni ngosapho lwam nabantwana, njl-njl. le yeyona iyingxaki kakhulu.

Problems related to personnel expenditure *(p. 7-9)*

6. <u>*There is general agreement "to match educator numbers with learner numbers" (p. 8). Such a procedure will guarantee equity between schools.*</u>

<u>*The problem with this general policy is in the implementation. It seems as if the department of Education wants to solve this problem with redeployment of educators. "Redeployment is the only legal instrument at the disposal of the Department to move educators from one school where their services are not needed, to a school where they are needed" (p. 8)*</u>

<u>*The issue of redeployment of educators has been discussed for a long time and in general schools are not in favor of such a method to bring about equity. There are many reasons for this, i.e. the problem of finding the best educator for a specific subject or grade. Schools may find that they have to accept educators whom they do not want because such educators may be underqualified or inexperienced: in advertising for such posts, schools may be able to obtain the services of better educators than these redeployed ones.*</u>

This is one of the major problems and some of the outcomes of redeployment are the breakdown of families, and this goes back to that issue of migrant workers. This has limitations as a result as long as redeployment is around you cannot run away from the fact that families will continue breaking down, people will continue getting sick and will not be able to go to those schools because I thin k the way in which it is approached it does not consider such issues as it does not even redeploy teachers within their districts instead you will find that redeploy a teacher from here (Bisho) to Lusikisiki or Port Elizabeth. I know a lot of people that have died whilst traveling

around because of this situation because the way in which redeployment is implemented even if the principle and the reasons are good, it needs to be reviewed and be managed in a way that will not affect the teachers and their families. You can imagine if I can be told that as from tomorrow I will be working in Sterkspruit then what will happen to my family, my children, etc. because this is a very problematic policy.

4.3.4 Interview no: 4

4.3.4.1 Former Model C schools:

Reproach: The level of education in feeder primary schools is not up to standard and the primary schools are not managed properly.

1.1 <u>Concession</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the reproach and agrees that the blame is in order (EI4, Q1: 1-3)

1.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate the blame by appealing to present adverse conditions. The excuse-giver mentions the composition of these former Model C schools' management and their conduct as the main problem:

a. Most principals and managers of these schools are white people (EI4, Q1: 3-4)
b. These schools resist change and they do not abide by the constitution and the regulations set by the department of Education (EI4, Q1: 18-22)

1.3 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Higher values: Reframe moral principles: Fairness</u>

The justifier argues that different standards ought to be applied in evaluating this situation and as such the government policy should be enforced in the interest of a greater societal fairness:

a. The majority number of learners enrolled in these former Model C schools are black, 60-90% (EI4, Q1: 4-6)

b. The government constitution stipulates that schools are not allowed to deny learners access to education (EI4, Q1: 8-11)

c. All schools, private and public should register with the department of Education to ensure proper monitoring and that transformation is implemented particularly in the former Model C schools (by the MEC and the Minister of Education) (EI4, Q1: 13-18)

1.4 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver has employed null cause with the intention of disconnecting self away from the failure event. He provides a source external to himself, which should bear responsibility for the blame. He mentions such source as the MEC (member of the executive committee) for the education:

▪ The MEC has all the powers to enforce transformation in the former Model C schools, but he is exercising those powers (EI4, Q1: 11-13

4.3.4.2 School fees:

Reproach: The department of Education does not make enough resources available for schools, and this is the reason why the former Model C schools are forced to demand high school fees.

2.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver employed this strategy to mitigate blame by appealing to the adversity of the present situation within the department:

a. These schools do not provide for those learners who have all the potential but cannot afford the fees required (EI4, Q2: 1-3)

b. People who take their children to these schools are mostly those who are well-off (EI4, Q2: 3-5)

c. The department is managed by a toothless MEC (EI4, Q2: 6-10 and 12-13)

d. The former Model C schools have their own admission policies which are not contested by anyone including the government (EI4, Q2: 10-12)

Reproach on teaching and learning resources:

2.2 <u>Denial</u>

The interviewee is simply denying the right of the reproacher (former Model C schools) to reproach because their schools have since been equipped with all the necessary resources and as such it is absurd to provide them again with the resources that they already have (EI4, Q2: 14-18)

2.3 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefit:</u>

The justifier wants to minimize these failure aspects concerning teaching and learning resources mostly in public schools by reframing the consequences of the failure event. He argues that there are benefits because libraries and computer laboratories are being built in schools (public) (EI4, Q2: 19)

2.4 <u>Concession</u>

The interviewee agrees that there are shortcomings within the department as far as beefing public schools with necessary resources for effective teaching and learning to take place (EI4, Q2: 22-26)

4.3.4.3 Learner performance:

Reproach: There is a general poor performance of learners and the department should take responsibility for that as well as for under-qualified and ill-disciplined teachers.

3.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver focused attention on three adverse conditions facing the department of Education at present such as:

a. The department is no longer producing teachers since 1995/6 (EI4, Q3: 1-3)
b. Most qualified teachers who since graduated in 1995/96 are still not yet employed (EI4, Q3: 3)

c. The department of education has teachers who are not disciplined enough and who lack dedication to their work (EI4, Q3: 5-9)

3.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way, she wants to disconnect self from the reproach with the intention of putting the causality of the act on some other source, external to herself. He identifies such external sources as follows:

a. The department of Education does not have enough capacity to discipline teachers (EI4, Q3: 14-15)
b. The teacher unions are the cause of the declining teacher conduct in schools (EI4, Q3: 15-21)

Reproach on the role of legislators:

3.3 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver has employed a null cause in his excuse in an attempt to disconnect self away from the reproach and put the causality of the act on some other source, which is external to the excuse-giver. He identifies such source as:

▪ The departmental MEC is the one responsible for implementing all the recommendations made by the Education portfolio committee (EI4, Q3: 22-30)

4.3.4.4 The high rate of educators' absenteeism:

Reproach: educators blame the adverse conditions under which they must teach as the primary reason for their absenteeism

4.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the blame by appealing to present adverse conditions that are facing the department such as:

a. Teachers have no interest in teaching (EI4, Q4: 1-2)
b. Teachers treat these two entities (public and private schools) differently and they are more dedicated when working for Model C schools than they do when working for public schools (EI4, Q4: 3-8)
c. There is a general decline of discipline within the teaching personnel (EI4, Q4: 16-18)

4.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver has employed a null cause in an attempt to disconnect self from the failure event. He provides another source, which should bear causality for the act. He mentions the lack of authority within the department of Education as such course (EI4, Q4: 11-16)

Reproach on learners lack of discipline:

4.3 <u>Denial</u>

The interviewee is denying the reproach and the right to reproach (EI4, Q4: 19)

4.4 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Derogation of victim: Reciprocity:</u>

The justifier argues that the teachers have no right to complain about learners' lack of discipline because they also lack discipline and as such they deserve the injury (EI4, Q4: 19-20 and 25-26)

4.3.4.5 Planning and migration:

Reproach: Parents move their children from one school to another to find better education because schools in their communities offer poor quality education.

5.1 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Self-fulfillment: self-development:</u>

The justifier argues that everyone has a desire to satisfy one's own needs and in performing certain acts that will develop or expand the self. In this case, the parents are doing right by moving their children to schools where a brighter tomorrow is guaranteed (EI4, Q5: 1-4 and 11-13)

5.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way, she wants to disconnect self from the reproach with the intention of putting the causality of the act on some other external source. He mentions the parents as one source:

a. Parents lack interest in their schools (EI4, Q5: 4-6 and 9-10)
b. Parents do not make it a point that their children get to school on time (EI4, Q5: 6-9)

4.3.4.6. Redeployment

Reproach: The issue of redeployment of educators has been discussed for a long time and schools are not in favor of such a method to bring about equity as it makes it difficult to find the best educator for a specific subject or grade:

6.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation: Present adverse condition:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate blame by appealing to present adverse conditions that are facing the department:

a. The process of redeployed is focused only on the number of learners instead of the curricula (EI4, Q6: 1-7)
b. The way redeployment is conducted results in breakdown of families (EI4, Q6: 16-19)
c. Department has entered into court battles with teachers who are against being redeployed away from their families (EI4, Q6: 19-22)

6.2 <u>Concession</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the failure event and the right of teachers to reproach, in the sense that they believe that this issue can be solved through natural attrition instead of moving teachers around and avoid overworking the teachers that are left in that particular school (EI4, Q6: 7- 14)

1.   **Language and style**

1.1   Syntactic level:

a. Length of sentences:

The account is characterized by long sentences. See *i.a.* Q1: 1-3, 3-8, 8-13 and 13-22. These sentences range from three lines to ten lines. However, the length of the sentences poses no problems because it is a general phenomenon for isiXhosa to have longer spoken sentences than the written word.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences that have been used by the interviewee are quite complex in that each sentence has more than one verb. See i.a. Q1.1: 1-3, the sentence has three verbs: *ziyayityeshela, zize, zisithele.* Sentence number 13-22 has 15 verbs: *kufanele, zibhalise, kufuneka, zibhalise, eyenza, ukunyanzelisa, ukuba zitshintshe, azide zivuma, eziqinisekisa, zithatha, ezizakuqinisekisa, azithathi, yokukhetha, abazakuzisa, bajongene, aqhuba.*

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban or modern version of isiXhosa as it is not the pure Transkeian and Ciskeian kind of isiXhosa. It is not a dialect though, but just a modern standard of the language that is mostly used by the urbanized Xhosa speakers.

1.2   Lexical level:

a. Lexical diversity:

i.   Technical terms: The interviewee has used such technical terms as: *uMphathiswa, uNdlunkulu, iphondo, amalungu epalamente,* etc. He uses these

terms because he is the legislator and these terms are part and parcel of their committee discussions, and he should be teaching the public about government policies and programs which entail these terms.

ii. *English terms:* the accounter has also used a lot of English terms probably because parliament deliberations are mostly conducted in English and that it is sometimes difficult to find Xhosa equivalence of such terms. Examples of these terms are: *iModel C, iredeployment, ye-natural attrition, iyiprocess,* etc.

iii. *Innovative Xhosa words:*

The interviewee did not use any innovative words.

b. Language imagery:

i. Metaphor

The account-giver uses metaphors in his speech repertoire such as: *"…ezi zikolo zinendlela nje emthebelele…"* (Q2: 10-13). This means that these former Model C schools are free to do whatever they want… Another example: *"…abazali emaxesheni amaninzi bathi* bonganyelwe bubugwala…*"* (Q5: 9-10)*.* This means that parents are actually cowards.

ii. Simile

The account-giver did not use simile in his speech repertoire.

1.3   Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used some equivocation in his account such as: Q2: 20-22, "*…ngomnye umbandela into yokuba ingaba iikhompyutha zikhona na ngaphakathi …"* (…whether computers are there, then that is another issue …). This equivocation of language use threatens the source credibility and that of the perceived quality of arguments. Most of the information provided by the accounter is unequivocal though as it is directly stated.

3.   Language use

3.1   Politeness:

The interviewee has tried to avoid the FTAs (Face Threatening Acts) by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat. However, the account-giver has chosen to perform the FTA, that he did on-record and off-record. On-record is expressed unambiguously through the use of justifications in his account especially the "appeal to higher values: fairness". The off-record strategy is performed or expressed ambiguously so that the accounter cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent. The conclusion of the expression is thus left to the reproacher to make.

3.2   Effectiveness:

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the accounter has chosen to use mostly excuses and justifications. Among justifications that have been used are those that appeal to higher values (fairness) and an appeal to present benefit. A total of 4 justifications have been employed in this account.

Appeal to higher values: fairness	3
Present benefits	1
Derogation of victim: Reciprocity	1
Self-fulfillment: self-development	1

The excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances as they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances. The mitigating excuses that have been employed are those that appeal the present adverse conditions. The interviewee has employed 10 excuses in his account:

Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	5
Causal excuses	5

The interviewee has chosen strategies that have the potential of success. He has decided to employ mostly excuses that mitigate the blame and its circumstances because they are among strategies that are deemed effective.

3.3   Power of speech style:

The interviewee has decided to use strategies that mitigate the blame and those in which he tries to disconnect himself away from the failure event by presenting another source that should bear the causality for the reproach. Such a strategy is an excuse.

Interview 4

Isebe lezeMfundo

Kwintetho yomnyaka ka-2005 yoLwabiwo-mali neNkqubo karhulumente ebisenziwa ngohloniphekileyo uMphathiswa wezeMfundo waseMpuma Koloni, kuye kwaphawulwa iingxaki ezithile eziggqamileyo kwiSebe lezeMfundo.

Department of Education

In the 2005 Budget and Policy speech of the honorable MEC for Education of the Eastern Cape, certain problems were clearly identified within the Education Department.

First reproach: p. 1

Iingxaki ezimalunga noYilo lweNguqu oluDityanisiweyo kwezeMfundo (p. 407)

1. Umphathiswa obekekileyo uqale ngokugxininisa "kwiinguqu eziqhubekekayo kwizikolo ezazifudula zibizwa ngokuba zii-model C. Izityholo zobuhlanga, ukutshintsha-tshintsha kwemiqathango yesebe ngokuphathelele kulwamkelo lwabantwana ezikolweni oluquka ulawulo lovavanyo lolwazi lolwimi kwakunye nokutyeshelwa kwemithetho yolwimi, zizinto ke ezi ezivelayo kule meko" (p. 4)

    Ngokuphathelele kuvavanyo lolwazi lolwimi kunye nemithetho yolwimi yeSebe, siqwalasela oku:

    Izikolo ezazifudula zibizwa ngokuba ziiModel-C zona zivakalisa ukuba ezi mvavanyo azijoliswanga ekutshintsha-tshintsheni kweimqathango yolwimi ngokuphathelele kulwamkelo lwabantwana kunye nemithetho yolwimi. Izikolo zikwavakalisa nento yokuba izinga lemfundo kwizikolo ezinikezela abantwana abaya kumabanga aphezulu alikho mgangathweni. Ngenxa yale meko izikolo ziye zibe noxanduva lokuziqulunqela iimvavanyo zazo ukuze ziqinisekise ukuba abafundi abasuka kwizikolo zamabanga aphantsi banganakho na ukumelana nesilabhasi yezikolo zamabanga aphezulu. ISebe lezeMfundo alizilawuli ngokugqibeleleyo izikolo zamabanga aphantsi.

Ndiyavumelana noMphathiswa ukuba izikolo ezininzi eziziiModel-C ziyayityeshela inguqu zize zisithele ngesebe lokuba izikolo zamabanga aphantsi azikho mgangathweni. Okokuqala inkoliso yabaphathi neenqununu zezi zikolo zingooModel-C ngabantu abamhlophe kwaye ufumanise ukuba ukusukela kwi-60% ukuya kwi-90% yabafundi kwezi zikolo ngabantwana babantu abamnyama uze ufumanise into yokuba bayabasefa abantwana kakhulu, ndiyangqinelana noMphathiswa kangangokuba uye ufumanise into yokuba le yindlela ababasefa ngayo. Ngokomthetho karhulumente ke izikolo azivumelekanga into yokuba zibalele abantwana ngesizathu sokuba bengenemali nangesizathu somgangatho wokufunda kwabo, ngenene ke yindlela ezi zikolo zingooModel-C ezithi zisefe ngayo abantwana zibachwethele ecaleni, kodwa ke eyona nto ingumnqa kulento ithethwa nguMphathiswa yile yokuba uMphathiswa unawo amandla okunyanzela ezi zikolo

into yokuba zitshintshe kodwa akayenzi loo nto. Ngokuphathele isiseko sezikolo zonke izikolo ezikhoyo elizweni kufanele into yokuba zibhalise kwisebe lezemfundo nokuba zizikolo zabucala okanye eziphantsi kukarhulumente kufuneka zibhaliswe nto leyo eyenza into yokuba kube lula kumphathiswa nokuba ngowephondo okanye okaNdlunkulu ukunyanzelisa ezi zikolo ukuba zitshintshe kodwa ke ezi zikolo azide zivume ukutshintsha, zinenkqubo nje ekuyeyazo eziqiniseka ngayo ukuba zithatha abantwana ezizakuqiniseka ukuba bayapasa, ngoko ke azithathi nje nawuphi umntana kuzo le yindlela yokukhetha abantwana abazakuzisa iziphumo ezihle ingeyiyo into yokuba bajongene nendlela umntwana aqhuba ngayo.

Problems related to the Integrated Education Transformation Plan *(p. 407)*

1. *The Hon. MEC focused attention firstly on "the continuing transformation of ex-model C schools. Allegations of racism, flouting of departmental instructions on admission such as the administering of language proficiency tests and the ignoring of language policies, do surface" (p. 4)*

   With regard to the language proficiency tests and the Department's language policies:

   The former Model C schools argue that such tests are not aimed at flouting departmental instructions on admission and language policies. The schools are of the opinion that the level of education of the children in their feeder primary schools is not up to standard. The schools are thus forced to administer their own tests to ascertain whether these children from the primary schools will be able to follow the syllabus in the high school. The department of Education does not manage the primary schools very well.

I agree with the MEC that most of the former Model-C schools are ignoring the transformation and to hide behind the allegation that most feeder schools are not up to standard. Firstly, most principals and managers of these schools are white people and also to find that 60- 90% of learners in these schools are black children, and also to find that children are being discriminated against in these schools. According to the law and constitution schools are not allowed to deny access to other learners because of the fact that they do not have money and because of their performance even these issues are manipulated by these schools as a way of discriminating against children who cannot afford, but he funny thing about this is that the MEC has all the powers of enforcing transformation to these schools and he is not using those powers. According to the schools' act, all schools are supposed to register with the department including those that are private and this makes it easier for the MEC and the Minister of education to enforce transformation in these schools, but they do not budge as they have their own system of ensuring that they only admit those learners that are surely going to pass. Therefore, they do not go about admitting any child and to them this is a strategy they use in ensuring that the learners they admit are only those that have all the potential of bringing excellent results.

Second reproach: p. 2

2. Okwesibini, umphathiswa obekekileyo uye wabalula nomba wentlawulo yesikolo:"sifumanisa ukuba kwezinye izikolo ulwamkelo lwabafundi ithityazwa zizixa zemali ezingathethekiyo ezifunwayo" (p. 5).

   Ngokuphathelele kwintlawulo yezikolo, nekukholeleka ukuba yengathethekiyo nenyanzelisa ukuba kukhangeleke kunzima kubafundi abaninzi ukuba baye kwizikolo ezithile esezikhankanyiwe (ezo zazizi-Model C), iingqununu zazo zivakalisa ukuba ukuze kufundiswe kwaye kufundwe ngokugqibeleleyo kufuneka izikolo zibeenovimba abafana neelebhu, amathala eencwadi, iilebhu

zekhompiyuta, kwaye izikolo kufuneka zikwazi ukuthatha abantwana zibase kukhenketho lwemfundo ngaphandle nto leyo inokubanceda ekusebenziseni nasekugxininiseni ulwazi abaluzuze kwiincwadi zezifundo naseklasini. Abanqununu babanga ngelithi iSebe lezeMfundo liyasilela ekumiseleni abavimba ezikolweni, kwaye ke nanjengokuba iyinjongo yesikolo ukunikezela imfundo egqwesileyo ndawonye nokuvelisa abafundi abachubekileyo nabazithembileyo, oku kunyanzela ukuba bacele abazali ukuba babaxhase ngemali ethe kratya.

Ingxaki ke ekhoyo apha yinto yokuba ezi zikolo azikwazi ukwenza nantoni na ukuqinisekisa into yokuba abantwana abanesakhono bayangena kweziya zikolo nokuba abanamali, ngoko ke umphathiswa uchanile kulo mba kuba ke eneneni abantu abathumela abantwana kwezi zikolo ziziModel-C ngabantu abakwaziyo ukuzibhatala ezi mali zibizwayo. Le nto indibuyisela kweliya nqaku bendikhe ndalikhankanya lento yokuba umphathiswa unawo amandla ngokomthetho lokuzinyanzelisa ezi zikolo ukuba zibathathe abantwana kodwa ke loo nto ayenzeki ukuqinisekisa ukuba abantwana bayangena kwezi zikolo; lilonke ke ezi zikolo zinendlela nje emthebelele eziyilandelayo ekwamkeleni abantwana ekungekho mntu uyiphikisayo kwaye akukho nto eyenziwa ngurhulumente ngaloo nto leyo uyayiqonda loo nto.

2. *Secondly, the Hon. MEC mentioned the school fees: "We find that in some schools access is deliberately frustrated by the exorbitant fees demanded" (p. 5).*

As far as school fees are concerned, which are believed to be exorbitant and thereby making it difficult for most learners to get access to the schools in question (former Model C), the principals argue that for effective teaching and learning to take place there must be resources such as laboratories, libraries, computer laboratories, and that schools should be able to take learners to field excursion to supplement and endorse the information and knowledge that they have obtained in their textbooks and learned in the classroom. They claim that the Department of Education is incapable of making those resources available and since it is the schools' aim to provide quality education and to be able to produce competent and confident individuals in their students, they have to ask the parents for more money.

The problem is that these schools do not provide for those children who have the potential in seeing to it that they are admitted in those schools even they do not have the money, therefore the MEC is right about this issue because in reality it is only of those people who are able to pay those fees who are admitted in these former Model-C schools. This then goes back to what I said earlier that the MEC has powers of forcing these schools to admit all children eve if they do not have money, but then that is not happening and as a result these schools have own free admission policies that cannot be challenged by anyone as the government is not doing anything about that.

Follow-up question:

Kuthekani ke ngoku ngezi zityholo zibekwa ziinqununu zezi zikolo zokuba izixhobo ezifunekayo nezilindeleke into yokuba isikolo ngasinye sibe nazo ukuze imfundo eyiyo ikwazi ukuba yenzeke esikolweni kuba bona bathi urhulumente akakwazi kuzixhasa izikolo ngezo zixhobo?

Eza zixhobo sele zikhona kaloku zinazo izixhobo ngokwaneleyo into efana namathala eencwadi nezinto ezifana neelebhu ngoko ke ayikho into ezi zikolo

maziphinde zinikwe izixhobo yiyo ke nalento urhulumente egxininisa kwinto yokwakhiwa kwezikolo kwiindawo apho kungekho zikolo khona kuba ezi zagqitywa zaze zaxhotyiswa kwade kudala.

What about the allegations from these principals that the department is unable to provide the required and necessary resources needed in each school to ensure that effective teaching and learning takes place?

These schools already have these resources such as libraries and laboratories and as such there is absolutely no need for these schools to be provided with those resources, and this is the reason why the government has decided to focus more on building schools in those areas where there are no schools because these former Model-C schools have long been provided for.

Follow-up question:

Kwezizikolo zakhiwayo ingaba ziyafakelwa ezi zixhobo zifunekayo?

Ayakhiwa amathala eencwadi ezikolweni namagumbi eekhompyutha akhona kodwa ke ngomnye umbandela into yokuba ingaba iikhompyutha zikhona na ngaphakathi kwigumbi leekhompyutha nokuba iincwadi zikhona na kwithala leencwadi; kulapha urhulumente asilela khona ke apha. Ingxaki ekhoyo yinto yokuba kukho ukushokoxeka kwamagumbi okufundela, okwamagumbi eekhompyutha neekhompyutha, okwamathala eencwadi neencwadi zokufunda; ngoko ke urhulumente kufuneka azame ukulungelelanisa oko kushokoxeka nokunikezela ngezixhobo kwaye le yeyona ngxaki ekhoyo.

Are these resources provided in these newly built schools?

Libraries and computer laboratories are there but then the availability of computers in those laboratories and reading material in the libraries is another issue, and this is where the department is failing. The problem that we have is that there is a shortage of classrooms, computer laboratories, libraries and reading material, therefore government is supposed to balance that shortage and the resources.

Third reproach: 3

3. uMphathiswa obekekileyo ukhathazwa kukusebenza kwabafundi: "izinga lokusebenza kwabantwana kwizigaba zonke zemfundo kufuneka liphuhle" (p. 5).

Umphathiswa uchan`ucwethe kulo mgqaliselo: icace gca okwekat`emhloph`ehlungwini ingxaki yokusilela kwabafundi ekwenzeni umsebenzi ogqwesileyo.

Izikolo zivakalisa uluvo lokuba isebe lezeMfundo nalo liyabandakanyeka kwingxuba kaxaka yokusilela kwabafundi ekugqweseni kumsebenzi wabo wesikolo:

Okokuqala, isebe kufuneka lilawule abafundisi ntsapho ngendlela engcono: kunzima ngokungathethekiyo ukululeka abafundisi ntsapho. Okwesibini, izinga lootitshala alikho mgangathweni. Kungakuhle xa ootitshala banokufumana uqeqesho oluthe kratya kwiindlela zokufundisa izifundo zabo. Ikhangeleka iyintsinda-badala into yokuba ootitshala abangaqeqeshwanga kakuhle kulindeleke ukuba bavelise umsebenzi ophuhlileyo.

Mna ke ingxaki endinayo yinto yokuba sigqibele kudala ukuvelisa ootitshala kangangokuba ukuba ndikhumbula kakuhle sigqibele ukuvelisa ootitshala phaya kwiminyaka yowama- 1995-96 kwaye inkoliso yabo yile ingaqeshwanga, ngoko ke aba titshala kuthiwa izinga labo lihlile ngaba titshala bebeneziphumo ezihle

kwininyaka embalwa egqithileyo. Ngokunokwam ukubona eyona nto iphelileyo ezikolweni indlela yokuziphatha apho uthi ufumanise into yokuba ootitshala abafiki ngexesha esikolweni, kwamanye amaxesha baya esikolweni benxilile lize neloqaqobana lizileyo esikolweni lifike lingayi emagumbini okufundela; lilonke ke akufundiswa ezikolweni kodwa upinde ufumanise into yokuba ititshala ukuba ithe yasuka kwesi sikolo sikarhulumente yafumana umsebenzi kwezi zizimeleyo ifika ifundise bhetele kakhulu kwesiya sikolo ntoleyo etheth'ukuba nangona bebaninzi ootitshala abangaqeqeshwanga, abangenayo imatriki okanye izidanga kodwa kwa-aba titshala ikwangaba bebekade befundisa bekhupha iziphumo ezihle yiyo loo nto mna ndisithi ingxaki ilapha kwisebe eli lingakwazi ukuqeqesha nokoluleka abafundisi-ntsapho. Okwesibini, kukho le ngxaki yemibutho yeetitshala apho uthi ufumanisa into yokuba ziphethe okanye ziyalawula apha ezikolweni baze nabantu abangafuni kufundisa ezikolweni bathi xa bethethiswa ziinqununu zabo babaleke bayokuxela emibuthweni yabo kube kuphelile kuba nenqununu le iyayazi into yokuba umphathi wesithili eso wayelilungu lalo mbutho; le nto ke isenzela ingxaki enkulu kakhulu ezikolweni zethu nanjengoko kukho ukwehla kokuziphatha okugabadeleyo ezikolweni zethu.

3.   *The Hon. MEC is troubled by the performance of learners: "the performance of learners at all levels of the system must improve" (p. 5).*

The Hon. MEC is correct in this observation: there is clearly a problem with regard to the poor performance of the learners.

The schools are of the opinion that the department of Education has to shoulder some blame for this poor performance of learners:

Firstly, the department should manage the teachers in a better way: it is difficult to discipline teachers.
Secondly, the quality of the teachers is not up to standard. They should have more training in the methods of their subjects. It is a big problem to expect that poorly trained teachers should be able to perform well.

The problem that I have is that it has been a long time since we produced teachers and if I remember very well it was around 1996-96, and most of those teachers are still unemployed; therefore these teachers who are producing bad results are those who produced good results few years ago. I think the problem lies with the decline of discipline among the teaching personnel in the sense that most teachers you will find that they are drunk at school and some of them do not even go to go and the few that managed to go to school you will find that they do not go to classes. So, there is this general decline of morale and lack of dedication, but funny enough you will find that if that same teacher is employed in one of these former Model-C schools she or will teach far much better there than she or he did in a public school. This shows that even though most teachers are not trained, do not have matric or degrees but these are the same teachers who previously managed to produce good results and this is the reason why I still maintain that the problem lies with the department as it has no clear mechanisms of dealing and disciplining teachers who are not dedicated to their work. The second problem is these teacher unions where you find that they are pulling all the strings and actually managing in these schools and as result teacher that are reprimanded always run to their unions for protection, nothing is ever solved because even the principal knows that the district director was the member of this union and causes major problems in our schools which results in this decline of discipline and self-respect among teachers.

Follow-up question:

Nina ke yeyiphi indima eniyidlalayo ukuqinisekisa ukuba ukuziphatha okukuko kuyabuyiselwa ezikolweni kwaye nootitshala bayawenza umsebenzi wabo ngokufanelekileyo?

Uyabona ke thina singamalungu epalamente owethu umsebenzi kukuya ezikolweni siyokujonga ukuba iimeko yazo ithini na size sibuye nengxelo nezindululo ekufanel'ukuba umphathiswa wesebe azifezekise, ingxaki esinayo ke yeyokuba ezo ngxaki siyazibona kuze kuxhomekeke kumphathiswa into yokuba uzawukwazi na ukuzilungisa ezo zinto; emaxesheni amaninzi siye simnike nezikolo umphathiswa, umzekelo into yokuba esikolweni esithile kukho ititshala enxilayo, kwesithile kukho engahambi sikolo, esikolweni esithile kukho inqununu enengxaki enje nanje nanje zize ezo zinto zixhomekeke kumphathiswa nabalawuli bakhe kuba ngabo abafanele ukuba bazilungise.

What role are playing as legislators in ensuring that proper disciplinary measures are instilled in schools and that teachers are also dedicated to their work?

Our responsibility as parliamentarians is to visit schools to evaluate their situations and to bring findings together with recommendations that need to be implemented by the MEC of the department; the problem that we have is that even though we do witness some of these problems their solution depends on the MEC. We sometimes provide the MEC with the list of the schools that are having problems such as teachers who are drunk during school hours, teachers who do not attend school and schools whose principals have problems, but then it all depends on the MEC and his or her directors whether these are rectified or not.

Fourth reproach: p. 4

4.   Liphakamile kakhulu izinga lokungaphangeli kootitshala (p. 6-7). Umphathiswa uthethe wenjenje: "Ayamkelekanga kwaphela into yokuba ootitshala babe ixesha labafundi ngenxa yeengxaki zabo nangalo naliphi na ixesha elimiselwe ukufunda" (p. 7).

Kukho isivumelwano ekufikelelwe kuso ngokuphathelele nalo mba wokuvamisa ukungaphangeli kwabafundisi ntsapho. Abafundisi ntsapho banembono yokuba oku kungaphangeli makungabi malunga nokwenza izinto ezinganqqinelani nemfundo. Iimeko ezenzeka phantsi kwazo azibonakali zikhuthaza ukufundisa ngokuqqwesileyo: abafundi abaninzi baswele imbeko, inkxaso efumaneka kubaphabathi besikolo incinci okanye ayikho, ootitshala kufuneka bejongene namanani aphezulu kumagumbi okufundela kube kulindeleke ukuba bequkumbele umsebenzi omninzi. Oku kusilela kwenkxaso ootitshala abaninzi baye babenezigulo ezayamene nodandatheko lwentliziyo, nto leyo ibanyanzela ukuba bangabina kuphangela.

Hayi ndiyaziva zonke ezi zinto uzithethayo kodwa ke mna into endiyithethayo yeyokuba ootitshala abafuni kufundisa njengokuba besele nditshilo kuqala ukuba utitshala edolophini enye mhlawumbi phaya e-Aliwal North okanye eKomani usuka esikolweni esiselokishini esikwidolophi enye nesikolo esiyiModel-C aze a-recruit ukuba ayokuhlohla isiXhosa kula Model-C sibe isikolo sikwinginqi enye nale ebekuyo kungekho nto itshintshileyo ngaphandle nje kwento yokuba etshintshe isikolo kodwa afike afundise phaya ngendlela eyohlukileyo azinikezele emsebenzini wakhe. Ewe ndiyayiva le yona uyithethayo kodwa ke mna indlela endiyibonayo ngayo yeyokuba izikolo sisekulaa ndawo bezikuyo phambi kuka-1994 nasemva ko-1994; laa titshala ibifundisa eSilindini phambi ko-1994 isafundisa phaya eSilindini nangoku emva ko-1994 into etshintshileyo yinto nje yolawulo lwesebe lezemfundo kwaye ebeyazi

utitshala into yokuba ukuba akayanga emsebenzini ebezakugxothwa emsebenzini phaya phambi ko-1994 kodwa ngoku uyazi ukuba loo nto yiprocess ende kakhulu kwaye usenokungagxothwa ukusukapho abhatalwe ngoku ehleli ekhaya engayanga esikolweni. Lilonke ke, kukho nje ukwehla kwezinga lokuziphatha ezikolweni ude ufumanise into yokuba iimeko zitshintshile kunangaphambili ngohlobo lokuba lokuba ziphucukile ngoku kodwa ufumanise into yokuba iziphumo zona aziphucuki.

4. *There is a high rate of absenteeism among educators (p. 6-7). The Hon. MEC said "It is unacceptable that educators steal time from our learners for their own affairs at any time of the school year" (p. 7).*

There is agreement with the problem of the high rate of absenteeism in the teaching staff. The educators are of the opinion that such absenteeism is not for the purpose of conducting their own affairs. The conditions under which they operate are not conducive to good teaching: there is a lack of discipline in the learners, there is little or no support from the school management, they have to cope with large classes of learners and they have to finish a lot of work. Without proper support educators tend to have a lot of stress-related illnesses which force absenteeism.

I hear all these things you are saying, but what I am saying is that teachers do not want to teach as I have said before that a teacher in the same town maybe in Aliwal North or Queenstown will move from a township school and be recruited to teach say isiXhosa in a Model-C school that is a same town only to find that when that teacher gets to that Model-C school she or he will teach differently as compared to the previous school and will be more committed to his or her work. Yes I hear what you are saying, but the way I see it is that schools are still physically where they were before and after 1994 and that teacher who was teaching in eSilindini before 1994 is still teaching there even now after 1994. the only thing that has changed is the management of the department of education and that before 1994 teachers knew that they will be expelled if they do not go to work, but now they know that such a move takes a very long process and that teacher might not even be expelled instead she or he will get the salaries while she or he is not at school. There is a general decline of discipline in schools to an extent that things do not improve including end-year results even though there are more opportunities and resources as compared to the previous system.

Follow-up question:

Kulento uyithethayo yokuba phambi ko-1994 abantwana babesohlwaywa ezikolweni kodwa ngokunje ayisenzeki loo nto ingaba loo nto ayinakuba namthelela inawo kweli zinga lokuswel'imbeko kwabantwana kuba ke eneneni abantwana abakhoyo abanambeko nje kwabaphela?

Andivumi kuba kaloku ukuba ngaba utitshala yena kuqala ufika kade esikolweni akanaso isizathu sokuthi umntwana yena makafike ngexesha; ewe zikhona nezikolo apho ufumanisa into yokuba ootitshala bayakwazi ukuyinyanzelisa imbeko ebantwaneni bengababethanga, izikolo apho ezakuthi umntwana akufika kade esikolweni athi ohlwaywe ngandlel'ithile okanye kuthiwe makayolanda umzali wakhe kwaye abantwana bayayibona loo nto isenzeka kuba ke eneneni xa ikhona imbeko kwalapha kootitshala bezimisele ngomsebenzi wabo loo nto ithi yosuleleke nalapha ebantwaneni besikolo.

To what you are saying that children were punished in schools before 1994 and that that has since been abolished, is it possible then that such a move might have an

impact in the lack of discipline among children of today because children are indeed ill-disciplined?

I do not agree with that because if the teacher arrives late at school then he or she is not in a position to force the child to arrive in time at school. Yes there are schools where you find that teachers are able to enforce discipline without having to use corporal punishment on students, schools where you find that if a learner has arrived late he or she will be given detention or asked to bring a parent. Children do witness such things and if teachers are disciplined and that they are dedicated to their work, that rubs off to the learners.

Fifth reproach: p. 5

Iingxaki ezimalunga noYilo kunye neMfuduko (p. 10-11)

5.   Umphathiswa uthe: "ixhaphakile kakhulu into yokufuduka ngaphanyazo kwabafundi baseMpuma Koloni besuka kwesinye isikolo besiya kwesinye, nto leyo ibanga ubunzima kwimeko yokulawula indlela yokuceba nokumiselwa kootitshala" (p. 10).

Kuye kwavunyelwana nalo mbandela: abazali bayabakhupha abantwana babo kwesinye isikolo babase kwesinyeparents. Esona sizathu basibekayo kule meko sesokuba bazama ukufumanela abantwana babo imfundo engcono. Into ekhankanywa rhoqo yeyokuba izikolo zasekhaya ezikufuphi namakhaya abafundi zinikezela imfundo ekumgangatho ophantsi. Le nto ke iye inyanzele abazali ukuba bakhangelele abantwana babo izikolo ezizizo, zikolo ezo zinikezela imfundo engcono nekwizinga eliphezulu.

Mna abazali benza into entle kuba kaloku eyona ngxaki yabo likamva labantwana babo, ukuba abazali banenkolo yokuba abantwana babo bazakuzuza imfundo engcono esikolweni esithile banelungelo lokubakhupha abantwana babo kweso sikolo kodwa ke ingxaki apho ikhoyo ikwinto yokuba nabo abazali abananto bayenzayo ngesikolo esingakhuphi ziphumo zihle kuloo ndawo bakuyo ude ufumanise into yokuba emaxasheni amaninzi bayathula ngelixesha ootitshala bengahambi sikolo kwakhona nento yokuba umzali yena kuqala akamkhuphi umntwana wakhe apha endlini ukuba makaye esikolweni ngexesha. Uye ufumanise ke into yokuba abazali emaxesheni amaninzi bathi bonganyelwa bubugwala obubenza babe mathidala ukulungisa izikolo zabo; kodwa ke ebunyanisweni umzali unelungelo lokumkhupha umntwana wakhe kwisikolo esingaqhubi kakuhle amse kwisikolo apho umntwana azakuthi afumane imfundo ezakumnika ikamva eliqaqambileyo.

Problems related to Planning and Migration (p. 10-11)

5.   *The Hon. MEC said "it has become commonplace for learners within the Eastern Cape to move from one school to another almost at whim, making planning and staffing impossible to manage" (p. 10).*

There is agreement with this statement: parents do move their children from one school to another. Their only concern with such movement of their children is to find better education for them. It is often the case that local schools near the home of the learners offer a poor quality of education. The parents are then forced to find a proper school for their children, a school which has a good quality of education.

It think parents are doing what is right because their main concern is the future of their children and parents believe that their children will get better education in a certain school, then they have every right to remove their children to that school. The

problem then is that parents are not doing something about the school that is not producing good results in their own areas and to find that in most cases they just ignore or keep quiet about teachers who do not go to school and that they do not ensure that their own children get to school in time. You will find that most parents are overwhelmed by cowardice which makes them reluctant from intervening in situations that are not in order in their schools, but in reality a parent has a right to remove her or his child from a school that is not productive enough to a school where there is a potential of giving the child a better education and thereby providing a brighter future for that child.

Sixth reproach: p. 6

Iingxaki eziphathelele nenkcitho-mali kubasebenzi (p. 7-9)

6. Kuvunyelwene jikelele "ukuba kungqinelaniswe amanani ootitshala namanani abafundi" (p. 8). Le nkqubo iza kuqinisekisa ukulingana phakathi kwezikolo.

Eyona ngxaki ngokuphathelele kwalo mthetho jikelele, isekumiselweni kwawo. Kukhangeleka ngathi isebe lezeMfundo lifuna ukusombulula le ngxaki ngokuthunyelwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo. "Ukufuduselwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo sesona sixhobo sisemthethweni sikhoyo esinokusetyenziswa liSebe ukuthumela ootitshala kwizikolo apho iinkonzo zabo zifuneka khona, izikolo abafunwa kuzo ncakasana." (p. 8)

Umba wokuthunyelwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo sekulithuba uxoxwa kwaye kufumaniseka ukuba izikolo ezininzi ziyawuchasa le ndlela yokuzisa ukulingana phakathi kwezikolo. Zininzi izizathu zoku, umz: Ingxaki yokufumana utitshala oqqwesileyo wesifundo esithile kwibanga elithile. Ubukhulu becala izikolo zizifumana zikwimeko yokuba zamkele ootitshala ezingabafuniyo ngenxa yokungafaneleki kwabo kuloo msebenzi uthile okanye ukungabi namava kwabo: xa kunokubakho ithuba lokuveza la mathuba omsebenzi koonondaba, mhlawumbi izikolo zinganenyhweba yokufumana ootitshala abangcono kunabo bathunyelweyo.

Ingxaki endinayo mna ngalento ye-redeployment yeyokuba okokuqala, uye ufumanise into yokuba amanani abafundi ayehla kwisikolo esithile njengokuba besele nditshilo kumxholo ongaphambili uze ufumanise into yokuba ootitshala ngoku bathi bashiyeke bebane kube kulindeleke into yokuba bafundise ukusukela kwibanga lesibhozo ukuya kuma kweleshumi okanye ukusuka kwibanga lesithandathu ukuya kweleshumi; yenza ingxaki enkulu kakhulu loo nto. Okwesibini ndiyangqinelana nezi zikolo zithi indlela yokuzama ukusombulula le nto ye-redeployment ilula kuba ke eneneni ootitshala bayasweleka, ootitshala bayayeka emisebenzini abanye bathat'umhlala phantsi ngoko ke le meko ibinokusombululeka ngokusebenzisa inkqubo ye-natural attrission ize yenze loo nto ukuba kungabikho mfuneko yokuba kutshintshwe ootitshala bathathwe kwenye indawo basiwe kwenye kuba loo nto ineengxaki ezizezayo ezininzi kakhulu apho uthi ufumanise into yokuba utitshala ngoku uphela efundisa izifundo ezithathu nezine. Kudala ke umphathiswa simxelela into yokuba le nto yalamanani nento yokuhlenga-hlengiswa kwabasebenzi ezikolweni ayisincedisi nje kwaphela najengoko ke ithi ibe nazo iziphumo ezingasekwanga ezifana nokuqhekeka kweentsapho apho uthi ufumanise into yokuba umntu ususwa ngaphaya eBhayi asiwe eSterkspruit, asuswe eSterkspruit asiwe eMount Frere; ngoko ke iyaziqhekeza iintsapho kangangokuba ootitshala abaninzi bayise ezinkundleni zamatyala le nkqubo baze baliphumelela ityala ingakumbi ootitshala abasuka koomaBhayi ababefanele ukuya koomaLusikisiki nakooNtabankulu abasuka baya ezinkundleni zamatyala zaze zabagwebela.

Problems related to personnel expenditure *(p. 7-9)*

6. <u>*There is general agreement "to match educator numbers with learner numbers"*</u>
<u>*(p. 8). Such a procedure will guarantee equity between schools.*</u>

<u>*The problem with this general policy is in the implementation. It seems as if the*</u>
<u>*department of Education wants to solve this problem with redeployment of*</u>
<u>*educators. "Redeployment is the only legal instrument at the disposal of the*</u>
<u>*Department to move educators from one school where their services are not*</u>
<u>*needed, to a school where they are needed" (p. 8)*</u>

<u>*The issue of redeployment of educators has been discussed for a long time and*</u>
<u>*in general schools are not in favor of such a method to bring about equity.*</u>
<u>*There are many reasons for this, i.e. the problem of finding the best educator*</u>
<u>*for a specific subject or grade. Schools may find that they have to accept*</u>
<u>*educators whom they do not want because such educators may be*</u>
<u>*underqualified or inexperienced: in advertising for such posts, schools may be*</u>
<u>*able to obtain the services of better educators than these redeployed ones.*</u>

The problem that I have with this re-deployment is that firstly, you find that learner
numbers will drop in a certain school as I have mentioned in the previous topic and to
find that there are only four teachers left in that school who are expected to teach
from grade 10 to grade 12 or sometimes from grade 8 to grade 12 and that causes a
lot of problems. Secondly, I agree with these schools that believe that the solution to
this issue of re-deployment is very simple in the sense that teachers are dying,
teachers resign and some are retiring and for those reasons this issue could be
solved through the process of natural attrition. This could result in a situation where
there would be no need to move teachers around because that has its own problems
where you find that some teachers end up teaching three to four subjects. We have
been telling the MEC that this ration and staff establishment issue in schools is of no
assistance to the system as it has its own unintended consequences such as moving
a teacher from Port Elizabeth to Sterkspruit or from Sterkspruit to Mount Frere.
Redeployment has a potential of breaking up families to an extent most teachers
have taken the department to court because of this process and they won the case
especially teachers from Port Elizabeth who were redeployed to areas such as
Lusikisiki and Ntabankulu.

4.3.5 Interview no: 5

4.3.5.1 Former Model C schools:

Reproach: The level of education in feeder primary schools is not up to standard and
the primary schools are not managed properly.

1.1 <u>Concession</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the failure aspects of the department and the right to
reproach (EI5, Q1: 1-5)

1.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to disconnect self away from the reproach by presenting another source which should bear responsibility for the failure event. He mentions such source that is external from him as the "Law" or the government:

- The law allows these former Model C schools to formulate their own language policies (EI5, Q1: 6-7)

1.3 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver employs the mitigation of blame by appealing to the present adverse conditions of the situations in the hope of lessening the negative aspects of the reproach. He identifies the following as such problems:

a. It is not easy to employ teachers to these schools because of transformation that cannot be fully implemented (EI5, Q1: 7- 8)

b. The appointment of teachers should be approved by that particular school's board of directors of SGB which is purely white (EI5, Q1: 9- 12)

c. There are schools such as Dale college in King William's Town who insist on making English and Afrikaans a first language even for Xhosa speaking learners (EI5, Q1: 20- 23)

1.4 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe principles: Present benefit:</u>

The justifier focused on the strategy in which he tried to reframe the outcome or consequences of the failure event. To do this he concentrated on certain plans for addressing this reproach: the purpose of this reframing of the consequences of the reproach is to convince the reproacher that when these plans are eventually implemented, they will lead to future benefits and people will eventually experience such positive outcomes. The strategies that the department will implement to minimize these failures are the following:

a. A policy has been implemented that will give the department of Education, the Minister and the MECs of all provinces powers to make intervention in these former Model C schools as far as transformation is concerned (EI5, Q1: 12-15)

b. The language policy has been reviewed and as a result all learners should be taught their own mother language including in those former Model C schools (EI5, Q1: 15-19 and 29-33)

1.5 Denial

The interviewee is simply denying the reproach and as such the reproacher has not right to reproach (EI5, Q1: 23-29)

Reproach on the type of education offered by these schools:

1.6 Denial

The interviewee is denying the reproach and the right to reproach in that the syllabus is the same in all schools (EI5, Q1: 36-37)

1.7 Justification

Comparison: differentiation:

The justifier is trying to distinguish this act from others with the intention of making it to appear less obscene in comparison and thus lessening the negative feelings towards the situation and the department of Education:

a. These former Model C schools have long been equipped with all the necessary resources and they have the backing of big companies owned by white people (EI5, Q1: 38-44)

b. These schools are in towns and not even a single one is in a rural area or township (EI5, Q1: 44- 45)

1.8 Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The interviewee is trying to mitigate the negative consequences of the act by appealing to present adverse conditions. He mentions two such conditions as:

a. The conditions under which teachers are working, are not conducive enough (EI5, Q1: 50-51)

b. There is a lack of infrastructure especially in rural areas as a result learners have to be taught under the trees and/or in someone's house in the community (EI5, Q1: 66-67)

1.9 Concession

The interviewee acknowledges the reproach and he agrees that there are teachers and schools that are not doing the job as expected (EI5, Q1: 51-52)

1.10 Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefit:

The justifier is trying to reframe the negative consequences of the act by appealing to positive present benefits with the intention of minimizing the blame. He mentions that:

▪ There are teachers who are doing their job so well that their learners do not struggle to get admission to these former Model C schools (EI5, Q1: 53-58 and 59- 65)

4.3.5.2 School fees:

Reproach: The department of Education does not make enough resources available for schools, and this is the reason why the former Model C schools are forced to demand high school fees.

2.1 Justification

Derogation of victim: Attacking the accuser:

In attacking the accuser, the justifier is trying to reduce the credibility of the source of accusations and also to lessen the unpleasantness of the action. This strategy somehow diverts attention away from the accusation. The justifier argues that these former Model C schools think they are living in their own world (EI5, Q2: 1)

2.2 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to reframe the negative consequences of the act by appealing to positive present benefits that are intended for the minimization of the blame on the part of the department. He mentions the following as such benefits:

a. The department (government) is now focused on providing infrastructure to accommodate learners (EI5, Q2: 2-4)
b. The government maintains that learners should not be denied access to education and those who cannot afford should be exempted from paying (EI5, Q2: 21-29)

2.3 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The interviewee is trying to mitigate the negative consequences of the act by appealing to present adverse conditions. He mentions two such conditions:

a. Most rural schools are currently mud structures that have to be fixed whenever there is tornado (EI5, Q2: 5)
b. These structures might still not be finished by 2008 (EI5, Q2: 6-7)
c. Some schools have only one block which was also built by the community and they also have to be extended (EI5, Q2: 8-10)
d. The department of Education is mostly focused on building classrooms and to provide necessary resources at a later stage (EI5, Q2: 10- 13 and 14-18)
e. There is no budget to do all these things at once (EI5, Q2: 19-20)

4.3.5.3 Learner performance:

Reproach: There is a general poor performance of learners and the department should take responsibility for that as well as for under-qualified and ill-disciplined teachers.

3.1 <u>Concession</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the reproach and the right to reproach. He agrees that the Province of the Eastern Cape is at the bottom when it comes to Matric results (EI5, Q3: 1-2 and 11-14)

3.2 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Comparisons: Past negative circumstances:</u>

The justifier argues that even though the present looks bad, it is a lot better that it has been in the past: (EI5, Q3: 2-11)

a. Results were 53% in 2004 and they improved to 57% in 2005
b. The Exemption passes improved by 1% from 7% of 2004 to 8% in 2005

3.3 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Responsibility: Diffusion of responsibility:</u>

The excuse-giver is vertically diffusing responsibility to the tertiary institutions, universities in particular in the sense that he believes that the kind of education and training they provide to their student teachers is not up to standard (EI5, Q3: 17-21)

3.4 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The interviewee freely admits the adverse conditions facing the department and mentions specifically the following:

a. Teachers that are produced especially by universities are not good enough (EI5, Q3: 23-25)
b. There is a shortage of qualified teachers (EI5, Q3: 26-27)
c. Teachers are currently allocated according to the number of learners enrolled in that particular school instead of using the curriculum of the school (EI5, Q3: 28-35)
d. Teachers end-up being overworked or overloaded as they are expected to teach more classes and sometimes take on other subjects (EI5, Q3: 35-36 and 42-43)

e. Learners have a very limited scope of subjects to choose from because there are no teachers to teach some subjects especially Mathematics and Science (EI5, Q3: 36 and 37-42)

f. There is lower level of education in lower grades (primary schools), (EI5, Q3: 46-54)

g. The OBE and NCS programs are not properly coordinated (EI5, Q3: 55-60)

Reproach on in-service teacher training:

3.5 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of the reproach by reframing the consequences of the failure. There are present benefits because:

a. There is a developmental program to assist the under-qualified teachers throughout the Province (EI5, Q3: 61-65)

b. There is a teacher- skills training institute operating from East London to assist teachers, EDO sans subject advisors (EI5, Q3: 65- 67)

3.6 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. There should be future benefits because satellites of this skills training institute will be opened in Mthatha and in Port Elizabeth to ensure that there is regular in-service training of educators throughout the Province (EI5, Q3: 67-71)

4.3.5.4   The high rate of educators' absenteeism:

Reproach: educators blame the adverse conditions under which they must teach as the primary reason for their absenteeism

4.1 <u>Concession</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the reproach and the right to reproach because:

a. Teachers do not go to school mostly on Fridays and during month-ends (EI5, Q4: 1-7)

b. Some teachers do suffer from depression because of their workload (EI5, Q4: 9-13)

4.2 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Higher authorities:</u>

An appeal to higher authorities has been employed in which the justifier tries to show that the situation is depending or is being handled by other powerful structures. He mentions the department of Education as a structure that is busy dealing with the situation (EI5, Q4: 13) and that the portfolio committee has the power also to see to it that the challenges facing the department are dealt with (EI5, Q4: 14-15)

4.3 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver has relied on the null cause with the intention of disconnecting self from the reproach and he does this by highlighting that the Peter Morkel system that is used to determine the allocation of teachers to schools is the one responsible for this situation (EI5, Q4: 15-18)

He also mentions that some of the problems in schools are caused by the lack of managers to manage effectively (EI5, Q4: 19-21)

Reproach on the learners' lack of discipline:

4.4 <u>Concession</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the failure event and the right to reproach because learners are indeed ill-disciplined (EI5, Q4: 22-29)

4.5 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver has employed a null cause in order to disconnect self away from the failure event. He presents parents as an external source that should bear responsibility and causality for the reproach:

- Parents are not firm enough in disciplining their children, so the problem of discipline starts from the family unit (EI5, Q4: 33-39)

4.3.5.5 Planning and migration:

Reproach: Parents move their children from one school to another to find better education because schools in their communities offer poor quality education.

5.1 <u>Concession</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the reproach and the right to reproach for the failure event. He agrees that learners have the right to move to those schools where the culture of learning and teaching is observed and that this migration will at the end affect stability and planning within the department (EI5, Q5: 1-16)

4.3.5.6 Redeployment

Reproach: The issue of redeployment of educators has been discussed for a long time and schools are not in favor of such a method to bring about equity as it makes it difficult to find the best educator for a specific subject or grade:

6.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver mentions that the causality of this reproach is on another source external to him which should bear responsibility. He mentions such sources as:

a. The department of Education, teacher unions and the adopted secular no. 48 which does not provide clear guidelines on appeal (EI5, Q6: 1-6)
b. The principals who do not consider their tuition when arranging their school establishment (EI5, Q6: 6-14)

c. Teachers do not care much about the learners they are leaving behind especially if the school they are being redeployed to is closer to town (EI5, Q6: 14-16)

6.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate the severity of the reproach by appealing to the adversity of the situations relating to the current situation. The excuse-giver mentioned three such conditions:

a. The current system is such that the department should first allocate those teachers in excess in their schools to those schools that have shortages before advertising the bulletin to those teachers who are not yet employed by the department (EI5, Q6: 16-20)
b. The Province has many small schools more than any other Province (EI5, Q6: 22-23)

6.3 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to minimize the severity of the reproach by mentioning that there are benefits associated with the situation and as a result of that blame is not warranted. He identifies the following as such benefits:

▪ The department is in a process of integrating all primary schools within the community into one school to cater for all the children in that particular community (EI5, Q6: 23-25)

6.4 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to minimize the severity of and the failure aspects of the reproach by mentioning that there are future benefits associated with the situation should the strategies be successful implemented, and as such blame is not warranted. He identifies the following as such benefits:

a. The department will save a lot of money through the process of rationalizing schools (EI5, Q6: 25-31)

b. There will be stability within the department and schools in general (EI5, Q6: 31-35)

c. Teachers that are working in rural areas will get incentives to encourage them to keep on working in those areas (EI5, Q6: 42-52)

6.5 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Appeal to higher authorities:</u>

The justifier wants to pass this reproach on to a higher authority. With these moves he clearly shows that a higher authority should be able to solve the problem. He specifically mentions the National department of Education as such authority, which has the capacity to bring stability within the education system and to put an end to the migration of learners and the redeployment of teachers (EI5, Q6: 52-55)

1.   Language and style

1.1   Syntactic level:

a. Length of sentences:

The account is characterized by long to very long sentences. See *i.a.* Q1: 1-12, 12-15, 15-23, 23-29 and 29-35. These sentences range from three lines to 12 lines. However, the length of the sentences poses no problems because it is a general phenomenon in isiXhosa that the spoken word tends to have longer sentences than the written word.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences that have been used by the interviewee are quite complex in that each sentence has more than one verb. See i.a. Q1.1: 1-12, the sentence has 17 verbs: *kubekhona uvavanyo, wokulungiswa (lungisa), ngelizama (zama) ukunika (nika), zokulawulwa (lawula) yokuba kwenzeka (enza), bavalelwa (valela), ngokuvunyelwa (vumela), mabazenzele (zenzele), yokwenza (enza) nokuqeshwa (qesha), ukuba kwenzeke, ufumanise (fumanisa), ukuze ukuqeshwa kwenzeke (enza), kuvunyelwe (vumela), ntoleyo eyenza (enza) abaphangela (phangela) .*

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban or modern version of isiXhosa as it is not the pure Transkeian and Ciskeian kind of isiXhosa. It is not a dialect though, but just a modern standard of the language mostly used by the urbanized Xhosa speakers.

1.2   *Lexical level:*

a. Lexical diversity:

i. *Technical terms:* The interviewee has used such technical terms as: *uMphathiswa, ingxowa-mali, iMpuma Koloni, umgaqo-siseko, uNdlunkulu, iphondo, umceli-mngeni, ulwabiwo-mali,* etc. He uses these terms because as the legislator these terms are his daily bread and he should be teaching the public about government policies and programs which entail these terms.

ii. *English terms:* the accounter has also used a lot of English terms probably because parliament deliberations are mostly conducted in English and that it is sometimes difficult to find Xhosa equivalence of such terms. Examples of these terms are: *iModel C, iiSGBs, structures, iikhompyutha, SASA, itekhnikhoni, GET, OBE, NCS, satellite, iiEDOs, secular no.48, usecular no.7* etc.

iii. *Innovative Xhosa words: Ntsundu, ijoyini,*

b. Language imagery:

i.   *Metaphor*

The account-giver uses metaphors in his speech repertoire such as: *"…ezabo ibizizikolo ebezikade zikhethekile…"* (Q1: 38-39). This means that these former Model C schools have always been different and well-off. Another example: *"…ezi zikolo ziziiModel C zizikolo zona ezipheleleyo…"* (Q2: 14). This means that these former Model C schools are complete and well-equipped.

> *"…oompondo zihlanjiwe…"* (Q3: 25), it means competent or very good teachers.
> *"…abantwana bathi befika apha phezulu babe beseluhlaza yaka* …" (Q3: 48), this means that learners are still blank (know nothing) by the time they reach high school.

ii. *Simile*

The account-giver uses simile in his speech repertoire. Examples are as follows:

"…njengezi sizibalayo…" (Q2: 16)

"…njenge-UPE…" (Q3: 64)

"…oku kwamajoyini …" (Q6: 49),

1.3   *Equivocal language:*

The interviewee has used some equivocation in his account such as: Q3: 68-69, *"…ingathi izakubakho ke nenye ezakuba phaya eBhayi…"* (…there will possibly be another one in Port Elizabeth…) This equivocation of language use threatens the source credibility and that of the perceived quality of arguments. Most of the information provided by the accounter is unequivocal though as it is directly stated.

2.   **Language use**

2.1   *Politeness:*

The interviewee has tried to avoid the FTAs by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat. However, the account-giver has chosen to perform the FTA, that he did on-record and off-record. On-record is expressed unambiguously through the use of justifications in his account especially the "appeal to higher authorities". The off-record strategy is performed or expressed ambiguously so that the accounter cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent. The conclusion of the expression is thus solely left to the reproacher to make as to what the accounter really means or wants to communicate.

2.2   *Effectiveness:*

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the accounter has chosen to use mostly justifications and excuses. Among justifications that have been used are those that appeal to higher authorities and those that appeal to present and future benefits which outweighs the present negative aspects. A total of 12 justifications have been employed in this account.

Present benefits	5
Future benefits	2
Appeal to higher authorities	2
Comparison: Differentiation	1
Attacking the accuser	1
Comparison: Negative past	1

The excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances as they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances. The interviewee has employed 10 excuses in his account:

Causal excuses	4
Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	5
Responsibility: Diffusion	1

The interviewee has chosen such strategies that have the potential of success. He has decided to employ justifications especially those that appeal to additional benefits and excuses that mitigate the blame and its circumstances because they are among strategies that are deemed effective.

2.3   Power of speech style:

The interviewee has decided to use strategies that avoid blame and that claim credit for what the department has done or is going to do for the people. Such a strategy is justification particularly the minimization of the negative aspects of the failure through appealing to additional benefits and the appeal to higher authorities.

Interview 5

Isebe lezeMfundo

Kwintetho yomnyaka ka-2005 yoLwabiwo-mali neNkqubo karhulumente ebisenziwa ngohloniphekileyo uMphathiswa wezeMfundo waseMpuma Koloni, kuye kwaphawulwa iingxaki ezithile eziggamileyo kwiSebe lezeMfundo.

Department of Education

In the 2005 Budget and Policy speech of the honorable MEC for Education of the Eastern Cape, certain problems were clearly identified within the Education Department.

First reproach: p. 1

Iingxaki ezimalunga noYilo lweNguqu oluDityanisiweyo kwezeMfundo (p. 407)

1. Umphathiswa obekekileyo uqale ngokugxininisa "kwiinguqu eziqhubekekayo kwizikolo ezazifudula zibizwa ngokuba zii-model C. Izityholo zobuhlanga, ukutshintsha-tshintsha kwemigathango yesebe ngokuphathelele kulwamkelo lwabantwana ezikolweni oluquka ulawulo lovavanyo lolwazi lolwimi kwakunye nokutyeshelwa kwemithetho yolwimi, zizinto ke ezi ezivelayo kule meko" (p. 4)

    Ngokuphathelele kuvavanyo lolwazi lolwimi kunye nemithetho yolwimi yeSebe, siqwalasela oku:

    Izikolo ezazifudula zibizwa ngokuba ziiModel-C zona zivakalisa ukuba ezi mvavanyo azijoliswanga ekutshintsha-tshintsheni kweimgathango yolwimi ngokuphathelele kulwamkelo lwabantwana kunye nemithetho yolwimi. Izikolo zikwavakalisa nento yokuba izinga lemfundo kwizikolo ezinikezela abantwana abaya kumabanga aphezulu alikho mgangathweni. Ngenxa yale meko izikolo ziye zibe noxanduva lokuziqulunqela iimvavanyo zazo ukuze ziqinisekise ukuba abafundi abasuka kwizikolo zamabanga aphantsi banganakho na ukumelana nesilabhasi yezikolo zamabanga aphezulu. ISebe lezeMfundo alizilawuli ngokugqibeleleyo izikolo zamabanga aphantsi.

Imbono yethu siyikomiti… eh…h ekupheleni kwalo nyaka udlulileyo kubekhona uvavanyo wokulungiswa komthetho ngelizama ukunika amandla kwezizigqeba zikhoyo zokulawulwa kwezikolo, iiSGBs ukutsho oko kuba bekubonakala into yokuba kwenzeka le nto uyithethayo kanye kweziya zikolo bezifudula ziziModel-C yokuba abantwana babantu bavalelwa ngaphandle ngenxa yemigaqo abanayo ngokuvunyela ngumthetho kuba umthetho nguwo othi mabazenzele imigaqo yolwimi nakule nto yokwenza nokuqeshwa kweetitshala ngesizathu sokuba akukwazeki ngoku ukuba kwenzeke ingunqu ecacileyo kweziya zikolo kuba uye ufumanise into yokuba ukuze ukuqeshwa kwenzeke kufanele ukuba kube kuvunyelwe sisigqeba solawulo sibe isininzi seso sigqeba simhlophe qhwa ntoleyo eyenza ukuba kube nzima into yokuba kubekhona abantu abamnyama abaphangela kwezi zikolo nokuba bangabe banezakhono kangakanani na. Kuye kwabakho loo mthetho mtsha ke othe wabekwa ozakunika isebe lezemfundo, umphathiswa kunye nabaphathiswa bamaphondo igunya lokuba bakwazi ukungenelela kwiimeko ezikumila kkunje. Okwesibini ke kulo mba wento enokwenza neelwimi urhulumente uthe wagxininisa kwinto yokuba abantwana bonke kuquka nabo bafunda kwezi zikolo bezikade ziziModel-C kufuneka bafundiswe ngolwimi lwesiNtu kuba kaloku ezi lwimi zesiNtu ziya zibuyela umva kakhulu ngenxa yento yokuba kukhokeliswe isiNgesi esi nesiBhulu phambili, phaya eDale College apha eQonce umzekelo uyakwazi ukufumanisa into yokuba kubhalwe isiNgesi njengolwimi lokuqala kodwa abe loo mntwana enguMxhosa ngoko ke isiNgesi ayilolwimi lwakhe lokuqala kuloko sisiXhosa, kodwa loo nto ayikho njalo phaya. Uyabona ke nalento bazithethelela ngayo apha yokuba bazama ukujonga ukuba umntwana lowo uzawukwazi na ukumelana nesilabhasi yabo ayibobunyani kuba iyabasefa abantwana loonto bangakwazi ukungena kweziya zikolo itsho ibavalele amathuba okungena nokufunda kunye neengcango kwizikolo ezikumila kunjeya; iyenzeka kaloku into yokuba omnye umntwana atshise kwinto yonke afane abetheke nje apha ekuthetheni isingesi nangona emhle apha ekusibhaleni nasekusiveni. Kukho loo mgaqo ukhoyo apha esebeni wokuba iilwimi zethu zibengathi ziyangena ngamandla kwezi zikolo nokuba umntwana ngamnye athi esemncinane akwazi ukulenza ulwimi lwakhe lwesiNtu kwakweziya zikolo kuba loo nto sicinga ukuba ingakwazi ukuthi izilungise eziya zikolo, kodwa ke mandiyitsho

yona into yokuba ininzi into esafuna ukuguqulwa kweziya zikolo kwaye nesebe kufuneka ukuba ibe ngathi iqinisa isihlahla ngokuphathelele eziya zikolo.

Problems related to the Integrated Education Transformation Plan *(p. 407)*

__1.__ __*The Hon. MEC focused attention firstly on "the continuing transformation of ex-model C schools. Allegations of racism, flouting of departmental instructions on admission such as the administering of language proficiency tests and the ignoring of language policies, do surface" (p. 4)*__

__*With regard to the language proficiency tests and the Department's language policies:*__

__*The former Model C schools argue that such tests are not aimed at flouting departmental instructions on admission and language policies. The schools are of the opinion that the level of education of the children in their feeder primary schools is not up to standard. The schools are thus forced to administer their own tests to ascertain whether these children from the primary schools will be able to follow the syllabus in the high school. The department of Education does not manage the primary schools very well.*__

Our view as the committee… eh…h towards the end of last year there was a review of the departmental policy as an attempt to capacitate the school governing bodies, the SGBs so to say because issues such as you have mentioned have been discovered that children are deliberately denied access in these former Model-C schools as a result of their policies. It is the law that allowed this to happen by giving a go-ahead to these schools to formulate their own language policies and this now hampers all attempts for transformation in these schools including this issue of appointments of new teachers which is basically monopolized by the SGB, an SGB that is purely white to an extent that it becomes to have black teachers to be employed in those schools and it doesn't matter how qualified they are. There is now that policy that has been implemented which will the department of education, the minister and the MECs of all provinces more intervention powers in situations like these. Secondly, in this issue of languages is that the government has stressed that all learners including those in these former Model-C schools must be taught in one of the African languages as it has been discovered that they are now becoming extinct because of prioritizing English and Afrikaans. For example, in Dale College in King Williams Town you will find that English is being offered as a first language to a child whose mother to language is isiXhosa and to be made to do isiXhosa as a second or third language. You see even this excuse that they are making that they are merely trying to determine whether the learner would be able to cope with their syllabus is not true in that it discriminates against other learners and makes it difficult for them to have access to those schools. It also happens then that the child might be very good in all other subjects only to have problems when it comes to speaking English even though he or she is good in reading and writing English. There is that policy in the department that all African languages must taught and prioritized especially in these former Model-C schools, and also that children must be able to do and learn their languages (African) as early as in primary school because we believe that such a move will be able to put these schools in order, but I must also mention that there is a lot that still needs to be done and rectified and therefore the department should try to be more firm in dealing with these schools in order for clear and proper transformation to take place.

Follow-up question:

Kwesi sityholo sokuba ezi zikolo zamabanga aphantsi azifundisi ngokukuko nokuba isebe liyekelele umxakatho ngokuphathelele zona, kuthekani ngaso nanjengoko besithi abantwana baphuma kweziya zikolo bengazi nto nje kwaphela?

Okokuqala kukuba isilabhasi yabo ayohlukanga nje kwaphela kwisilabhasi yezinye izikolo, umohluko nje ngumgangatho nexesha abalithathayo ekukhathuleni isilabhasi leyo qha ingxaki yabo kukuba bayalibala ukuba ezabo ibizizikolo ebezikade zikhethekile zenziwa bhetele zanikwa iimali nayo yonke into kuba ke ebunyanisweni zinayo yonke into efunekayo baze baphinde babe neendlela ezikhethekileyo zokonyusa ingxowa-mali kuba uyakukhumbula ukuba ngela xesha bebekade bemhlophe kuphela bebeneenkampani zabantu abamhlophe ezibaxhasayo ngemali, yiyo ke loo nto benayo yonke into bengasokoli njengezi zikolo zabantu abaNtsundu. Okwesibini eza zikolo zabo zisezidolophini emaxesheni amaninzi kwaye ke akukho zikolo zabo zisezilalini nabantu ke ngoku sebethande ukuhlala ezidolophini yiyo loo nto kunzima ukufumana ootitshala abaqeqeshekileyo nabazinikezeleyo abanomdla wokuya kufundisa kwezaa zikolo zethu zisezilalini, yenye ingxaki ekhoyo ke le echaphazela isystem le sele iyonke. Andifuni ke ukuthi eyona nto iphambili kukungafundisi kweziya titshala ziphaya ezilalini kuba ke neemeko ezi abaphangela phantsi kwazo ziyayichaphazela loo nto leyo, siyayivuma ke nento yokuba ikhona imbinana yeetitshala kunye nezikolo ezingafundisiyo phaya kodwa ke zibe zikhona nezo zifundisayo zikhuphe iziphumo ezihle kakhulu nabantwana bakhona bangasokoli ukuyongena kwezi zikolo zazikade zigooModel-C; kukhona isikolo esiphaya eMdantsane ekuthiwa yiFanti Gaqa esiqala kwibanga lokuqala siye kuma inokuba kwelesixhenxe, uyabona ke umntwana ophaya uphuma ayokungena nakwesiphi na isikolo ebesikade singuModel-C phaya eMonti kwaye ke siyaziwa nomcimbi waso awuxoxisi tu. Esi sikolo siselokishini phakathi kwaye akukho kwamlungu ufundisa phaya, sikhona ke isakhono kangangokuba mvanje bendiphaya eNdutywa kwiilali zaseColosa ndiyokuvula isikolo phaya, uyabona ke abantwana abebesamkela iindwendwe phaya ngumntwana owenza ibanga lesixhenxe; indlela abekekhumsha ngayo la mntwana ayithetheki nendlela ayivisisa ngayo into ayithethayo ingummangaliso kangangokuba abanye abantu nezinye iititshala bezingeke zikwazi ukuthetha ngoluya hlobo abe efundiswa phaya ezilalini. Ndizam'ukuthi ke sikhona isakhono nala mgangatho uphezulu wemfundo noxa kusezilalini kunjalo befundela emizini kuba naba bebekade befundela emizini phambi kokuba sakhiwe esiya sikolo kodwa ke bayakwazi ukukhupha abantwana abachubekileyo; kodwa ke zikhona ke nyhani ezihexayo netitshala zakhona zibe zingakwazi ukukhupha aba bafundi sibafunayo.

What about the allegation made by these former Model-C schools that these feeder schools are not offering proper education to the learners and that department is negligent when it comes to these schools as the result children leave those schools empty handed?

The first thing is that their syllabus is not different from that of other schools, the only difference is the standard and rate that they take in finishing that syllabus and they forget that their schools have always been treated differently from others in the sense that they were equipped with all the necessary resources, funds and they also have means of fundraising as would remember that there were companies belonging to white people who were sponsoring these schools with resources and money especially at that time when these schools were catering for whites only, and this is the reason why they were not as disadvantaged as our schools. Secondly, their schools are basically in towns most of the time, there are no Model-C schools in townships or rural areas and now that people have also migrated to urban areas it

makes it difficult to get fully qualified and dedicated teachers who are willing to teach in rural areas; this is another problem affecting the whole education system. I wouldn't want then to say that the main problem is the lack of dedication on the part of the teachers teaching in rural areas because even their conditions are a contributing factor to this situation, but at the same time we do accept the fact that there are those few individual teachers who are not committed to their work and there are those who are fully commited in teaching and producing good results to an extent that learners from those schools become easily accepted to any of these former Model-C schools. There is an example of a school in Mdantsane called Fanti Gaqa which starts from grade 0 to grade 7; products of that school are accepted in any of the former Model-C schools around East London and it is a well known factor that learners from that school are well polished as a result there are no hassles about that. The funny part of this whole situation is that this school is in a township and there is not even a single white teacher there; this shows that there is a potential and recently I attended an opening of a school in Idutywa an area called Colosa, a learner responsible for the welcoming of guests was a grade 9 and the way he or she presented speech in English was wonderful including the way he or she understood the core of his or her speech was amazing as a result some people and other teachers wouldn't have been able to present that speech the way that learner did and also bearing in mind that the school he or she attends is in rural areas. What I am trying to say is that there is a potential and high standard of education even though these schools are in rural areas without proper infrastructure sometimes as we know because even the students in this school were using households as classroom before the school was built but teachers are able to produce qualitative students; there are also schools and teachers who are unable to produce the kind of end-result that we aspire for.

Second reproach: p. 2

2. Okwesibini, umphathiswa obekekileyo uye wabalula nomba wentlawulo yesikolo:"sifumanisa ukuba kwezinye izikolo ulwamkelo lwabafundi luthityazwa zizixa zemali ezingathethekiyo ezifunwayo" (p. 5)

Ngokuphathelele kwintlawulo yezikolo, nekukholeleka ukuba yengathethekiyo nenyanzelisa ukuba kukhangeleke kunzima kubafundi abaninzi ukuba baye kwizikolo ezithile esezikhankanyiwe (ezo zazizi-Model C), iinqununu zazo zivakalisa ukuba ukuze kufundiswe kwaye kufundwe ngokuggibeleleyo kufuneka izikolo zibeenovimba abafana neelebhu, amathala eencwadi, iilebhu zekhompiyuta, kwaye izikolo kufuneka zikwazi ukuthatha abantwana zibase kukhenketho lwemfundo ngaphandle nto leyo inokubanceda ekusebenziseni nasekugxininiseni ulwazi abaluzuze kwiincwadi zezifundo naseklasini. Abanqununu babanga ngelithi iSebe lezeMfundo liyasilela ekumiseleni abavimba ezikolweni, kwaye ke nanjengokuba iyinjongo yesikolo ukunikezela imfundo egqwesileyo ndawonye nokuvelisa abafundi abachubekileyo nabazithembileyo, oku kunyanzela ukuba bacele abazali ukuba babaxhase ngemali ethe kratya.

Ezi zikolo bezifudula ziziiModel-C zinento yokucinga ukuba ziphila nje kwelinye ilizwe endingalaziyo kuba urhulumente eyona ajongene nayo ikakhulu ngoku kukuhlangabezana neziya zikolo zingenayo kwalento kuthiwa sisakhiwo esi uyiyeke le yeekhompyutha, akanaso kwa-isikolo esi sokufaka abantwana kuba nangoku kusekhona izikolo zodaka ezidilika mihla le xa kukho isaqhwithi apha kwaye ke inokuba siyakude siyokufika phaya ku-2008 sibe singekagqibi ukuzakha ezo zikolo apha eMpuma Koloni. Uyaqonda ke ukuba apha usathetha ngezikolo zodaka esicinga ukuba uzakubetha u-2008 zingekagqitywa kukho ke nezinye ezinebloko

nganye nazo ezo bloko zibe zakhiwe ngabahlali nezo ke kusafuneka zandisiwe kwaye ke thina okwakalokunje sisajolise ekwakhiweni kwamagumbi okufundela asakhi zikolo kuba isikolo yinto epheleleyo enamagumbi okufundela, into eneziko lolawulo lwesikolo, into enelebhu enezixhobo ngaphakathi hayi into nje, into enamabala okudlala neholo. Uyabona ke ezi zikolo bezikade ziziiModel-C zizikolo zona ezipheleleyo, sisekude kakhulu ke thina kwasekwenzeni igumbi eli lokuba umntwana angene afunde ungekathethi ke ngesikolo esipheleleyo nesinento yonke njengezi sizibalayo kwaye ke lolona celomngeni urulumente ajamelene nalo kuba ke ukuba bekusiya ngokunokwethu ngesizigalela kangangoko izixhobo kwezi zikolo kodwa ke ingxaki yile yokuba kufanele ukuba kwenzeke zonke ezinye izinto ezi ngexesha elinye. Yonke le nto yokuqinisekisa ukuba ezi zinto zikhona lukrozo oluthile ingekuko ukuba urhulumente uzityeshele. Kulento ithethwa nguMphathiswa ke urhulumente uthi kula mthetho mnye besiwuhlaziya kulonyaka ophelileyo ibungulamba wabantwana abangakwazi ukungena esikolweni, ulungisiwe ke lo mthetho ukwenzel'into yokuba abantwana bangagxothwa esikolweni kuba kusithiwa abakwazi kubhatala kuloko kufuneka abazali babo okanye abo bantu babagciniyo ukuba abasenabazali bayokubeka loo meko phaya esikolweni ukwenzel'into yokuba umntwana abe nokwenziwa angabhatali ezazikhuntyula zemali zifunwa pha kweso sikolo ngokwemeko yomntwana lowo ngelo xesha kuba ke nomthetho uthi umntwana akanakugxothwa esikolweni. Lo mthetho uvela pha kula mqulu wemithetho yezikolo zoMzantsi Afrika (SASA) kodwa ke lo wona besiwutshintsha wona ubulungiswa la ndawo inento yokwenza nalento yokuba ezi zikolo bezifudula ziziiModel-C zigxotha abantwana kweziya zikolo kuba kusithiwa abakwazi kubhatala ngoko ke sicinga ukuba loo nto izakuncedisa ekuvaleni loo msantsa. Eyona nto imandla ke ngoku ndicinga ukuba kukuba abantu bakuthi bayazi into yokuba banalanyoba bayivulelwe ngula mthetho besiwuhlaziya kunyaka ophelileyo kuba abanye babo bazakuqhubeka bexhatshazwa zezi zikolo babe bengayazi into yokuba kukho la mthetho ubulungisiwe ulungiselelwa ukukhusela bona, ngoko ke ndicinga ukuba le yenye yezinto urhulumente afanele ukuba abe ugxininisa ngamandla kuyo kuba ke eneneni lo mthetho ungena kuzo zonke izikolo kuba nezo bezifudula ziziiModel-C zizikolo zikarhulumente.

2. *Secondly, the Hon. MEC mentioned the school fees: "We find that in some schools access is deliberately frustrated by the exorbitant fees demanded" (p. 5).*

   As far as school fees are concerned, which are believed to be exorbitant and thereby making it difficult for most learners to get access to the schools in question (former Model C), the principals argue that for effective teaching and learning to take place there must be resources such as laboratories, libraries, computer laboratories, and that schools should be able to take learners to field excursion to supplement and endorse the information and knowledge that they have obtained in their textbooks and learned in the classroom. They claim that the Department of Education is incapable of making those resources available and since it is the schools' aim to provide quality education and to be able to produce competent and confident individuals in their students, they have to ask the parents for more money.

The former Model-C schools have a tendency of thinking that they are living in their own fairy world because what our government is trying to do here is to assist those schools that do not even have a structure let alone the computers and laboratories, there is not even a single class to accommodate those learners because we still have schools that are mud structures and that fall apart whenever there is a tornado, and we might even get to 2008 here in the Eastern Cape without having finished building

these schools. Do you see that we are still talking about schools that are mud structures which we believe that we'll get to 2008 without finishing them, there are some schools that have only one block which have also been built by the communities and we still have to add more classrooms in those schools as we are more focused on building classrooms for now and not schools because a school is a complete thing with classrooms, administration block, laboratories with equipment inside, recreational facilities and a school hall. Now these former Model-C schools are totally complete and we are still far from providing a classroom let alone a school with all the necessary things that we have just mentioned and this is the greatest challenge government is faced with because if we had all what it takes we would pump in resources as much as we can, but then the problem is that all these other have to be done also and unfortunately at the same time. Ensuring that all these things are done is a process and not because government is ignoring them.

To what the MEC is saying according the same policy that we reviewed last year, the government endorses that children must not be denied access in schools just because they cannot afford to pay the fees instead parents and guardians should explain the situation so that those children can be exempted from paying those exorbitant funds and the law also confirms that the child cannot be chased away from school. This policy is stated in the South African Schools' Act, but the one that we were dealing with we amended the part that had to do with the conduct of these former Model-c schools of chasing away children on the basis that they cannot afford to pay their fees and we think thank that this amendment will assist in bridging that gap. What I think is the most important thing now is for our people to know that there is a way of dealing with such situations provided for them through the amendment of that policy instead of continuing being exploited by these schools and this is what I think our government should focus more on as this policy applies in all the schools because even those former Model-C schools are now government schools.

Third reproach: p. 3

3. uMphathiswa obekekileyo ukhathazwa kukusebenza kwabafundi: "izinga lokusebenza kwabantwana kwizigaba zonke zemfundo kufuneka liphuhle" (p. 5).

   Umphathiswa uchan`ucwethe kulo mgqaliselo: icace gca okwekat`emhloph`ehlungwini ingxaki yokusilela kwabafundi ekwenzeni umsebenzi ogqwesileyo.

   Izikolo zivakalisa uluvo lokuba isebe lezeMfundo nalo liyabandakanyeka kwingxuba kaxaka yokusilela kwabafundi ekugqweseni kumsebenzi wabo wesikolo:

   Okokuqala, isebe kufuneka lilawule abafundisi ntsapho ngendlela engcono: kunzima ngokungathethekiyo ukululeka abafundisi ntsapho. Okwesibini, izinga lootitshala alikho mgangathweni. Kungakuhle xa ootitshala banokufumana uqeqesho oluthe kratya kwiindlela zokufundisa izifundo zabo. Ikhangeleka iyintsinda-badala into yokuba ootitshala abangaqeqeshwanga kakuhle kulindeleke ukuba bavelise umsebenzi ophuhlileyo.

Iyinyani yona loo nto ingakumbi xa ujonga kwiziphumo zebanga leshumi apho uthi ufumanise into yokuba sisemva phantse kuwo onke la maphondo, sifane ke sangathi sibuyiphucula imeko kancinci nje kulonyaka uphelileyo ngokuthi sisuke ku-53% wonyaka ka-2004 sayakutsho ku-57% ngo-2005 kodwa ke alikho iphondo eliye lanyuka kunyaka ophelileyo kuba zonke ziye zehla nangani oko konyuka kwethu kungadanga kwayokufika kwinani lokugqibela kuba ke asikafiki naku-60%. Sithe ke

sisonke noMphathiswa nesebe ngokunjalo, ngase iziphumo zikhule ngama-5% ngonyaka; enye yezinto esiziqaphelelyo yeyokuba abantwana abakwaziyo ukuphuma baye edyunivesithi ibingama-7% ngo-2004 ngoku ikhule ngama-1% yaya kuma kuma-8% ngo-2005, loo nto ke ingaphantsi kude le nakumlinganiselo kazwelonke ongama-17% ntoleyo etheth'ukuba umgangatho wethu wemfundo usephantsi kakhulu kuba kaloku umgangatho siwubona ngokuthi sikhuphe abafundi abaliqela abakwaziyo ukungena kumaziko emfundo ephakamileyo nokuba yidyunivesithi, itheknikhoni, njl-njl. Uzakubona ke ngokuthi kwehle amanani abafundi ezidyunivesithi nakumanani abantwana aba abafanele ukufunda ezi zinto zizakubenza babuyele apha ekufundiseni kuba kaloku ubufundisi-ntsapho ngoku sebusenziwa edyunivesithi kwaye ke nesebe liyayiqaphela into yokuba iidyunivesithi azihlohli ngohlobo olufananyo noluya kwakusenziwa ngalo ziikholeji ezi zivaliweyo ngoku kuba zona iidyunivesithi sijolisa ikakhulu apho kumongo lo kodwa xa kusiziwa apha ekuqeqesheni umntu lo ukuba akwazi ukuwubeka umcimbi ziyasilela kakhulu. Le yenye yezinto ezithe zaqatshelwa nezisazama ukuphononongwa endicinga ukuba isebe lezemfundo kufuneka lihlale phantsi namaziko emfundo ephakamileyo kuyilwe ngokutsha le nkqubo inokwenza nokuqeqeshwa kwabafundisi-ntsapho ukwenzel'ukuba ibe buqina ukuze kukhutshwe oompondo zihlanjiwe beetitshala, le ke yenye yezinto endicinga ukuba ziyingxaki kakhulu ize enye ibe yile yokunqongophala kootitshala.

Kukho ke le ndlela kwabiwa ngawo amanani ootitshala ekuthiwa yiPeter Morkel apho iphondo ngalinye kufuneka litsho ukuba ngonyaka lizakuba neetitshala ezizakuba sesikolweni nezo zizakuba sezi-ofisini, loo nto ke ithi loo manani kufuneka angqinelane namanani abantwana abakhoyo kweso sikolo kuze kuthi ukuba unabantwana abambalwa unikwe ootitshala abambalwa kulityalwe into yokuba kukho izifundo ezintandathu ezinyanzelekileyo kwibanga ngalinye nto leyo ke ngoku eyenza ukuba uphele uneetitshala ezintandathu sibe sona isikolo siqala kwibanga lesithandathu liyokuma kweleshumi. Iititshala zona ziphela zinomsebenzi ongaphaya kwamandla azo bona abantwana bangabinaluhlu luphangaleleyo lwezifundo abanokukhetha kuzo. Ukuba ngaba ootitshala abakhoyo kweso sikolo abanaso isakhono sokuhlohla izibalo nezenzululwazi aluzubakho olo luhlu kwesosikolo nabantwana abazukuzenza ezo zifundo nokuba bangabe bakrelekrele kangakanani na nto leyo ethi ichaphazele ikamva labo bantwana ngenxa yokuba abakhange banikwe ithuba lokuzikhethela babe nootitshala bembalwa okanye kwenzeke ukuba kubekho amacandelo amaninzi kweso sikolo kodwa ootitshala babe bembalwa kakhulu. Le nto yenye yezinto ebangela ukuba umgangatho wemfundo enikezwayo ezikolweni kunye neziphumo ube nokuhla kakhulu.

Enye ke yeengxaki ezikhoyo yile yezikolo ezigalelela ezi zikumabanga aphezulu ngokuthi ufumanise ukuba umgangatho wazo uphantsi kakhulu kangangokuba abantwana bathi befika apha phezulu babe beseluhlaza yaka bade abo bantwana bayokufika kwibanga leshumi besenjalo nto leyo ke ethi ichaphazele iziphumo zokuphela konyaka zebanga leshumi ufumanise ukuba azide ziphucuke, kungesi sizathu ke sisithi isebe kuyanyanzeleka ukuba liyinik'ingqwalasela elizinga lingezantsi lemfundo ekuthiwa yi- GET band ukwenzel'ukuba iziqhamo ezizakuphuma phezulu iphucuke ngokuthi umntwana aqaliswe kwasezantsi kwibanga lokuqala ade ayokuphuma phezulu esatshisa. Okokugqibela ke yile nkqubo ka-OBE nezi nkqubo zintsha kuthiwa ngoo-NCS ezithe zaba nokubhidisa apho uthi ufumanise ukuba ziqaliwe kulamabanga aphantsi kodwa zibe zingafikanga ngethuba apha kulamabanga aphezulu bafike bagqwetheke ke ngoku aba bantwana basuka pha ezantsi kuba bafika apha kuqhutywa ngandlela yimbi, undalashe ukutsho

oko ntoleyo ke eyenza ukuba izinga labo lokusebenza lehle kakhulu kutsho kuchaphazeleke iziphumo zizonke.

3. *The Hon. MEC is troubled by the performance of learners: "the performance of learners at all levels of the system must improve" (p. 5).*

   The Hon. MEC is correct in this observation: there is clearly a problem with regard to the poor performance of the learners.

   The schools are of the opinion that the department of Education has to shoulder some blame for this poor performance of learners:

   Firstly, the department should manage the teachers in a better way: it is difficult to discipline teachers.
   Secondly, the quality of the teachers is not up to standard. They should have more training in the methods of their subjects. It is a big problem to expect that poorly trained teachers should be able to perform well.

That is true especially when looking at the matric results you will find that we are behind all the other provinces and we almost improved on the situation only last year by moving from 53% of 2004 to 57% in 2005 even though that did not take us to the last level of pass rate which is 60%, but then there is no other province that has improved on their 2004 results instead they have dropped. We've all agreed then with the MEC and the department that we should aim for 5% increase for each year and we have also noticed that the number of students who are able to go the university was 7% in 2004 and it is now 8% in 2995 so it has increased by 1% only, and that is even below the national average of 17% something which means that our quality of education is still very low because we can only determine our quality of education through producing the number of students that are able to be accepted in institutions of higher learning such as universities, technikons, etc. You will then notice this by the drop in numbers in these institutions and also in the numbers of students who should be doing teaching courses because teacher training is done in universities now and as the department we have also noticed that the standard of training provided for these student teachers is not he same as that of the teacher-training colleges which have since been closed because the universities focus more on the content that on practice teaching. This is one of the things that have been noticed and that is being considered by the department that there should be interaction with these institutions of higher learning in terms of re-planning and reorganizing the teacher training programme so that it can be strengthened to a position where it can be able produce competent teachers because think is what I think is a problem including that of shortage of qualified teachers.

There is also this staff establishment programme called Peter Morkel where each province has to declare the number of teacher that are required for that year both the teaching and the office-based staff and according to this approach the teacher numbers should be correspond with the number of learners in that school. So, if the numbers of learners are low then you will be allocated fewer teachers forgetting that you have six compulsory subject for each grade and the school will now end up having six teachers whereas the schools start from grade eight to grade twelve. This result to a massive overload on teachers and as for the learners, they end up not having a choice of streams to do. If teachers in that school do not have the capacity and skill to teach mathematics and science then learners will not do those subjects it does not matter how clever they are and that ends up affecting their future as they were not given an opportunity to choose the streams they want and also because of the shortage of teachers qualified enough to teach those subjects. This is one of the

things that affect the quality of education that is offered in schools and also the end year results.

Another problem is that of the feeder schools where you find that the quality of education offered is low that when that by the time learners get to high school they are still raw and some of them continue like that until grade twelve and that is one of the problems why the matric results do not improve. It is for this reason that we say the department should take the GET band into consideration in order to improve the end product by focusing and being firm right from grade zero until grade twelve. Lastly, there is this OBE system and these other new systems such as NCS which have brought along lot of confusions where you find that they have been introduced in the lower levels of education and only to find that learners become dislodged when they get to high schools because the system that is being used there is the old one and that affects their performance. So, these systems are not introduced in time in the higher grades.

Follow-up question:

Kuthekani ke ngoku ngezi titshala esele zikhona kakade ingaba azikho iinkqubo ezikhoyo zokuba bahlaziywe okanye baqeqeshwe ngokutsha?

Ewe zikhona kangangokuba isebe libahlelile yaze yafumanisa ukuba kukho iititshala ezinoqeqesho oluncinane (underqualified) ngoko ke kukho inkqubo yeetitshala ezinjalo zokuba zincediswe kwaye ke zifunda kwiizikolo ezininzi zemfundo ephakamileyo njengeUPE ukuze zikwazi ukugqibezela elizinga bekufanel'ukuba zikulo, zikhona ezo nkqubo kangangokuba uninzi lwabo sezibugqitywa. Isebe ngokunje livule i-institute yophuhliso lweetitshala phaya eMonti apho kuzakuqeqeshwa iititshala, ii-EDOs neesubject advisors; izakuba nesatellite yayo ezakuba phaya eMthatha eTrinset ingathi izakubakho ke nenye ezakuba phaya eBhayi ukwenzel'ukuba iphondo likwazi ukufikeleleka lonke nokuqinisekisa ukuba uqeqesho lweetitshala luyenzeka ngalo lonke ixesha ukwenzel'ukuba zikwazi ukuphucula umsebenzi wazo.

What about these teachers who are already in the system, are there any training prpgrammes provided for them?

Yes there are such programmes as the result the department has categorized them and discovered that there are those who are underqualified, so this programme is meant for assisting them and they are attending in various institutions of higher learning such UPE in order to obtain the qualifications that are required. There are a lot of such programmes and some of them are now almost finished. The department has now opened an institute in East London which is focused on skills' training for teachers, subject advisors and EDOs and this institute will have a satellite in Umtata at Trinset and maybe another one in Port Elizabeth so that this programme can be able to reach out to the whole province and in ensuring regular in-service training for teachers so that they can improve on their productivity.

Fourth reproach: p. 4

4. Liphakamile kakhulu izinga lokungaphangeli kootitshala (p. 6-7). Umphathiswa uthethe wenjenje: "Ayamkelekanga kwaphela into yokuba ootitshala babe ixesha labafundi ngenxa yeengxaki zabo nangalo naliphi na ixesha elimiselwe ukufunda" (p. 7).

    Kukho isivumelwano ekufikelelwe kuso ngokuphathelele nalo mba wokuvamisa ukungaphangeli kwabafundisi ntsapho. Abafundisi ntsapho banembono yokuba oku kungaphangeli makungabi malunga nokwenza izinto ezinganqqinelani

nemfundo. Iimeko ezenzeka phantsi kwazo azibonakali zikhuthaza ukufundisa ngokugqwesileyo: abafundi abaninzi baswele imbeko, inkxaso efumaneka kubaphabathi besikolo incinci okanye ayikho, ootitshala kufuneka bejongene namanani aphezulu kumagumbi okufundela kube kulindeleke ukuba bequkumbele umsebenzi omninzi. Oku kusilela kwenkxaso ootitshala abaninzi baye babenezigulo ezayamene nodandatheko lwentliziyo, nto leyo ibanyanzela ukuba bangabina kuphangela.

Zikhona nyhani iititshala ezenza le nto apho ufumanisa into yokuba ngooLwezihlanu iititshala izikolo ziphuma kwangoko kuze ngempelanyanga kungabikho kwasikolo eso nto leyo engenzeki kwamanye amasebe nakwezinye iingqesho apho ufumanisa ukuba ngenxa yokuba kuphele inyanga umsebenzi nawo awukho; leyo into ke asifuni nokuyiva siyikomoti kuba ke umsebenzi ngumsebenzi kwaye ke kufanele ukuba kuyaphangelwa ngemini ekwamkelwa ngayo kuze kuthi ukuba loonto luhlengahlengiso olwenziwe sisikolo kuchazwe ukuba elo xesha balithathileyo bazakulibuyisa njani na, mhlawumbi ngokuthi basebenze iyure eyongezelelekileyo ngezinye iintsuku ezi. Iyinyaniso yona into yokuba abanye abantu babanemithambo-luvo ngenxa yokuba mkhulu komsebenzi namanani ukuba phezulu nokunqongophala kweetitshala ibe ke ingekho nenkxaso esuka kwisebe ngokuthi kubekho ii-clinical psychologists ezinokuncedisana nezi titshala. Ngomnye ke umba lo isebe elisawujongile endicinga ukuba nathi siyikomiti kuzakufuneka siwuthathele phezulu ngelizama ukuhlangabezana nalemiceli-mngeni; ezi zinto ke zizakuthi zisombululeke ngcono xa kulungiswa laa nto yalaPeter Morkel ukwenzel'ukuba kungabikho kushokoxeka kweetitshala ezibangela ukuba kubekho uxinezeleko ngenxa yokuba ootitshala babe nokusebenza nzima. Ezinye ke iititshala ngamatshivela nje qha kodwa ke ezi zinto zobutshivela azenzeki xa kukho iinqununu aziwenzayo umsebenzi wazo andithethi ke ngabangqongqo abaleqa abantu kuba kaloku izikolo zifuna ukulawulwa nanjengaliphi na icandelo lomsebenzi.

4. *There is a high rate of absenteeism among educators (p. 6-7). The Hon. MEC said "It is unacceptable that educators steal time from our learners for their own affairs at any time of the school year" (p. 7).*

    There is agreement with the problem of the high rate of absenteeism in the teaching staff. The educators are of the opinion that such absenteeism is not for the purpose of conducting their own affairs. The conditions under which they operate are not conducive to good teaching: there is a lack of discipline in the learners, there is little or no support from the school management, they have to cope with large classes of learners and they have to finish a lot of work. Without proper support educators tend to have a lot of stress-related illnesses which force absenteeism.

There are teachers who are doing that where you find that on Fridays schools knock off earlier than normal and that on month-ends there is no school at all something that does not happen in other work institutions. This is not acceptable at all and as a committee we maintain that people should be at work during working hours including pay days and if there is an internal arrangement of knocking off early on month ends then there must specify as to how are they going to return that time, maybe by working an extra hour on the other days. It is true that some teachers get depression because of the work overload, the huge numbers of learners and the shortages of teachers, and also because there is no support from the department in terms of making clinical psychologists available for those teachers. This is one of the issues the department is dealing and that as a committee we should also take it into consideration as a way of trying to deal with these challenges and these can also be solved better if this Peter Morkel approach can be rectified so that there can be no

teacher who are depressed due to the overload caused by the shortage of teachers in that particular school. Other teachers are just vagabonds, but then such behaviors cannot manifest if there is a good manager and I am not talking about slave drivers who are out to get other because a school needs to be managed properly like any other institution.

Follow-up question:

Kuthekani ke ngoku ngokonyuka kwamazinga okuswel'imbeko kwabantwana ezikolweni?

Into yokuswel'imbeko ebantwaneni yinto ekhoyo kwaye yingxak kwilizwe lilonke kwaye ayinanto yakwenza nakubethwa kwamntwana kuba uyabona eSt johns College kule ndawo ndandifunda kuyo wawungabethelwa kungazinto pha kunjalonje ukuba awumoshanga mntu kuloko wenza le nto ifunwayo nesemthethweni kwesa sikolo yayingekho into eyayibethisa, ngoko ke yayimbalwa gqitha into ebethisayo kangangokuba wawunokude ucinge ukuba akubethwa phaya qha nje yindlela yokwenza abantu benze lomsebenzi ufanelekileyo. Ngela xesha ke ngelishwa okanye ngethamsanqa abazali bethu bebetheth'into enye neetitshala ezipha ngaphakathi esikolweni nengqeqesho ke ngokunjalo ibingaqali esikolweni kuloko ibiqala emva ekhaya kangangokuba ubusazi ukuba kuthiwe kuyobizwa umzali wakho ubuxolele ukuba ucele wohlwaywe ngokuba ubethwe endaweni yokuba kubizwe umzali wakho, ingxaki ekhoyo ngoku kukuba luyahexa uqeqesho emakhayeni nasebazalini baba bantwana nto leyo eyenza ukuba isimilo sabantwana singemi kakuhle. Ingxaki yesimilo sabantwana ke asiyongxaki katitshala kuphela kufanele ukuba yingxaki yomzi wonke ihlanganyelwe ngumntu wonke kuquka nabazali kuba yonakele yonke indawo, ngoko ke lo ngumba lo ofuna ukuqalwa phaya elusatsheni kuba kumoshakele lona kuqala.

What about the escalating rate of ill-discipline among learners?

The lack of respect among children is a national problem and that has nothing to do with punishment or corporal punishment because you see in the school that I attended the St. Johns College you were not punished there for not knowing and if you have not done anything wrong but you continue doing what is expected of you then you will never be punished and you would even think that there was no punishment at all. Unfortunately or fortunately at that time our parents were singing the same song as our teachers and the same applied to discipline, it began at home as a result we knew that if you were told to call or bring your parent for something you did you would rather be punished instead of the matter being taken to your parents. So, the problem that we have nowadays is that there is lack of discipline back in the family unit and as a result children are ill-disciplined because parents are not firm enough in disciplining their children. The problem of learners' discipline is not only the teachers' problem, it must be a communal problem including parents as it is manifested in all walks of life; we believe then that this is an issue that should first be dealt with within the family unit as it is the first one to degenerate.

Fifth reproach: p. 5

Iingxaki ezimalunga noYilo kunye neMfuduko (p. 10-11)

5. Umphathiswa uthe: "ixhaphakile kakhulu into yokufuduka ngaphanyazo kwabafundi baseMpuma Koloni besuka kwesinye isikolo besiya kwesinye, nto leyo ibanga ubunzima kwimeko yokulawula indlela yokuceba nokumiselwa kootitshala" (p. 10).

Kuye kwavunyelwana nalo mbandela: abazali bayabakhupha abantwana babo kwesinye isikolo babase kwesinyeparents. Esona sizathu basibekayo kule meko sesokuba bazama ukufumanela abantwana babo imfundo engcono. Into ekhankanywa rhoqo yeyokuba izikolo zasekhaya ezikufuphi namakhaya abafundi zinikezela imfundo ekumgangatho ophantsi. Le nto ke iye inyanzele abazali ukuba bakhangelele abantwana babo izikolo ezizizo, zikolo ezo zinikezela imfundo engcono nekwizinga eliphezulu.

Iyinyaniso yona leyo into kuba ke abantwana nabazali abazulibala yilo nqala kuba bafuna abantwana babo bafumane imfundo ephucukileyo ngoko ke ukuba iititshala azifundisi kweso sikolo kwaye neziphumo zihlala ziphantsi abantwana bazakusishiya eso sikolo yenze ke loo nto into yokuba iititshala zithunyelwe kwezinye izikolo ezinqongotshalelwe ziititshala ize ke loo nto yokuhla kusenyuswa ootitshala imihla nezolo ikhokelele ekubeni kubekho ukungazinzi kwisebe. Isezakuqhubekeka ke le meko de sibe siyakwazi ukuzilawula izikolo zethu ngedlela efanelekileyo neetitshala zethu zibe semdleni wokufundisa zikhuphe udongwe olululo kwaba bantwana kuba ke eneneni abantwana abemki esikolweni ekufundiswayo kuso kungakhathaliseki ukuba akhona amagumbi okufundela okanye awekho, ukuba kuyahlohlwa kwaye neziphumo zihle baxolele ukuyofundela phantsi kwalo mithi. Le ngxaki ke yinto ekhoyo kangangokuba kufuduka abantwana basezilalini bayokufunda ezidolophini kusuke nabo basezilokishini baye ezidolophini zishiyeke ezo zikolo zingenabantwana zibe zakhiwe ngenxa yokuba kusithiwa inani labantu balo ngingqi baninzi babe besiya kugcwalisa ezidolophini kweza zikolo bezifudula ziziiModel-C.

Problems related to Planning and Migration (p. 10-11)

5. *The Hon. MEC said "it has become commonplace for learners within the Eastern Cape to move from one school to another almost at whim, making planning and staffing impossible to manage" (p. 10).*

    There is agreement with this statement: parents do move their children from one school to another. Their only concern with such movement of their children is to find better education for them. It is often the case that local schools near the home of the learners offer a poor quality of education. The parents are then forced to find a proper school for their children, a school which has a good quality of education.

That is true because children and parents would not tolerate that because they want a better education for their children and if teachers are not doing their job and that the results are always poor in that school then they will move toothier schools resulting to teachers being redeployed to other schools which are in need for more teachers, and we know that such movement of teachers results to instability within the department. This situation will continue until such time that we are able to properly manage our schools and that our teachers are motivated in doing their job and that they are able to produce the best quality material in our learners because in reality learners do leave a school where teaching and learning is taking place even if there are no classrooms instead learners are being taught under the trees they will go there. This is the problem we are faced with and as such children migrate from rural areas and townships to those former Model-C schools in towns and these other schools are left without any learners whereas they have been built with the belief that those areas are high in population.

<u>**Sixth reproach: p. 6**</u>

<u>**Iingxaki eziphathelele nenkcitho-mali kubasebenzi**</u> (p. 7-9)

6. <u>Kuvunyelwene jikelele "ukuba kungqinelaniswe amanani ootitshala namanani abafundi" (p. 8). Le nkqubo iza kuqinisekisa ukulingana phakathi kwezikolo.</u>

<u>Eyona ngxaki ngokuphathelele kwalo mthetho jikelele, isekumiselweni kwawo. Kukhangeleka ngathi isebe lezeMfundo lifuna ukusombulula le ngxaki ngokuthunyelwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo. "Ukufuduselwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo sesona sixhobo sisemthethweni sikhoyo esinokusetyenziswa liSebe ukuthumela ootitshala kwizikolo apho iinkonzo zabo zifuneka khona, izikolo abafunwa kuzo ncakasana." (p. 8)</u>

<u>Umba wokuthunyelwa kootitshala kwezinye izikolo sekulithuba uxoxwa kwaye kufumaniseka ukuba izikolo ezininzi ziyawuchasa le ndlela yokuzisa ukulingana phakathi kwezikolo. Zininzi izizathu zoku, umz: Ingxaki yokufumana utitshala ogqwesileyo wesifundo esithile kwibanga elithile. Ubukhulu becala izikolo zizifumana zikwimeko yokuba zamkele ootitshala ezingabafuniyo ngenxa yokungafaneleki kwabo kuloo msebenzi uthile okanye ukungabi namava kwabo: xa kunokubakho ithuba lokuveza la mathuba omsebenzi koonondaba, mhlawumbi izikolo zinganenyhweba yokufumana ootitshala abangcono kunabo bathunyelweyo.</u>

Okokuqala kulo mcimbi isebe kunye neeyuniyoni zabasebenzi zazinendlela ezazivumelene ukuba makwenziwe ngayo kwaze kwabakho utshitsho ngokwala secular no.48 eyayilwisa kakhulu ekubeni kwakukho usecular no.7 eyayibonisa kakuhle le nto apho kwakukho neekomiti ezithile ezizakuthi xa kukho ukungavisisani kakuhle ngendlela kwasezikolweni ubani ayazi into yokuba kufanel'ukuba kuthiweni na. Iinqununu ke nazo ziyachaphazeleka kulento kuba kaloku kufanele bajonge ukuba xa kuhamba othile apha esikolweni loonto izakuyichaphazela njani into yokufunda nokufundisa, abanye ke baye bavumele kanye lo titshala ululutho apha esikolweni ukuba ahambe kuba ke kwiimeko ezinjalo akumelanga ukuba ajonge into yokuba ngubani ofike mva nanjengoko kukho la mgaqo uthi ofike mva nguwe ophuma kuqala kodwa loo nto ayincedisi kuba la mtu ebezokuvala isikhewu esikhoyo apha kwaye ke akufanelanga ukuba ivunyelwe into yokuba ahambe ingakumbi xa engekh omnye utitshala onokuyivala indawo yakhe ngokuthi afundise eso sifundo ebesifundisa. Nazo ke iititshala zithi zisakubona ukuba ingathi ingakufutshane nedolophu kula nadwo iya kuyo zibone ukuba maziphuncuke. Eny'ingxaki ke yile yokuba kukho izikolo ezineetitshala ezininzi babe abantwana bembalwa kuphinde kubekhona izikolo ezinabantwana abaninzi ootitshala babembalwa ngoko ke kufuneka kuqale kuhlukuhlwe apha ngaphakathi kwisystem ngaphambi kokuba uthi uzakuvula ibulletin enokuthatha nangaphandle, yilanto ke besikhe sathetha ngayo ngaphambili yokuba ukuzama ukulwa laanto yolwafuduko isebe likwiphulo lokuqingqisa ezi zikolo kuba apha ephondweni sinezikolo ezininzi ezincinane ngaphezu kwalo naliphi na iphondo; kukho elo phulo ke lokuzidibanisa kwenziwe isikolo esinye samabanga aphantsi kuloo ngqindi nabantwana balapho bafunde kweso sikolo. Ngokwenjenjalo urhulumente uzakutsho akwazi ukugcina imali kuba akazukwakha izikolo ezininzi zibe zinabantwana abambalwa ngaphakathi kuba ngoku uzakwakha isikolo esinye esikhulu esizakubanayo yonke into efunekayo ngaphakathi; lisaxakeke kukulungisa loo nto ke ngoku isebe kangangokuba lithe ekupheleni kukaJulayi izakubesele inenye indlela yokuyiqhuba le nkqubo nanjengoko okwakalokunje isadlan'indlebe neeyuniyoni zeetitshala nanjengoko lo mcimbi uzakuthi uchaphazele iititshala. Lo mcimbi uzakwenza uzinzo oluninzi nakulento yokufuduka kwabantwana besiya kwezinye izikolo kuba ke lukhokelela

kwiredeployment yeetitshala kwaye ke iredeployment yona ihexisa isystem kuba kaloku kuhamba ititshala apha ize la ndawo yakhe ingakhawulezi ivaleke. Le ngcebiso yokuba ngaske isikolo sizikhethele umntu esimfunayo iyafuna ukukhe ixoxwe lisebe kunye nezi yuniyoni kuba kaloku nazo zizakuyiphikisa ngelizama ukukhusela amalungu azo kuba ke eneneni wena inakho ukumameleka kwaye ingenza ukuba linyuke izinga lokusebenza kweetitshala kuba besazi ukuba bazakufika bahluzwe phaya ngaphambili, azizukungena nje ngokwentloko ukuthamba ekubeni nalapho zisuka khona zikhutshelwe ukungafuni kuphangela ngoko ke ndicinga ukuba loo ndlela ingasebenza. Eyokugqibela ke into yile yokuba isebe lisazama ukujongana nalo mcimbi wesibonelelo sootitshala abafundisa ezilalini kuba ootitshala abanawo umdla wokuya kuphangela kweziya ndawo bayazibaleka, loo nto izakwenz'ukuba abaya baphangela phaya kweziya ndawo bakukhuthalele ukusebenza phaya kuba kaloku banesibonelelo abasifumanayo; imeko azizufana nezabo baphangela ezidolophini abalala nabantwana babo kuba aba bona kufuneka bebhatale izithuthi zokufikelela kweziya ndawo babe bebashiyile abantwana babo bebabona kanye ngenyanga oku kwajoyini nangona ingamajoyini akwalapha ephondweni. Kufanelekile ke ngoko ukuba ubekhona umohluko ngokomrholo ukwenzel'ukuba aba bantu bakwazi ukuhlala kweziya ndawo nokuzama ukutsala abanye ootitshala ukuba baye kusebenza kweziya ndawo; le yindlela ke isebe elisayiphononga phaya kundlunkulu ukuzam'ukuzis'uzinzo kwisebe lilonke kuphele nalento yofuduko neredeployment idal'inkathazo apha esebeni.

Problems related to personnel expenditure (p. 7-9)

6. *There is general agreement "to match educator numbers with learner numbers" (p. 8). Such a procedure will guarantee equity between schools.*

The problem with this general policy is in the implementation. It seems as if the department of Education wants to solve this problem with redeployment of educators. "Redeployment is the only legal instrument at the disposal of the Department to move educators from one school where their services are not needed, to a school where they are needed" (p. 8)

The issue of redeployment of educators has been discussed for a long time and in general schools are not in favor of such a method to bring about equity. There are many reasons for this, i.e. the problem of finding the best educator for a specific subject or grade. Schools may find that they have to accept educators whom they do not want because such educators may be underqualified or inexperienced: in advertising for such posts, schools may be able to obtain the services of better educators than these redeployed ones.

The department and the teacher unions had an agreement on how this should be done and there was a change in things according to that controversial Secular no.48 whereas according to the initial Secular no.7 there were clear guidelines such as the committees to whom one can appeal when things are not going accordingly at school. Principals are also directly involved in this process as they have to consider would this affect their tuition especially if a certain teacher leaves because some of them allow the best teacher to leave based on the last-in-first-out procedure and that approach should not apply in some situations as we know that that came to that school to fill a gap and now when she or he leaves who is going to fill that gap. Teachers also manipulate this situation especially when they realize that they will be closer to town if they leave and as such most of them volunteer to leave. Another problem is that there are schools that have many teachers and fewer learners whereas others have many learners and very few teachers, it is then best to restructure within the system first before you can say you are advertising the on an

open bulletin. This is what we have mentioned before that the department is in a process of rationalizing these schools into one junior secondary school in that area to cater for all children in that area in order to address that problem of migration as we have many schools in the province more than any other province. By doing that the department will be able to save money instead of building many schools which end up having few or no learners at all and will now build one big school with all the necessary resources to cater for all learners in that area. The department is still busy with that and by the end of July there will another strategy of pushing this even further because as for now the department is still busy engaging with the unions as this move will be affecting teachers as well. This approach will bring about some stability within the system as it will be dealing and addressing this issue of migration and redeployment. The proposal that the school should be able to choose its own teachers needs to discussed by the department and the unions as they are likely to oppose to protect its members, but the proposal has a potential and it can improve the quality of work and dedication on the part of teachers as they would know that they will be assessed.

The last point is that the department is still reviewing the rural allowances for those teachers who are working in rural areas as a way of attracting and retaining them in those areas. Situations are not the same as those of teachers who are working in town and who sleep with their own children because those working in rural areas have to pay transport to get to those areas and they only get to see their families maybe once a month just like migrant workers even though they are in the same province. It is only fair then that there should be a difference also in terms of salaries and incentives received to attract and retain teachers in those areas. The department is then still busy debating this issue nationally as a way of bringing stability within the education system and to end this migration of learners and this problematic redeployment of teachers.

4.4   ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS IN DEPART MENT OF HEALTH

4.4.1 Interview no: 1

4.4.1.1 Hospitals

1.1. Reproach: Hospital buildings and equipment are not maintained in a good standard in the Eastern Cape:

1.1.1. <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier focused on the strategy in which he tried to reframe the outcome or consequences of the failure event. To do this he concentrated on certain plans for addressing this reproach: the purpose of this reframing of the consequences of the reproach is to convince the reproacher that when these plans are eventually implemented, they will lead to future benefits and people will eventually experience

such positive outcomes. The strategies that the department will implement to minimize these failures are the following:

1) The department of Health has ensured that all structures are in order to solve these problems (HI1, Q1.1: 1)

2) a. The implementation of these rationalization and revitalization programs   is hampered mostly by the shortage of staff (HI1, Q1.1:1-5)

   b. Funds have been set aside to address this issue of shortages by employing more staff (HI1, Q1.1: 6-10)

   c. Having enough personnel that are good at performing their duties is the resource of addressing and thereby solving these problems (HI1, Q1.1: 11-16)

1.1.2 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

3) Another strategy of addressing these problems is to build strong communication lines in all levels of the department (HI1, Q1.1: 17-18)

   a. These lines will start from the local to the district municipality level (HI1, Q1.1: 18-21)
   b. Hospitals will then be incorporated into complexes HI1, Q1.1:21-24)
   c. These structures will then address these problems by ensuring that there is proper administration and management of the department programs (HI1, Q1.1: 25-29)

3.1.2. <u>Justification</u>

<u>Appeal to higher authorities:</u>

The justifier claims that there are specific institutional rules which only allow his portfolio committee to do things within a narrow band:

Things are done through the separation of powers within the government departments such as: parliament, cabinet and portfolio committees, which are

responsible for ensuring the implementation and monitoring of all programs that have been agreed to and budgeted to take place (HI1, Q1.1: 29-37)

1.2. Budget for hospitals:

Reproach: The money (R10m) that has been budgeted for hospitals has not been spent:

1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuses</u>:

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way he wants to disconnect himself, his committee or his department from the reproach as he intends to put the causality of the act on some other source, external to himself. He identified such external sources which are the cause of the reproach as follows:

a. The National Government:

   This R10m was a conditional grant from the National Government awarded to the Eastern Cape specifically for hospital revitalization program (HI1, Q1.2: 1-12, 22-26)

   Since this was a conditional grant, the national department of Health took the money back because the Eastern Cape failed to utilize it within the set time. (I1, Q1.2: 22-26)

b. The department of Public Works:

   All government buildings including hospitals are the responsibility of the department of Public Works (HI1, Q1.2: 12-16)

   The program of infrastructure development goes through a process of tendering which has hampered specifically this program of hospital revitalization in the province. (I1, Q1.2: 16-21)

4.4.1.2. Human resources

2.1. Shortages and conditions of staff:

Reproach: The hospital management has no direct access to its budget and thus they have limited means to employ more staff especially qualified nurses and specialist doctors. Such specialized healthcare workers are also reluctant to work in poor conditions with few specialized wards and equipment:

2.1.1. <u>Justification</u>

<u>Appeal to higher authorities</u>:

The justifier wants to pass this reproach on to a higher authority. With these moves he clearly shows that a higher authority should be able to solve the problem. He specifically mentions three such authorities: parliament, the national government and MINMEC. He explained his position as follows:

a. A board has been set up to discuss the problem concerning staff shortages and the decisions taken still need to be taken to parliament for adoption (HI1, Q2.1: 1-5)

b. The department does not have a retention strategy in place which will ensure that doctors and nurses who are already in the system remain in those health institutions. This could be done by having allowances such as rural allowances to attract and keep healthcare workers in rural/remote areas (HI1, Q2.1: 6-12)

c. Such strategies can only be implemented by the National office of the department of Health as they are managed there to ensure uniformity in all nine provinces (HI1, Q2.1: 12-17)

d. The only structure responsible for solving this problem and ensuring that these strategies and other intervention programs are implemented is MINMEC (the Minister of the department of Health and her MEC's from all nine provinces), but this structure has not done that yet as they are said to be busy discussing the issue (HI1, Q2.1: 17-23)

2.1.2. <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse</u>:

The excuse-giver presents a null cause as an excuse. He or his department is not the cause of the reproach and as such the causality for this reproach should be on another source. He specifically mentions the budget restraints of the government as the cause of the reproach:

a. Each section of the department is supposed to submit its own needs to the department before the allocation is done (HI1, Q2.1: 24-29)

b. The department randomly allocates funds to various sections without conducting a needs analysis of those sections (HI1, Q2.1: 29-32)

c. The current allocation system affects the programs and the functioning of a section because of the budget that does not cater for all the needs of that particular section (HI1, Q2.1: 32-37)

2.2. Unsatisfactory working conditions:

Reproach: Health workers are not satisfied in South Africa: there is poor management, poor opportunities for promotion, poor facilities, high level of crime and poor circumstances of life:

2.2.1. <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse</u>:

The excuse-giver presents a null cause as an excuse and a means of disconnecting self and his committee from the reproach. He argues that the causality of this reproach should be on another source and he specifically mentions the management of the department as the cause of the reproach:

a. Cause is on poor management and/or the administration staff (HI1, Q2.2: 1)
b. Cause is on doctors who are also managers of hospitals when they have no capacity to manage hospitals (HI1, Q2.2: 16-37)

Reproach: There is old equipment in hospitals:

2.2.2. <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits</u>:

The justifier is trying to minimize the failure aspects of his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. There should be future benefits such as the following:

a. Newly built hospitals have all the necessary equipment (HI1, Q2.2: 28-35)
b. The department has entered into a private-public partnership with private companies to boost and beef-up hospitals with the necessary and required resources (HI1, Q2.2: 38-41)

Reproach: Promotion of nurses:

2.2.3. <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver has used a null cause in his excuse to disconnect himself and his committee from the reproach by putting the causality of the act on some other source, external to himself. He identified such source as the National department of Health:

This is the challenge and a problem of the national office as health workers are treated differently from employees from other departments who receive incentives (HI1, Q2.2: 52-53)

Reproach: There is crime in healthcare environments:

2.2.4. <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits</u>:

The justifier is trying to minimize the failure aspects of his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. There should be future benefits such as the following:

a. There is a budget that has been set aside for the provision of and to strengthen security within the healthcare centers (HI1, Q2.2: 66-74)

2.3. Problem of doctors:

Reproach: Doctors have very few administrative personnel to assist them; they sometimes have to work as porters; they are poorly paid and there are no promotion opportunities:

2.3.1. <u>Justification</u>

<u>Comparison to past negative circumstances</u>:

The justifier claims that the present situation may seem bad, but in actual fact it is a lot better than the previous government:

a. Doctors' salaries have increased since the democratic government came into power (HI1, Q2.3: 1-6)

b. The democratic government has opened doors to everyone who wants to go to other countries including health workers, and this was not allowed during the apartheid system unless one acquires citizenship of that particular country (HI1, Q2.3: 7-10)

2.3.2. <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Higher values: transcendence:</u>

The justifier tries to reframe the consequences of the act by putting the act in a different context with the hope to lessen the failure aspects:

The cost of living in those countries is much higher than South Africa and as a result those doctors end up with the same amount as that they receive here in South Africa, the same applies when they come back after those fat salaries have been taxed (HI1, Q2.3: 12-17)

2.3.3. <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization of blame: Reframe consequences: Future benefits</u>:

The justifier tries to reframe consequences of the reproach by appealing to future benefits:

Each departmental section has been requested to submit its own budget so that it can be allocated funds to employ additional staff (HI1, Q2.3: 21-31)

4.4.1.3 Shortage of medicine:

3.1. Problems with the delivery of medicine:

Reproach: Medicines are not delivered in time and moreover, hospitals and clinics have a shortage of qualified staff to dispense this medicine.

3.1   <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver focused attention on two adverse conditions facing the department at present such as the shortage of medicine in depots and the shortage of medicine in hospitals:

Shortage of medicine in depots is the result of:

a. The shortage of workers (HI1, Q3: 11-14)

b. The shortage of drugs (HI1, Q3: 7-8)

Shortage of medicine in hospitals is caused by:

a. The distance between hospitals and the depots (HI1, Q3: 9)

b. Hospitals have to fetch own supplies from the depots (HI1, Q3:9-11)

c. It takes time for the medicine to be delivered to hospitals and clinics (HI1, Q3: 11-14)

d. Drugs are also stolen in the health environments (HI1, Q3: 15-16)

3.2   Justification:

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier tries to reframe the negative consequences of the act by appealing to positive future benefits that all departmental medicines will now be marked to differentiate them from others (HI1, Q3: 18-19).

4.4.1.4 Primary Health Care

Reproach: There is a general decline in clinics buildings and equipment compared to the problem in hospitals. These clinics have huge staff problems and the existing staff has to cope with immense numbers of patients.

4.1   Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver is focusing more on the adverse conditions at present that contribute to the sad situation affecting the primary healthcare system. He identifies the following as such problems:

a. People go to towns (hospitals) instead of going to the clinics first (HI1, Q4: 3-4)

b. You will one clinic serving a large number of communities (HI1, Q4: 4-5)

c. There is a lot of overcrowding (HI1, Q4: 10-13)

d. Doctors do not visit these clinics (HI1, Q4: 13-15)

e. Clinics have many problems such as lack of resources (HI1, Q4: 15-17)

4.2   Justification:

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. There should be future benefits by making more resources available:

a. The department has to ensure that clinics are strengthened and pumped with enough resources (HI1, Q4: 1-2).
b. The department should establish a norm for the number of communities each clinic has to serve (HI1, Q4: 4-8).
c. The department should employ doctors to address problems in clinics (HI1, Q4: 10-19).

4.4.1.5 The high mortality rate of infants and malnourished children

Reproach: There is no excuse for infant mortality and malnourished children. The effect of these problems is devastating to the development of the province because the eventual workforce will be depleted.

5.1. Infant mortality:

5.1.1 Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse employs the mitigation of blame by appealing to the present adverse conditions of the situations in the hope of lessening the negative aspects of the reproach. He mentions poverty and the high unemployment rate in the Province as such adverse conditions (HI1, Q5: 1-8)

5.1.2 Justification:

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of the act by reframing the consequences of the failure. He does this by appealing to future benefits such as:

a. The focus will be on neglected areas (HI1, Q5: 9-12)

b. There is an integrated poverty alleviation program of government departments' poverty alleviation programs (HI1, Q5: 13-36).

5.2 *Nutrition:*

5.2.1 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to reframe the negative consequences of reproach and thereby minimize the threat by appealing to the positive future benefits that outweighs the negative aspects of the reproach. He mentions the integrated poverty alleviation plan as such benefit (HI1, Q5: 2-5)

1.   Language and style

1.1   Syntactic level:

a. Length of sentences:

The account is characterized by long to very long sentences. See i.a. Q1.1: 1-5, 11-14 and 28-33. These sentences range from four lines to six lines. However, the length of the sentences poses no problems because it is a general phenomenon in isiXhosa that the spoken word tends to have longer sentences than the written one.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences that have been used by the interviewee are quite complex in that each sentence has more than one verb. See i.a. Q1.1: 1-5, the sentence has five verbs: *endicinga, iseza, besikhe, saphuma, sindwendwela, kwafumaniseka.*

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban or modern version of isiXhosa as it is not the pure Transkeian and Ciskeian kind of isiXhosa. It is not a dialect though, but just a modern standard of the language mostly used by the urbanized adults and the youth.

1.2 Lexical level:

a. Lexical diversity:

i. *Technical terms:* The interviewee has used such technical terms as: *unyakamali, ukushokoxeka, umgomo, uMphathiswa, umgaqo-siseko, uzimiselo, isigqeba solawulo, uNdlunkulu, iphondo, umceli-mngeni, ulwabiwo-mali*, etc. He uses these terms because as the legislator these terms are his daily bread and he should be teaching the public about government policies and programs which entail these terms.

ii. *English terms:* the accounter has also used a lot of English terms probably because parliament deliberations are mostly conducted in English and that it is sometimes difficult to find Xhosa equivalence of such terms. Examples of these terms are: *istructures, iorganogram, yilocal service area, ubenekhomplksi, yokuthendarishwa, igranti, nebhodi,* etc.

iii. *Innovative Xhosa words:*

b. Language imagery:

i. **Metaphor**

The account-giver uses metaphors in his speech repertoire such as: *"…iziko* <u>*likwizinga likaMasipala"*</u> (HI1, Q1.1: 19-20). This means that the centre is at the municipal level, thus the centre is the municipality. Another example: *"…ubene-ofisi* <u>*ekwizinga lesithili"*</u> (HI1, Q1.1: 20). This means that the office as at the district level which is in actual terms, a district office; <u>*ekwisebe lezentlalo-ntle*</u> meaning the department of Social development (HI1, Q5: 30)

ii. **Simile**

The account-giver uses simile in his speech repertoire. Examples are as follows:
NjengaseDora Nginza… (pg 14) (HI1, Q2.2:64)
Njengemeko… (Page 16) (HI1, Q2.3: 15)
Njengendawo yokulahlela… (Page 23) (HI1, Q5: 7), *ezinje* ngokubanika iiprojekthi (HI1, Q5: 19-20)

1.3   *Equivocal language:*

The interviewee has used some equivocation in his account such as: Q1.1: 6-8, *"…nangona ndingenalo inani lesixa-mali esiqingqekileyo ngalo mzuzu…"* (…even though I do not have the exact figure with me right now…) and Q5: 37-38, *"Ulwabiwo-mali nangona ndingaqinisekanga ukuba luthini…"* (The budget even though I am not sure about the figures…)This equivocation of language use threatens the source credibility and that of the perceived quality of arguments. Most of the information provided by the accounter is unequivocal though as it is directly stated.

2.   Language use

2.1   Politeness:

The interviewee has tried to avoid the FTAs by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat. However, the account-giver has chosen to perform the FTA, that he did on-record and off-record. On-record is expressed unambiguously through the use of justifications in his account especially the "appeal to higher authorities". The off-record strategy is performed or expressed ambiguously so that the accounter cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent. The conclusion of the expression is thus solely left to the reproacher to make as to what the accounter really means or wants to communicate. This has been communicated through the use of metaphors (Q1.1: 19-20 and Q5: 30).

2.2   Effectiveness:

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the accounter has chosen to use mostly justifications and excuses. Among justifications that have been used are those that appeal to higher authorities (HI1, Q1.1: 29-37; HI1, Q2.1: 1-23) and those that appeal to future benefits which outweigh the present negative aspects (HI1, Q2.2: 38-41, 66-74; HI1, Q2.3: 21-31). There are 13 justifications in total.

Present benefits	1
Future benefits	7
Appeal to higher authorities	3
Comparison, negative past	1
Higher values, transcendence	1

The excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances as they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances (HI1, Q1.1: 1-26). The interviewee has employed seven (7) excuses in his account:

Causal excuses	4
Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	3

The interviewee has chosen such strategies that have the potential of success. He has decided to employ justifications especially those that appeal to additional benefits and excuses that mitigate the blame and its circumstances because they are among strategies that are deemed effective.

2.3 Power of speech style:

The interviewee has decided to use strategies that avoid blame and that claim credit for what the department has done or is going to do for the people. Such a strategy is justification particularly the minimization of the negative aspects of the failure through appealing to additional benefits.

Interiew no.1

iSebe lezeMpilo

Intetho yoMgomo (2005/2006) yoMphathiswa Obekekileyo wezeMpilo waseMpuma Koloni igxininise kwimiba ethile yezempilo ekukudala ifumaniseka iyingxaki.

Department of Health

The Policy Speech (2005/2006) of the Hon. MEC for Health in the Eastern Cape focused on certain specific health issues which have been problem areas for a long time.

First reproach: p. 8

1.   Inkqubo yokuphuhliswa ngokutsha kweZibhedlele (p. 7-9)

Reproach 1.1

iSebe lezeMpilo linenkqubo yokuphuhliswa kwamaziko akhoyo malunga umz. nezi njongo zilandelayo: "Ukuqoqosha nokuphuhliswa kwemeeko nenkangeleko kwizakhiwo zesibhedlele ndawonye nezixhobo zokusebenza kwizibhedlele" (p. 8).

Izakhiwo nezixhobo zizebhedlele eMpuma Koloni aziqwalaselwa ngendlela ekumgangatho ophezulu. Nangona amaziko nezakhiwo ezikhoyo ephuhliswa ngoku kwaye nezibhedlele zinyusa umgangatho wazo, ingxaki engundoqo isemi, leyo ke yile yokuqwalaselwa nokugcinwa kakuhle kwezibhedlele. Izakhiwo ndawonye nezixhobo zifuna ukunonotshelwa rhoqo, kodwa kukhangeleka le nkathalo ingaqwalaselwa kakuhle kangangokuba nophuhliso olusanda kwenziwa luphele lupatyalaka okanye luchaphazeleka ngephanyazo.

1. Okukuqala iSebe liqinisekise ukuba istructures zalo zima ngendlela. Ingxaki yokuqala mhlawumbi endicinga ukuba iseza ayikaveli ngulo mcimbi wabaqeshwa eh…h kuba ngethamsanqa kwicala lethu besikhe saphuma sindwendwela izibhedlele, phakathi kwezinye zezinto kwafumaniseka ukuba kukho ukushokoxeka okuninzi kwabasebenzi ukuqala koogqirha, abongikazi, njl-njl. Ngoko ke kulo nyaka-mali iSebe kule ntetho yoMgomo kaMphathiswa othetha ngayo kunemali ebekelwe bucala nangona ndingenalo inani lesixa-mali esiqingqekileyo ngalo mzuzu yokuzama ukuba kuqeshwe. Ngokuqinisekileyo ke xa kuqeshwa oko kuyakuthetha into yokuba kugcwaliswa i-organogram yabo evunyiweyo ngokuthi isebe ngalinye libe nabasebenzi aboneleyo.

Ngokubakho kwabasebenzi aboneleyo ke benze imisebenzi yabo ngendlela, loo nto iya kwenza ukuba ezi ngxaki uzibalulayo zivele kulo nyaka-mali uphelileyo ziphele kuba le ntetho yomgomo uthetha ngayo ichaza ukuba kuza kwenzeka ntoni kulo nyaka-mali singena kuwo ingenguwo lo sisuka kuwo. Ngoko ke ukubakho kwabasebenzi abonelelyo, unabantu obaqeshileyo unaso isixhobo sokujongana nezi zinto, yeyokuqala leyo into.

Eyesibini kukwakha iindlela zonxibelelwano eziluqilima ukususela ezantsi ukuya kutsho ePhondweni, kuba ngokomiselo lweSebe unento ekuthiwa yilocal service area, em…h mhlawumbi ke singathi olo miselo okanye iziko likwizinga likaMasipala. Emva koko uthi ubene-ofisi ekwizinga lesithili. Apho kweli Phondo sinezithili ezisixhanxe, ooKhahlamba, Amathole, Chris Hani njl-njl. Kwelinye icala uthi ubenekhompleksi ezama ukudibanisa izibhedlele, umzekelo isithili se-Amathole uneFrere kunye neMakhiwane ebizwa ngokuba yi- East London Complex.

Zonke ke ezi zakhiwo zilungiselelwa into yokuba zikwazi ukulawula ezi zinto sicinga ukuba iSebe lizakuzisombulula kulo nyaka-mali, kuba kufuneka ukuba kube kanti ziyanonotshelwa zibe nenkathalo. Ndicinga ukuba lowo ngumbuzo wakho ukuba senza njani ukuqinisekisa ukuba ezi zinto ziyakhathalelwa; luzimiselo olufana nolu ndiluchazileyo ke oluzakuqinisekisa oko. Ngaphezu koko indlela ekusetyenzwa ngayo apha kukho le nto ibizwa ngokuba lulwahlulo lwamandla olawulo ngokuphathelele kumgaqo-siseko kuba siyangena sonke apha ePalamente, kodwa kukho into ebizwa ngokuba sisigqeba solawulo (ikhabhinethi) le ikhokhelwa nguMphathiswa abe namagosa akhe, kuze kweli cala kubekho ikomiti. Umsebenzi wethu ke siyikomiti kukuqinisekisa ukuba ezaa zinto bekugqitywe ngazo zakhutshelwa imali zikhona, okwesibini ukuba ingaba zisebenza ngokufanelekileyo kusini na, okwesithathu ziqwalaselwe ukuba zinonotshelwe.

1. *Hospital revitalization programme* (p. 7-9)

The Department of Health has a programme for infrastructure development with i.e. the following aim: "The rationalising and improving of the condition and quality of hospital buildings as well as the condition of hospital equipment" (p. 8).

The hospital buildings and hospital equipment in the Eastern Cape are not maintained to a very good standard. Although infrastructure is now being developed and hospitals being upgraded, the central problem remains, and this is concerned with the maintenance. Both buildings and equipment need continuous care but such care is not properly catered for so that any new development will also fall into disrepair.

To start with, the department has ensured that all its structures are in order. The first problem which I think is still going to happen is that of personnel staff eh…h because fortunately for us, we undertook visits to these hospitals and among the things that we discovered is the shortage of personnel from doctors , nurses, etc. In the financial

year of the MEC's policy speech that you are talking about, the department has set aside some funds even though I do not have the exact figure with me right now to address the issue of employing more staff. Hiring more staff will definitely mean the filling up of their organogram which has been approved to ensure that each section has enough staff.

By having enough personnel which is performing their duties accordingly, then that would address all problems that you have just mentioned because the policy speech you are referring to explained what will happen in this financial year and not the previous one. Therefore, to have enough personnel with the people you have employed you then have the resource of dealing with these issues, that is the first thing.

The second one is to build strong communication lines from the bottom to the Province because according to the departmental plan, you have what is called the local service area, em…h maybe we can say that that plan or centre is in the local municipality level.After that you then set up an office in the district municipality level. In this province we have seven districts such as uKhahlamba, Amathole, Chris Hani, etc. On the other side you have complexes as a means of incorporating hospitals, for example the Amathole district has Frere and Makhiwane hospitals called the East London Complex.

All these structures are being prepared and intended for the proper administration of all these issues which we believe the department is planning to solve in this financial year as they are supposed to be well taken care of. I think that is your question that what are we doing to ensure that these structures are properly managed; it is this initiative that will ensure that. Moreover, the way things are done is that there is what is called separation of powers as far as the policy is concerned because we all go to Parliament, but there is this thing called the cabinet which is led by the MEC and his or her officials, and then on the other side there is the portfolio committee. Our responsibility as the committee is to ensure that all those that were agreed on and budgeted for have been implemented, secondly to ensure that they are functioning accordingly and thirdly if they are being properly monitored and well taken care of.

Follow-up reproach: p. 9

Reproach 1.2

Zikwakho neengxelo kumaphephandaba ngengxaki zokunikezelwa kweenkonzo kweli Sebe: imali ibibekwe bucala ukujongana nophuhliso lezibhedlele ayisetyenziswanga.

Yimalini?

Em…h uyabona ke sisi le ngunam nawe nanjengokuba ndisitsho ngumsebenzi wethu ukuqinisekisa ukuba le mali bebeyinikiwe bayayisebenzisa kwaye bayisebenzisa ngokufanelekileyo. Imali ke apha ePhondweni nakuwo onke amasebe ingelona eli lezeMpilo kuphela intlandlu-mbini. Kukho le mali ibizwa ngokuba yiEquitable share kuthiwe ikhona sininika iR13b ndenza nje umzekelo, la R13b kufuneka yabiwe phakathi kwamasebe nesebe lezeMpilo ke linikwe apho. Kubakho ke nemali ebizwa ngokuba yiConditional grant yona ke yile mali isuka pha kuNdlunkulu apho athi uNdlunkulu le imali ndiyizisela ukujongana nesifo sikagawulayo nentsholongwane yakhe (HIV/AIDS) ingasetyenziselwa enye into, ndenza umzekelo, eh…h njl-njl. Kulo umba ke kunemali ibithunyelelwe ukuba kwakhiwe izibhedlele, le nto kuthiwa yiRevitalisation program kwaye ke ibiyiconditional grant, kodwa ke ngelisha apha esebeni kuneenkqubo ezininzi eyokuqala eyingxaki yinto yokuba imali ngokwenene ikwisebe lezeMpilo nesibhedlele

sesesebe kodwa kufuneka sakhiwe mntu wumbi, kule imeko ke lo mntu wumbi lisebe lemisebenzi yoluntu. Eli sebe lemisebenzi yoluntu lilo elijongene nezakhiwo zePhondo zizonke. Lithi eli sebe kula nkqubo yolwakhiwo lwezibhedlele kubekho ingxaki kula nto yokuthendarishwa kwemisebenzi apho uyazi nawe into yokuba xa kukhutshwa imisebenzi sonke siyaya sithi siyafuna, ngoku unikwe wena athi omnye kutheni mna ndinganikwanga masiye ezinkundleni zamatyala. Ngoku ingxelo esiyifumeneyo ke yinto yokuba bahlelwe seso sehlo. Eli lixa besisana ezinkundleni zamatyala liyahamba lona ixesha, ngoku iconditional grant kaloku besithe le mali isuka kulo grant uthi umqathango wayo ke uthi ukuba le mali awuyisebenzisanga ngexesha elithile mna ndinguNdlunkulu ndizakuyithatha ndiyise kwelinye iPhondo kuba kaloku wena Mpuma Koloni phantsi kwesebe ekuthiwa lelezeMpilo kuyacaca ukuba awukwazi kuyisebenzisa le mali, kwenzeke loo nto ke sisi kwesi isihlandlo.

There are also reports in the press about problems with delivery in this department: the money which has been budgeted for hospitals has not been spent (Sunday Times, April 16, 2006, p.18)

How much is it?

Em...h you see my sister no one wants to take responsibility for this as I said to you that it is our responsibility as the committee to ensure that they use the money they have been budgeted for and that they use it properly. The money in this Province and in all the departments, not the department of Health only is two-fold. There is a fund called Equitable Share which is available and they say for example we will give you R13b, that R13b should then be divided or shared among all the departments and the department of Health will also get its share. The other money or fund is called a Conditional Grant which is awarded by the national office with conditions whereby the national office would say the money is being issued say for example for HIV/AIDS only and that it should not be used for other things, etc. In this case, there was money which was issued for the purposes of building hospitals, something which is called Revitalisation Programme and it was a conditional grant, but unfortunately there are many programmes in this department and the first one which is a problem is that the money is indeed with the department and the hospitals belong to the department but the actual building of the hospitals must be done by somedody else who is the department of Public Works. The department of Public Works is the one responsible for all the Provincial buildings. This department then claims that the hospital revitalization programme was hampered by the tendering process because you know that when tenders have been advertised everybody wants to benefit, and now if you win the tender then other will say why didn't I get the tender, let's go to court. The report we received is that this is what happened. The clock is ticking whilst they are busy taking each other to court and now the condition of this grant as we said that this money came from the conditional grant is that if you did not utilize it by the set time, I as the national office will take it back and give it to another Province because it is obvious that you Eastern Cape under the auspices of the department of Health you do not know how to use this money; this is what happened in this case.

Second reproach: p. 9

2.   Oovimba abajolise ebantwini (p. 10-11)

Reproach 2.1

iSebe lezeMpilo linakana ”ukushokoxeka okuqgubayo kwabasebenzi kwiindawo ezinongcipheko” (p. 10).

Abaphathi besibhedlele bona baqwalasela ukusebenza kwesibhedlele imihla ngemihla; umsebenzi wabo ujolise ekuphuhliseni isibhedlele nabasebenzi kuphela.

Abaphathi abanalawulo luthe ngqo kulwabiwo-mali lwesibhedlele nto leyo ebangela ukuba bangabi nathuba laneleyo lokuqesha abasebenzi abaninzi, ingakumbi abongikazi nooqgirha abasemthethweni nabafanelekileyo. Aba basebenzi bezempilo bajongene nemimandla ethile baye babe mathidala ukusebenza phantsi kwezi meko zingaginyisi mathe ezinamawadi ambalwa onyango kunye nezikrweqe ezinqongopheleyo. Abasebenzi bayachaphazeleka zezi meko zimbi kwaye maxa wambi kufuneka basebenze iiyure ezili-12 ngemini babe abanye abongikazi kunyazeleka ukuba bakhathelele izigulane ezingama-20 ukuya kuma-30. Le ngxaki inefuthe elibi kwimveliso kwaye ibangela ukuba abasebenzi bangabi namdla wakusebenzela eli Phondo. Ingxaki evamise ukwenzeka malunga naba mongikazi kukukhalazela kwabo imivuzo: Umvuzo womongikazi awunakumkhuthaza umongikazi omtsha ukuba eze kolu hlobo lomsebenzi.

2. Eh…h dadewethu enyanisweni mhlawumbi uze kwi-ofisi eyiyo; kutshanje sibe nebhodi yokujongana nemiba yezibhedlele nangona singekayixoxi phaya ePalamente iselapha kuthi ekomitini. Phakathi kwezinye izinto esizixoxileyo nakwezinye izinto esiziphawuleyo yile uyitshoyo. Eyokuqala enyanisweni njengokuba besele nditshilo ngaphambili yile yokuba oogqirha banqongophele kwezi zibhedlele kwaye ke zininzi izizathu ezibangela oko. Okokuqala sifumanise into yokuba isebe alinayo le nto kuthiwa yiretention strategy, laa nto ithi ke ngoku xa sele ulapha ngaphakathi mandikugcine ungaphumi, eh...h izinto ezifana neemali ezivunyelweyo ezisisabelo ingakumbi ezasemaphandleni, elalini ukutsho oko. Umzekelo ukuba ngaba kuthiwa hamba uyosebenza endaweni esezingxondorheni, eh…h kufuneka ke iimeko zalapho ezingxondorheni ibe zezizakundenza ndigcinakale apho ndingugqirha okanye umongikazi. Ezo ke zizinto ezinqongopheleyo esizibonileyo apha esebeni kodwa ke unobangela wento eyenza ukuba ingabikho le ndlela yokubagcina ngokutsho kwabo, kuye kwaphawuleka into yokuba iphethwe pha kuNdlunkulu. Loo nto ke ithetha ukuba kufuneka ibe yinto efanayo kumaphondo onke ihle ukwenzela into yokuba kungabikho phondo lizenzela into yalo, enyanisweni isekhona leyo into. Kodwa ke ulwazi esinalo lolokuba kukho laa nto kuthiwa nguMINMEC, yena ke yila ntlanganiso apho kuhlala uMphathiswa kaNdlunkulu nabaphathiswa bamaPhondo olithoba, kulapho ke isaxovulwa khona le nto, nto leyo ethetha ukuba ke xa sele igqityiwe iza kuhla ibheke ezantsi emaphondweni kujongwe nokuba zeziphi iindlela ezinokusetyenziswa ukugcina aba gqirha sele bekhona ukuba bangahambi.

Kulo mba wolwabiwo-mali, enyanisweni wena indlela ebifanel'ukuba ihamba ngayo kwiimeko ezithe ngqo bekufanel'uba la mntu usezantsi kwicandelo nguye ofanele ukuthi phambi kokuba ugqibe ngemali oza kundabela yona, zithini iimfuno zam, le nto ibizwa ngokuba lucweyo lweezidingo zesebe, ndize ndithi ke mna kumsebenzi endinawo apha kweli candelo okanye kule ndawo ndikuyo nanku, ukuze ndiwuphumeze ndifuna imali engaka. Enyanisweni liyaqhwalela isebe kuloo nto leyo kuba into eyenzekayo umntu ufaka isixa-mali asifunayo kuze kujongwe apha ePhondweni ukuba yimalini na ekhoyo kukhiwe entloko anikwe loo mali into leyo ke ngoku eza kwenza ukuba ucwangciso olukhoyo kwicandelo elo lingadibani ncam nolwabiwo-mali, uyayibona loo nto. Besisithi ke thina kumpoposho esinawo isebe malikhe lizame into yokuba izithili zibandakanywe kwinkqubo yolwabiwo-mali. iSebe ke liqinisekisile ukuba liza kuyenza loo nto kuba xa lisaqhubeka lingenzi njalo izinto azisayi kuhamba kakuhle.

2. *Human resources* (p. 10-11)

The Department of Health recognizes "the current acute shortage of staff in critical positions" (p. 10).

The hospital management, who oversees the day-to-day running of the hospitals, is limited in developing the hospital and its staff. The management has no direct access to its budget and thus they have limited means to employ more staff, especially qualified nurses and specialist doctors. Such specialized health care workers are also reluctant to work in poor conditions with few specialized wards and equipment. The nursing staff also suffers with these abnormal conditions and sometimes has to work for 12 hours a day with some nurses having to look after 20 to 30 patients. This problem has an impact on their productivity and it makes them reluctant to work for the province. A recurring problem with these nurses is their complaint about salaries: the salary for a nurse does not encourage new nurses to enter the profession.

2. Eh…h my sister in reality I think you have come to the right office; recently we had a board in place to look into issues pertaining to our hospitals even though the matter has not been discussed yet in Parliament, it is still here with us the committee. Among the things we discussed and discovered is what you have just said now. Honestly the first one as I have said before is the shortage of doctors and there are many reasons for that. Firstly, we have discovered that the department does not have what is called the retention strategy, something that says now that you are here I must not let you go; eh…h something more like allowances especially rural allowances so to say, for example if you are sent to the most remote areas the conditions there must be conducive enough to keep you there as a doctor or a nurse. Those are the most scarce things that we have noticed in this department but the reason for that according to what they say is the way of retaining them and it has been discovered again that all that is being managed by the national office. Therefore, this means that all this must be uniform in all provinces and that is still the problem we have to dal with. But, the knowledge that we have is that there is something called MINMEC which is the meeting of the Minister and the MEC's from all nine provinces and this is where this issue is discussed meaning that after it has been finalized then it will be circulated within the provinces and also to decide on the implementation strategies to ensure that the doctors that are already in the system are retained.

In this issue of budget the reality is that the way in which this is supposed to have been handled in a direct manner is that the person at the bottom in each section of the department is the one to say before you conclude on the budget that you are going to give me, here are my needs and this is called needs analysis of the department in order for me to finish or accomplish the amount of work I have in my section I need such and such an amount of money. In reality the department is lacking in that because what is happening is that a person will submit a proposed budget and the department will first consider its allocation and then randomly decide on the amount of money to allocate to that person, something which hampers the plan of that section as it does not correspond will the allocated budget, do you see that. The department then has ensured that it will consider that because if it continues with what is happening now, things will always go wrong.

Follow-up reproach: p. 10

Reproach 2.2

Ingxelo yakutshanje yeWorld Health Organization (WHO) ichaza izizathu ezininzi ezingunobangela wokuba abasebenzi bezonyango abonelisekanga eMzantsi Afrika: ulawulo olungancumisiyo; ukushokoxeka kwamathuba okonyuselwa; ukushokoxeka kwezixhobo zokusebenza; ukwanda kolwaphulo-mthetho kunye nokungancumisi kweemeko zokuphila kwaba bantu.

Masiqale kule yokuqala yolawulo olungancumisiyo, uzawumane undikhumbuza ke. Uyabona kunento ebisoloko ifuna ukwanda apha esebeni ebesingayiqondi ncam apho ufumanisa ukuba kunesigama esitsha kuthi sokuba kukho abantu bakaclinical kubekho nabakacorporate, loo nto itheth'uba ukuba uyaliqwalasela kakuhle kweli sebe abasebenzi abaninzi apha ngoogqirha nabongikazi ababizwa ngokuba ngabasebenzi bezonyango, kubekhona ke ngoku abasebenzi abajongene nezimali nokusebenza kwesibhedlele imihla ngemihla. Ufumanise ke ngoku ukuba kwande loo nto yokuba hayi thina singoogqirha, thina singabaphathi besibhedlela, loo nto ikhokhelele ekuthini kubekho iyantlukwano nto leyo eyenza ukuba izinto zingahambi kakuhle kuba mna okwa HR izixhobo zixhomekeke kum nemali njl-njl. Loo nto ikhokelela ekuthini lo uphetheyo angayiseli so into yokuqeshwa koogqirha nabongikazi abongezelelekileyo okanye abasebenzi abachubekileyo kwicala lezempilo ukusuka apho afune ukuqesha abasebenzi abajongene noovimba abajoise ebantwini kuphela. Sithe ke kubo kutheni kufanele kube njalo kuba la macandelo ayathungelana omabini.

Follow-up reproach: p. 10

A recent report of the World Health Organization (WHO) gives many reasons why health workers are not satisfied in S.A: there is poor management; poor opportunities for promotion; poor facilities; high level of crime and poor circumstances of life for these people.

Let us start with this issue of poor management, you will remind about these issues as we go on. You see, there is something that has been progressing in the department which we did not understand where you find that there is new terminology to us that there are clinical and corporate people; this means if you notice in this department the majority of staff are doctors and nurses which are called health workers and there is staff looking after funds and administration. You will then notice that there is that division where some claim that we are health workers and others claim that they are administrators, and that has led to the gap or division within the staff and the poor service delivery because the availability of resources, money or funds, etc. are dependant on me as the HR person. This then makes the HR personnel staff to ignore the issue of hiring more or additional doctors and nurses or qualified health workers, instead he or she will decide on employing more administrative staff. We made enquiries as to why things should be like that because these two compliment each other.

Okwesibini, indlela entsha kaRulumente yokuhlangabezana nezinto ithi: oogqirha mabanyange, abaphathi baphathe isibhedlele kuba ukuba uyakhumbula kurhulumente wangaphambili uMphathi wesibhedlele yayiba nguggirha uyayibona into enjalo, ugqirha ongenazo izakhono zolawulo kuba yena ungugqirha nje kuphela. Kuye kwafumaniseka ke ukuba kubalulekile ukuba kubekho imanejala ezibhedlele kubekho abaphathi abongameleyo kwiikhompleksi. Le nto ibizama ukujongana nokuhamba ngendlela kwezinto kumacandelo onke ezempilo kuba ke eneneni ezi zinto ziyathungelana. Ukuba ke kuthe kwenzeka ukuba umphathi owongameleyo ibe nguggirha kuba ke akukhonto ithi akanakuba nguye, kufuneka abe nazo izakhono zokulawula kwaye azazi ukuba apha ungumphathi akasenguye ugqirha. Zonke ezi zizinto nje ezincinci esicinga ukuba zingalungiseka kwicala lethu siyikomiti.

Secondly, the government's new strategy of dealing with this issue is that doctors must heal and managers must manage hospitals because if you remember the hospital mangers of the previous system were doctors, do you see that adoctor who does not have managerial skills. It has been discovered that it is important for hospitals to have mangers and CEO's in complexes. This is trying to properly

address all the departmental sections because interdependent. If it happens that the hospital manager is the doctor because there is nothing that says the doctor cannot be a doctor, he or she must have the managerial skills and she or he is no longer a doctor but a manager. These are just minor issues which we believe will be solved especially on our side as the committee.

Kule yezixhobo ngokwenene hayi ikho kuzo zonke izibhedlele kuba kwizibhedlele ezitsha awuthathi zixhobo zidala uzise kwisibhedlele esitsha, ingenelo yesebe lezeMpilo ngokungafaniyo nelezeMfundo lona elakha izikolo kodwa ufumanise ukuba akukho fenitshala ngaphakathi abantwana bahlala kwiidesika ezindala. Elezempilo lona isebe linoyilo lokuba xa kusakhiwa izibhedlele kufakwa nezixhobo ngoko ke kwezi zitsha izibhedlele zikhona izixhobo, kodwa eneneni izixhobo ezikhoyo kwezi zidala izibhedlele iphelelwe lixesha, indala kwaye ayisalungiseki nokulungiseka ezinye zazo zihleli nje pha azisebenzi. Sicinga ukuba ke ngumceli-mngeni esijongene nawo lowo silisebe. Kulonyaka-mali nakulomgomo wolwabiwo-mali uthetha ngawo loo nto ichatshazelwe. Kwakhona isebe lize nento ebizwa ngokuba yipublic-private partnership apho amasebe okanye amasebe azimeleyo eza kuthi eze nezakhono anazo ukuncendisa isebe lezeMpilo ngokuthi mhlawumbi abonelele kwicandelo leebhedi nolawulo lwazo kunye noomatshini abatsha. Ngokwenza njalo ke sicinga ukuba iinkonzo ziza kunyuka zibe semgangathweni onguwo. Kukho loo mbono ke ukuzama ukuhlangabezana nomcimbi ophathelele kwizixhobo ngokuthi lisebe lisebenzisane namashishini azimeleyo.

Indeed in this issue of resources not all hospitals because in new hospitals you do not take old resources and use them in these new hospitals; the benefit of the department of Health unlike the department of Education where you build new schools but find that learners are using old desks. The department of Health has a plan that when building new hospitals new equipment must be provided, therefore new hospitals have resources, but resources in old hospitals it is indeed outdated and it cannot even be repaired, some of them are useless. We think that this is the challenge that we are faced with as the department. In this financial year and the policy speech that you are referring to that has been mentioned. Again, the department has come up with something called public-private partnership structures and independent structures with skills to assist the department by maybe providing with equipment in the section of beds including its management and monitoring, and other new equipment. We believe then that by doing that the health services and delivery will be up to standard. There is that initiative now as a means of trying to address and deal with the pertaining to resources by having this partnership with small businesses.

Lo mba ke wokonyuselwa uyingxaki kakhulu le kuba bathi aba bongikazi uyafika apha ungumongikazi nje ufunde, ufunda felefele (mahala) ngoku ke awukho umgaqo othi xa uthe wanento oyizuzayo ngokuziphuhlisa apha emsebenzini kufuneka wonyuselwe. Loo nto ke ingumceli-mngeni omkhulu kungekhona apha ePhondweni kuphela koko kuZwelonke gabalala, kuba umzekelo abafundisi-ntsapho xa umntu ethe wafumana uziphuhliso oluthe xaxe noko nemali iyatsho akunjalo ngokungafaniyo nalapha kwisebe lezeMpilo, yingxaki ekhoyo ngokwenene ke le. Sicinga ukuba le yingxaki efanele ukba isonjululwe pha kuNdlunkulu nanjengoko ichaphazela ilizwe lonke.

This issue of promotions is a major problem because they are just nurses when they first arrive in the field, they get training for free and there is no policy that says if you have achieved something in terms of professional empowerment or development you must then get something in return such as an incentive. That is a great challenge not only in this Province but in the country as a whole because for example, when

teachers achieve more professional or academic certificates in terms of empowerment, they receive an incentive unlike in the department of Health; this is the prolem that really exists in this department. We think that this is the problem that should be solved by the national office as it affects the whole country.

Xa sisiza kule nto yobundlobongela ke, ingxaki ekhoyo sisi kwezinye zezibhedlele yilento yokungabikho kocingo olubiyeleyo, ufamanise apha esibhedlele kubhadula neenkomo yonke into iyazingenela nje akukho lukhuseleko luluqilima. Ngoku ke kuyenzeka into sithi umzekelo abantu bebesilwa phaya ekuhlaleni (elokishini), kuhlatyanwe aza athathwe le lowo wonzakalisiweyo abalekiselwe esibhedlele baze abo bebemhlabile bamlandele ngeenjongo zokumgqibezela. Zikhona ke izehlo ezinjalo uye ufamanise ukuba nabasebenzi aba ngokunokwabo abakhuselekanga oogqirha nabongikazi ngokunjalo kuba kaloku lo mntu wonzakeleyo unikwa uncedo ngabo, babe bayachaphazeleka ke ngolo hlobo, ude ufumanise ukuba abanye babo bayabulawa njengaseDora Nginza eBhayi apho kwabulawa ipharmacist ethile ukubalula nje imizekelo embalwa. Lilonke ke ndithi ikhona leyo into kodwa ndicinga ukuba ukuze kuthi kanti nayo iyalungiseka kufuneka kuqale kumiselwe imigaqo yokhuseleko eluqilima esicinga ukuba nayo yabelwe kulwabiwo-mali lwalo nyaka-mali kuba isebe lithathe isigqibo sokuba lithathe iinkozo zamashishini abucala okhuseleko kuqala kunye nokubiyelwa kwezibhedlele. Iiklinikhi nezibhedlele zizakubonelelwa ngoonogada kodwa asithi loo nto izakwenzeka namhlanje, ezinye zazo zizakwabelwa kulo nyaka-mali ezinye ke kunyaka-mali olandelayo. Ucelo-mngeni lona luseluninzi kuba kaloku kukho nalo mba weeyure ezingama-24 abe amaziko amaninzi engakwazi ukusebenza iiyure ezingama-24 kuba kungekho lukhuseleko.

Coming to this issue of crime, the main problem in some of the hospitals is that there is no fencing and you will find that even cows are moving around as they please; there is no strict security and everything gets in and out freely. So, it happens that for example people were fighting in the location and they stab each, the wounded would be rushed to hospital and those who stabbed will follow with the intentions of finishing him. There are cases like that and you will find that the workers are not safe either including doctors and nurses because they are the ones helping the wounded person and they do get affected by so doing; you even find that some of them get killed like in Dora Nginza in Port Elizabeth where a pharmacist was killed, just to mention a few examples. In all I am saying such a thing does exist but I think that for it to be solved there must be strong and concrete security measures in place which we believe that they have been budgeted for in this financial because the department has decided to use the services of independent security companies and to see to it that all health centers have the fence. Clinics and hospitals will be provided with security guards, but we are not saying that this will happen tomorrow; some of them will be catered for in this financial year and others in the next financial year. We still have a lot of challenges because there is also this issue of 24hrs and that some of these centers cannot operate for 24hrs as there is no security in place.

Follow-up reproach: p. 10

Reproach 2.3

Ingxelo yephephandaba iFinancial Mail ikwabalule neengxaki oogqirha abathi bahlangabezane nazo: ukungongophala kwabasebenzi njengabachwethezi, abantu ababizwa ngokuba ziiphotha ukuncendisa ukududula izigulani endaweni yokuba oogqirha bazidudulele ngokwabo; imivuzo engancumisiyo: oogqirha barholiswa iR139 000 ngonyaka ekubeni befumana iR480 000 ngonyaka eLondon; ukanti namathuba okonyuselwa amfiliba kakhulu.

Masele ndiqala ngale yokugqibela kuba ingumbandela wezopolitiko. Uyazi ukuba ngenene enye yezinto eyenza igalelo lokushokoxeka koogqirha apha eMzantsi Afrika kukumka kwabo baye emarhiwini aluhlaza kumazwe aphesheya? Ngoku ke, intsha le nto yokumka kwabo. Le mali ifunyanwa ngoogqirha ngoku, urhulumente okhoyo akathanga wakufika wathoba imivuzo yoogqirha ukusuka apho inyukile kunangaphambili kodwa bebengahambi, mhlawumbi ke nakuni kumacandelo enu kuyafuneka nizibuze umbuzo wokuba kutheni ngoku behamba. Mhlawumbi ke kwelinye icala kungokuba thina sibavulele amathuba okuhamba into ke leyo ebeyingekho ngaphambili ngenxa yocalu-calulo; akukho mntu ebenelungelo lokuya ngaphesheya ngaphandle kokuba ufumane ubumi belo lizwe, ngoku ke sibakhulule ke kulula ukuhamba xa befuna ukuhamba. Elinye lithi ke xa uthelekisa le R139 000 bayifumanayo nale R480 000 ubuthetha ngayo, mababuye ke ngoku beze ekhaya beze nala mali, izakufakwa irhafu-ntengo la mali ilingane nale bebeyifumana apha eMzantsi Afrika. Kwakhona iimeko zaphaya njengemeko yokuphila azifani nezalapha, loo nto ke yenza kungabikho mehluko ungako umehluko okhoyo yinto yokuba kuthi xa kuphela inyanga leyaa imali ininzi kodwa xa kufikwa kwindlela aphila ngayo iyafana. Ewe, le nto ibuyela kulaa nto bendikhe ndathetha ngayo yokuba buthini na ubuchule besebe bokugcini abaqeshwa nto leyo ke engumceli-mngeni okhoyo ofanel'ukusonjululwa lisebe.

Kulento ke ngoku yokuba besenza umsebenzi weepota ngokwenene kunjalo, ibuyele ke ngoku kulaa nto yokushokoxeka kwabasebenzi ezibhedlele nto leyo ke echotsholweyo ndithethanje njengoko besele nditshilo ukuba kulo nyaka-mali ikhona imali ebekelwe bucala ukuba kuqeshwe. Nangani kunjalo yonke le nto ayizihambeli, iziko ngalinye kufuneka lifake i-organogram yalo evunyiweyo kuba kaloku awunakusuke uthi udinga iipota apha ungakhange uqale ujonge ukuba uthini na umbilini weso sibhedlele, bangaphi abantu abalapho, zonke ezo zinto ezo. Kufuneka uzinike ingqwalasela zonke ezo zinto ezo ukuze ukwazi ukuthi ngenene ndiyazifuna iipota ezinga, ndiyabafuna oomabhalani abanga ukuze ndime kakuhle. Ndicinga ukuba ke ekugqibeleni kufuneka kuqosheliswe lo mba we-organogram.

A report in the Financial Mail also highlighted the problems of doctors: they have very few administrative personnel to assist them, such as typists; very few porters in hospitals with the result that doctors must push patients around themselves; they have poor salaries- R139 000 per annum while in London they can get R480 000 per annum; there are also very few opportunities for promotion.

Let me start with the last one because it is a political issue. Do you know that one of the contributing factors to the shortage of doctors in South Africa is their migraton in pursuit of greener pastures abroad? Now, this migration is new. Doctors' salaries now; when the current government came into power, she did not reduce doctors' salaries instead they have increased than before but they did not leave, maybe in your sections you should also ask yourselves why are they leaving now. Maybe on the other side it is because we have opened doors for them something which was not possible before because of apartheid; no one was allowed to go overseas unless you get that country's citizenship and now that we have freed or liberated them, they are free to leave when they want to. Another thing is that when you compare the R139 000 they get here and R480 000 you were talking about, let them come back home with that money and it will be taxed to the same amount they receive here in South Africa. Again, the standard or cost of living there is not the same as here and that makes no difference, the only difference is that when the pay-day arrives that salary is bigger but when it comes to the expenditure it is the same. Yes, this goes back to what I aid that what is the department's strategy of retaining these workers within the

system something which is an existing challenge that needs to be solved by the department.

It is a fact that they do work as porters and that takes back to that issues of shortages of workers in hospitals something which is being dealt with as I speaking because as I said there is a budget that has been put aside to deal or address this issue and to see to it that more workers are employed. However, for this to happen, each centre must submit an approved organogram because you cannot just claim that you so many porters without considering the capacity of you hospital, how many people are there and all such things. You must first consider all those things in order to say indeed I need so many porters; I need so many clerks so that I can be able to function well or properly. I think we have to sort out this issue of an organogram.

Reproach 3: p. 11

3.   Ukushokoxeka kwamachiza

iSebe lezeMpilo linakana ingxaki yokuhanjiswa kwamachiza kwaye enye yeenjongo zalo ezingundoqo kukuphuhlisa oku kuhanjiswa kwamachiza: "imeko ephuhlileyo nobukho bamayeza namachiza ukuze kunciphe okanye kutshatyalaliswe ngokupheleleyo ukushokoxeka kwamachiza obebukade buqguba" (p. 5).

Ingxaki yamachiza amiselweyo ezibhedlele nakwiiklinikhi yingxaki enamajingxeba. Iimeko eziphathelele kumachiza zicace gca: okokuqala, ingxaki engonikezelo: nangona izibhedlele zisenza kangangoko zinakho ukuzuza umlinganiselo onguwo wamachiza, zisoloko zifumanisa ukuba ukuba la machiza awahanjiswanga. Okwesibini, izibhedlele neeklinikhi zinabasebenzi abasemthethweni abambalwa abanokunikezela la machiza. Ekupheleni kwalo mjelo wokunikezelwa kwamachiza ubani uye afumane isigulane singenawo amachiza okanye isigulane kufuneke silinde ixesha elide phambi kokuba sifumane amachiza angawo.

Kule yamachiza uyabona ke benditshilo ndathi sithetha kakuhle apha kuba lonke olu lwazi sithethela phezu kwalo apha lolufundisayo. Ingcinga ebesinayo thina ibiyeyokuba la mayeza anqongophele phaya ezibhedlele, kodwa ubunyani esithe sabufumana ke xa sifika phaya kwezi zibhedlele yingxaki esuka kwizitora zamayeza apho amayeza akhutshwa khona. Ingxaki yokuqala ke ekufuneka isonjululwe kukushokoxeka kwabasenzi kwezi ndawo kuquka nomgama wezi zitora, kwaye ke awekho phaya emva la mayeza kweziya zitora kuba uthi lo mntu ndawuze ndi-odole eli yeza kuthiwe lisaphelile ize ithathe ixesha ke loo nto.

Okwesibini kukho nalo mcimbi womgama apho ufumanisa ukuba ezinye zezibhedlele kuye kufuneke zizilandele la machiza ukuze zikwazi ukuwafumana ngethuba. Kule ngxaki ke yomgama phakathi kwezitora nezibhedlele umntu uthi e-odole amayeza ngoJanyawari wona aze kufika kuye kwinyanga yesithathu neyesine yingxaki ke leyo; ufumanise ukuba la mayeza njengokuba epakwa ngokwemihla yawo nje aza kuthatha iinyanga ukufika apho a-odolwe khona. Ngoko ke, ingxaki ipha kwezi zitora. Ewe nasezibhedlele ikhona ingxaki apho ufumanisa ukuba la mayeza ayabiwa, uyayiqonda; eh…h baninzi ke abantu asele bebanjiwe apho ufumanisa ukuba umntu unovimba okungowakhe wamayeza ngala mayeza esibhedlele. Le yinto eyenza ukuba sithi mawaphawulwe amayeza ukuze awasesibhedlele ohluke kulawo asekuhlaleni (elokishini).

3.   *Shortage of medicine*

The department of Health recognizes problems with delivery of medicine and one of its primary aims is to improve this delivery of medicine: "improved systems and

availability of drugs and medicines in order to minimize if not eradicate completely shortages as in the past" (p. 5).

The problem of prescribed medicines in hospitals and clinics is a very old problem. The issues about medicine are clear: firstly, the supply problem: although hospitals make an effort to obtain the correct amount of medicine, they frequently find that these medicines are not delivered. Secondly, the hospitals and clinics have a shortage of qualified staff to dispense this medicine. At the end of this supply line one finds the patient with no medicine or a patient who has to wait a long time for the correct medicine.

In this case of drugs, you see I said that this discussion is informed. The idea that we had is that there is a shortage of drugs in hospitals, but the reality we discovered when we arrived in these hospitals is that the problem is with the distribution of these drugs in the depots. The first problem that needs to be solved is the shortage of workers in these depots including their distance and there is a shortage of drugs even in these depots because these people say they would place an order for this drug to be told that it is out of stock, and that take a long time to get it.

Secondly, there is this issue of distance where you find that some of the hospitals would fetch their orders if they want to have them in time. The problem of distance between depots and hospitals you will find that the order has been submitted in January but the drugs will only arrive on the third and forth month and also find that since these drugs are packed according to their dates they will take months before they arrive where they are ordered. Therefore, the problem is with these depots. Yes there is a problem with hospitals too where you find that these drugs are being stolen, you understand; eh…h there are many people that have been arrested where you find that a person has own dispensary with hospital drugs. This is why we said these drugs must be marked so that they differ from the drugs used in the location.

Reproach 4: p. 12

4. Iinkonzo zonyango

iSebe lezeMpilo linemeko ephuhlileyo yokusebenza kweeklinikhi kwaye ezi klinikhi zivuzwa ngephesenti efanelekileyo yolwabiwo-mali olupheleleyo lonyango (45.9%): jonga kwiphepha 25 olunenkcukacha zolwabiwo-mali luka 2005/2006). Ezi klinikhi zijongene nenyambalala yezigulane kwaye zikwaqwalasele kwimimandla ethile yezeMpilo efana nentsholongwane kaGawulayo (iHIV), iSifo sephepha, ulwaluko, isondlo, nezinye izifo.

Imeko yeeklinikhi sele iphuhliswe ithuba elide kakhulu ukuzama ukunceda izigulane kufutshane nendawo ezihlala kuzo. Ingqwalasela kwezi klinikhi ibonisa ukuhla jikelele kwizakhiwo nakwixhobo xa kuthelekiswa neengxaki kwizibhedlele. Ngaphezulu kunoko, ezi klinikhi ziinengxaki ezinkulu zabasebenzi kuba abasebenzi bazo kufuneka bejongene namanani aphezulu ezigulane.

Isebe lo mcimbi weprimary healthcare iwuthathele ingqalelo into yokuba masiqinise size sixhobise ukuze siqinisekise ukuba izixhobo zikho ngokwaneleyo kuba ubunyani bobokuba abantu beza ezidolophini kuba besazi ukuba eziklinikhi izinto ezininzi abazi kuzifumana. Kodwa uyayibona le yokuba iklinikhi enye ijongane neelali ezininzi yingxaki ekhoyo engumceli-ngeni kwisebe esicinga ukuba mhlawumbi kufuneka siqwalasele ukuba sithini na isithethe kuba kaloku kufanele kube khona umgaqo omiselwayo wokuba iklinikhi nganye kufanele ikhonze iilali ezingaphi na. Okwangoku akukabikho nto icacileyo ngokuphathelele koko, mhlawumbi yinto esafuna ukunikwa ingqwalasela leyo, kodwa njengoko ndisitsho, imali eninzi ngoku isiwe kwiprimary healthcare kuba eneneni kuphawuleke into yokuba abantu bagcwalisa ezibhedlele

ufumanise ke ngoku aba bantu abakhange baye eziklinikhi bazishiyile kuba bengenalo ithemba lokuba kukho into abazakuyifumana phaya. Okwesibini, besisithi ke thina imvumelwano yeyokuba noko eklinikhi ugqirha bekufanelekile ukuba abekhona nokuba uza kanye ngeveki, kodwa ayenzeki ke loo nto. Zezi zinto esizibalule kwingxelo yethu ezi esithi sisafuna ukuziqokelela sijonge ukuba zeziphi na ezi klinikhi ekusekho iingxaki kuzo ukuze sikwazi ukucebisa kwisebe lezeMpilo ukuba noko malizame ukuqesha noogqirha kwezi klinikhi ukukhawulelana nezi ngxaki zikhoyo.

4.   Clinical services

The department of Health has a well developed system of clinics and these clinics are rewarded with a considerable percentage of the total budget for health care (45.9%): see p. 25 for budget details for 2005/2006). These clinics deal with a multitude of patients and also concentrate on specific areas such as HIV, TB, circumcision, nutrition and others.

The system of clinics has been developed over a considerable long time to help patients near the areas where they live. A close look at these clinics shows a general decline in the building and equipment comparable to the problem in hospitals. Furthermore, these clinics have huge staff problems and the existing staff has to cope with immense numbers of patients.

The department is taking into consideration this issue of Primary healthcare in that it should be strengthened and empowered to ensure that resources are enough because the reality is that go to town as they know that most things are not available in clinics. But, this issue of one clinic serving many communities is a problem which is a challenge in the department and we believe that we should maybe consider the norm because there must be a policy stipulating the number of communities each clinic should serve. As for now there is nothing as far as that is concerned, maybe it something that still needs attention, but as I say, the biggest percentage of the budget has been invested to the primary healthcare because it has been discovered that there is overcrowding or influx of people in hospitals where you find that they did not even go to their local clinics as they have no hope that they will get help there. Secondly, we said our agreement is that there should be at a least a doctor who visits these clinics even if is once a week, but that is not happening. These are the things that we have mentioned in our report which we said we want to collect and identify clinics where there are still problems so that we can be in a position to make suggestions to the department that they should at least employ doctors to these clinics to address the existing problems.

Reproach 5: p. 13

5.   Iintsana nabantwana

Isebe lineenkqubo ezikhoyo eziggwesileyo zokujongana nokubhubha kweentsana (p. 20) kunye nabantwana abangondlekanga (p. 21). Isebe likwanakana ingxaki engundoqo ngokuphathelele kwezi nkqubo: "ukuggwesa kwenkqubo kuthityazwa yindlala egqubayo" (p. 21).

Nangona kunjalo asikho nje kwaphela isizathu sokubhubha kweentsana nokungondleki kwabantwana. Ifuthe lezi ngxaki lichaphazela kakubi uphuhliso lwePhondo kuba abasebenzi abakhoyo bayancipha. Ubukho beenkqubo ezikhethekileyo ukuzama ukujongana nezi ngxaki ayisosisombululo kuba umlinganiselo wengxaki mkhulu kakhulu. Sisityholo kuluNtu nakuRhulumente ukuvumela ukuba iingxaki ezilolu hlobo ziqhubeke kwilizwe ledemokhrasi eliphuhle kangakanana.

Inzinyana ke le sisi kuba okokuqala iPhondo lethu lelinye lamaphondo aphambili kugqubo lwendlala, mhlawumbi lelesibini ukuba alililo elokuqala ngokobalo. Zininzi ke izinto ezingunobangela kodwa ke ubukhulu becala ngamaphandle kuba iinkonzo zokusebenza azikho, njl-njl. Ukuba uyakhumbula kwakhona xa silanda imvelaphi yeli Phondo lethu sithathe amaphandle amabini, iCiskei neTranskei esiyaziyo ukuba indlela ebesetyenziswa ngayo la maphandle ebebonwa njengendawo yokulahlela abantu bakuthi, xa uthetha ngophuhliso yintsomi kuzo zombini ezi ndawo. iPhondo lethu ke libuya kwimeko enjalo. Injalo yona loo nto uyitshoyo kodwa ndicinga ukuba isebe linazo iinkqubo ezikhoyo zokujongana naloo meko. Eyokuqala kulo mcimbi wezixhobo kukuba ingqwalasela inikwe kuqala kumaphandle gxebe iilali ezi bezikade zityeshelwe ngurhulumente wangaphambili.

Kwakhona nolawulo lubalulekile kuba umzekelo eXhorha yona ephume phambili kwilizwe lonke ngendlala egqubayo, kodwa ukuba uya phaya indlela ekuzalwa ngayo, abantwana baninzi andazi ke inokuba ithini na ingqiqo yaloo nto, ukuba abantwana babe baninzi kangaka ibe nendlala igquba ngokunjalo – yenziwa yintoni loo nto leyo. Ebunyanisweni ke zikhona iinkqubo zokujongana noko ukusukela kwisebe lezeNtlalo-ntle apho kukho inkqubo yokulwa nendlala yona ethi inike ingqwalasela kwaba bantu sithetha ngabo ngeendlela ezininzi ezinje ngokubanika iiprojekthi zokulima. Kukwakho neNational food security service apho iintsapho zithi zifumane iipasile zokutya nangona ke leyo ilungenelelo nje lwethutyana mhlawumbi amaxesha amathathu. Le nkqubo ke kwakhona kufanele ukuba idityaniswe nenkqubo yesebe lezolimo apho beza kuthi abantu banikwe imbewu balime kunye nezixhobo zokulima. Ezi nkqubo zibandakanya namanye amasebe, elezezimali, elezempilo nelezemisebenzi yoluntu ngokomgaqo we-expanded public works programs ukuhlangabezana kanye nale nto uyithethayo. Kodwa ke apho ilishwa lilele khona kukuba akukabikho lulungelelaniso luthe ngqo kuba sifumanisa ukuba kwezolimo kukho inkqubo ekhoyo ejongene nophuhliso oluthe gabalala lokutya, zonke ezo zinto ezo, kodwa umbuzo uthi ezi nkqubo uzidibanisa njani nenkqubo yokulwa nendlala ekwisebe lezentlalo-ntle. Loo nto ke ayikenzeki apha ePhondweni, eh...h mhlawumbi ke kuquka nezinye iinkqubo ezikwamanye amasebe. Lucelo-mngeni olukhoyo ke olu kula masebe esicinga ukuba xa lunokuthi mhlawumbi lukwazi ukudityaniswa lungakwazi ukuhlangabezana nale ngxaki yendlala esijamelene nayo luze ngaxeshanye luzise isisombululo kulo mba weentsana nabantwana esijongene nawo.

5. *Babies and children*

The department has effective programs in place to cope with infant mortality (p. 20) and malnourished children (p. 21). The department also recognizes the basic problem with these programs: "the effectiveness of the programme is compromised by abject poverty" (p. 21).

There is however no excuse for infant mortality and malnourished children. The effect of these problems is devastating to the development of the province because the eventual workforce will be depleted. The existence of special programmes to cope with these issues is not a final answer because the extent of the problems is too big. It is an accusation to the community and the government to allow such problems in a democratic well-developed country.

This is a bit difficult because our Province is one of thee provinces encountered with poverty, maybe it is the second if not the first one. There are causes for this because we are mostly rural; there is great unemployment, etc. If you remember when looking at the background of this Province, it incorporates two homelands, the Ciskei and the Transkei which we know they have been manipulated and operated; they were seen

as dumpsites and when you are talking about development, that was a distant reality in both homelands. Our Province has that background. What you are saying is true, but I think that the department has programmes to address such situations. The first one in this issue of resources is that the focus should be given to rural or remote areas first as they have been neglected by the previous government.

Again, management is important because for example in Elliotdale which is number one in poverty in the whole country, but if you go there you will find that babies are born day in and day out; there are many children and I do not know what explanation for that, that there are many children and great poverty, what causes that! In reality there are many programmes in place to deal with this starting with the department of Social Development where there are poverty alleviation programmes to assist the poor in various ways such as awarding them with agricultural projects. There is the national food security service where poor families are given food parcels even though that is a temporal intervention maybe three times. This programme should then integrate with the programme of the department of Agriculture where people will be given seeds and tools to plant. These programmes involve other departments such as Economic Affairs, Health and public Works according to the expanded public works programme to address exactly what you are saying. But, where the disadvantage is that there is still no proper coordination of these programmes but you found that the department of Agriculture has an extensive food production programme, all those things, but the question is how do you incorporate this programme to the department of Social Development's poverty alleviation programme. This has not happened yet in this Province, eh…h maybe including other programmes in other departments. This is the challenge we are faced with in these departments which we believe that if they can be incorporated they could address this issue of poverty and at the same time bring about the solution to the problem of babies and children which we are faced with.

Follow-up reproach

Ingaba isebe lona alinazo ezi nkqubo zesondlo ukuzama ukuhlangabezana nale ngxaki yokubhubha kweentsana nokungondleki kwabantwana?

Zikhona kodwa imbono yethu yeyokuba azinaziphumo zincomekayo xa ujonga iingxaki ezikhoyo. Ulwabiwo-mali nangona ndingaqinisekanga ukuba luthini kodwa zabelwe; kodwa sinembono yokuba alunako ukuyisombulula ngokupheleleyo le ngxaki de kubekho indlela emanyeneyo yokuhlangabezana nolu celo-mngeni.

Doesn't the department heve nutrition programmes in place to address this infant mortality and malnurshed children?

They are there but our view is that they do not have fruitful results when looking at the existing problems. Even though I am not sure about the budget but they are allocated some funds; but we believe that this budget will not permanently and totally solve this problem until there is an integrated way of dealing with this challenge.

4.4.2 Interview no: 2

4.4.2.1. Hospitals

1.1 Reproach: Hospital buildings and equipment are not maintained in a good standard in the Eastern Cape:

1.1.1 Denial

Simple denial:

The interviewee is denying the failure aspects as raised by the reproach and therefore the right of the reproacher to reproach: (HI2, Q1.1:2-4)

1.1.2 Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Past adverse conditions:

The excuse–giver is trying to mitigate the severity of the blame by mentioning past adverse conditions:

a. The previous system ensured the Eastern Cape province will not have an opportunity to develop economically (HI2, Q1.1: 5-9)
b. There are huge backlogs in the province that are due to the lack of economical opportunities within the province (HI2, Q1.1:9-10)

1.1.3 Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The interviewee is trying to mitigate the negative consequences of the act by appealing to present adverse conditions. He mentions two such conditions:

a. The allocated budget is unable to address the backlogs because it is inadequate (HI2, Q1.1: 10-13)
b. The department lack qualified and well-informed personnel who understand the program and vision of the government (HI2, Q1.1: 26-27)

1.1.4 Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:

The justifier is trying to reframe the negative consequences of the act by appealing to positive present benefits with the intention of minimizing the blame. He mentions that:

- Department is able to maneuver around within its limited resources in addressing challenges (HI2, Q1.1:27-29)

1.1.4 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to reframe the negative consequences of the act by appealing to positive future benefits that are intended for the minimization of the blame on the part of the department. He mentions the partnerships that have been formed between the department and the private health centers as such benefit (HI2, Q1.1: 14-20)

1.2. Budget for hospitals:

Reproach: The money that has been budgeted for hospitals has not been spent:

1.2.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuses: null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way he wants to disconnect himself from the reproach as he intends to put the causality of the act on some other source, external to himself. He identified the departmental officials as such source:

> Officials have been very negligent and are not dedicated as a result they failed to utilize the money within the set period (R10m) knowing that it was a conditional grant and (HI2, Q1.2: 1-8)

1.2.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Defeasibility: Ignorance:</u>

This excuse has employed a plea of ignorance and thereby denying the knowledge of the negative consequences of the situation by mentioning that as legislators they have failed to monitor and evaluate the progress within the department and hence the outcomes (HI2, Q1.2: 8-10)

4.4.2.2 Human resources

2.1. Shortages and conditions of staff:

Reproach: The hospital management has no direct access to its budget and thus they have limited means to employ more staff especially qualified nurses and

specialist doctors. Such specialized healthcare workers are also reluctant to work in poor conditions with few specialized wards and equipment:

2.1.1 Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse has employed mitigation of blame as means of reducing the negative affect on the part of the interviewee. This is done through the appeal on present adverse conditions such as:

a. Hospital managers do not participate in budget processes (HI2, Q2.1: 1-4)

b. Hospital managers have interaction only with the Superintendent-General (SG) of the department and that is how their interests are taken on board or considered (HI2, Q2.1: 4-7)

c. Conditions of hospitals cause young people to lose interest in the industry as result only older people remain within the department who have no other options (HI2, Q2.1: 12-15)

d. People responsible for these hospitals have no direct contact and first-hand understanding of what is going on in those hospitals (HI2, Q2.1: 16-19)

e. Hospitals are overcrowded and have very few nursing staff. As such, patients are not given proper attention (HI2, Q2.1: 19 -25)

2.1.2 Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. There should be future benefits because:

a. As from 2007/ 2008 financial year, hospital managers will be involved in budget discussions so that their needs such as staffing would be taken into consideration (HI2, Q2.1: 7-12)

b. Inputs from other departmental sectors will be acknowledged (HI2, Q2.1: 26-28)

2.2. Unsatisfactory working conditions:

Reproach: Health workers are not satisfied in South Africa: there is poor management, poor opportunities for promotion, poor facilities, high level of crime and poor circumstances of life:

Reproach on emigration:

2.2.1 Justification

Reframe principles:

The excuse has employed the mitigation of blame through the appeal of the dismal past of the country. The interviewee argues that it was difficult for South Africans to have access to other countries because of sanctions that were posed on South Africa, but now new opportunities for people have been created and as such one cannot keep people away from those opportunities (HI2, Q2.2: 1-4)

2.2.2 Justification

Right of self-fulfillment:

The justifier argues that it was difficult for South Africans to have access to other countries because of sanctions that were posed on South Africa and resources are scarce because of previous oppression, so people would move away for better opportunities (HI2, Q2.2: 4-11)

Reproach of poor administration

2.2.3 Excuse

Causal excuse: null cause:

The excuse attempts to disconnect the interviewee from the reproach by introducing another source external from the excuse-giver which should bear responsibility for the failure event. The interviewee mentions that problems with the administration of salaries where you find that workers are not paid in time is actually the problem of administrators and not the government. On the other hand, administrators blame the problems on the shortage of staff, but then the existing staff should be able to do the work (HI2, Q2.2: 10 -26)

2.2.4   Justification

Higher values: Transcendence:

The justifier is trying to place the problem within a broader context by arguing that the department has no proper manager system to look after all the challenges it is faced with (HI2, Q2.2: 62-64)

Reproach on poor salaries

2.2.5   Excuse

Causal excuse: null cause:

The excuse-giver is of the opinion that the problem relating to remuneration may not be blamed on the department because employees have a bargaining chamber through which their grievances are debated; the department only implements decisions of the bargaining chamber. Thus, this reproach should be directed to that direction (HI2, Q2.2: 29-34)

Reproach of poor promotion opportunities

2.2.6   Excuse

Causal excuse: null cause:

The excuse-giver mentions two sources as responsible for the failure event as an attempt to disconnect self from the reproach. The following are such sources:

a. The poor quality of administrators who do not focus properly on all areas under their jurisdiction (HI2, Q2.2: 35-43)
b. Even when health workers submit their certificates for promotion purposes, managers do not give attention to them (HI2, Q2.2: 44-48)

Reproach on crime

2.2.4 Excuse

Agency: Joint Production

The excuse-giver argues that the issue of safety in these health centers is not the sole responsibility of the department of health but other sectors are also involved and are the ones that should be at the centre-stage of the whole situation. He mentions the SAPS (South African Police Services) and the community as such sectors (HI2, Q2.2: 51-55)

2.2.5 Excuse

Causal excuse: null cause:

The interviewee is also of the opinion that the issue of security should not be blamed on the department. Instead the causality of failure should be on the employed security officers and thus they should bear responsibility for this reproach as they fail and/or have failed to perform their duties as expected. This excuse has been employed with the intention of disconnecting the interviewee from the reproach (HI2, Q2.2: 55-64)

2.3   Problem of doctors:

Reproach: Doctors have very few administrative personnel to assist them; they sometimes have to work as porters; they are poorly paid and there are no promotion opportunities:

Reproach on salaries of doctors

2.3.1 Excuse

Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility:

The interviewee mentions that salaries are established by the central government and that provinces cannot be able to pay more, it has to be uniform (HI2, Q2.3: 1-4)

2.3.1　Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier mentions that doctors salaries have to be reviewed because they are not paid much and this move should then outweigh the current negative consequences (HI2, Q2.3: 5-7 and 10-11)

2.3.2　Justification

Comparisons: Differentiation:

The justifier argues that doctors from other African states see these salaries in South Africa as good compared to their countries, and this should count for something (HI2, Q2.3: 8-10)

Reproach on porters

2.3.3　Justification

Higher values: Transcendence:

The interviewee argues that the problem ought to be placed in a broader context of all health workers. He mentions that porters are just as important as any other health worker. Each job should then be dealt with on merit and the department has decided to treat each job as a critical one to ensure the smooth running and rendering of health services (HI2, Q2.3: 12-21)

4.4.2.3　Shortage of medicine:

Problems with the delivery of medicine:

Reproach: Medicines are not delivered in time and moreover, hospitals and clinics have a shortage of qualified staff to dispense this medicine:

3.1　Excuse

Mitigation: Present adverse conditions:

The interviewee freely admits the adverse conditions facing the department and mentions specifically the following:

a. There is a shortage of qualified pharmacists in government hospitals (HI2, Q3: 1-2)
b. Orders of drugs are not made on time by the health centers (HI2, Q3:2-4)
c. Medicines are stolen in hospitals and clinics (HI2, Q3: 10-11)
d. Security staff do not do their job properly because they should search people for stolen medicines when they come in and out of health centers (HI2, Q3: 11-13)

3.2   Justification

Higher values: Reframe principles;

The justifier mentions that the hospitals should follow a new system with medicine based on past experience and understanding of ordering and delivery process (HI2, Q3: 6-10)

Reproach on clinics

3.3   Concession:

The interviewee acknowledges the guilt, that:

a. People go to hospitals instead of going to their local clinics (HI2, Q3: 13-17)
b. Clinics are not well-equipped in that there are no doctors, nurses and medicine (HI2, Q3: 18-19)
c. The primary healthcare in Cuba is good because it has everything that is necessary to ensure that people get all the help they need as far as health issues are concerned (HI2, Q3: 19-25)
d. The conditions of clinics are such that needs of people are not addressed accordingly (HI2, Q3: 26-28)

4.4.2.4 Primary Health Care

Reproach: There is a general decline in clinics' buildings and equipment compared to the problem in hospitals. These clinics have huge staff problems and the existing staff has to cope with immense numbers of patients:

4.1   Concession

The interviewee acknowledges the failures of the department as far as the primary healthcare is concerned. He mentions that:

a. People go to hospitals instead of going to their local clinics; clinics are not well-equipped in that there are no doctors, nurses and medicine and the conditions of clinics are such that needs of people are not addressed as expected and required (Hi2, Q4: 1-10)

b. Many clinics in the province have shortages of staff and medicine (HI2, Q4: 11-14)

c. The existing budget in the Province of the Eastern Cape will never solve problems that the province is faced with (HI2, Q4: 15-24)

d. Due to the limited budget, the Province of the Eastern Cape will always have a shortfall (HI2, Q4: 25-28)

4.4.2.5 The high mortality rate of infants and malnourished children

Reproach: There is no excuse for infant mortality and malnourished children. The effect of these problems is devastating to the development of the province because the eventual workforce will be depleted:

5.1   Concession

Acknowledge negative consequences:

The interviewee acknowledges two negative consequences of the reproach:

a. There is much poverty in the Eastern Cape (1-5)

b. There are government intervention programs, but they are not properly coordinated (HI2, Q5:5-10 and 24-30)

5.2   Justification

Higher values: reframe principles: transcendence:

The justifier is trying to reframe principles by putting these issues on a broader context. He argues that the committee should look at the impact of the poverty alleviation programs to see if they serve the purpose for which they are intended (HI2, Q5: 10-14)

5.3   Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier mentions that poverty can be alleviated through agricultural development and big industries that could invest in the Province (HI2, Q5: 14-23)

1.   Language and style

1.1 *Syntactic level:*

a. Length of sentences:

The account has very long sentences. See *i.a.* Q1.1: 2-6, 13-17 and 21-36. These sentences range from five to six lines. However, the length of the sentences is not a problem because in the spoken isiXhosa language there are generally longer sentences than the written version.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences that have been used are quite complex in that each sentence has more than one verb. See i.a. Q1.1: 2-6, the sentence has seven verbs: *ndingatsho*, *andivumelani, alizikhathalele, ndicinga, kufuneka, siqonde, dotyelelwa*.

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban or modern version of isiXhosa as it is not the typical Transkeian and Ciskeian kind of isiXhosa. It is not a dialect though, but just a modern standard of the language mostly used by the urbanized adults and the youth.

1.2   Lexical level:

a. Lexical diversity:

i.   Technical   terms: The interviewee has used such technical terms as: *ukudotyelelwa, umbuso, ukuphuhla, nyakamali, izikrweqe, imiqathango, unxibelelwano, iyabadimaza, ukuzithathel'ingqalelo,   uMphathiswa, umgaqo-siseko, uzimiselo, uNdlunkulu, iphondo, umceli-mngeni, ulwabiwo-mali, umthelela, ummiselo,* etc. He uses these terms because as the legislator these

terms are his daily bread and he should be teaching the public about government policies and programs which entail these terms.

ii. *English terms:* the accounter has also used a lot of English terms probably because parliament deliberations are mostly conducted in English and that it is sometimes difficult to find Xhosa equivalence of such terms. Examples of these terms are: *istructures, iorganogram, khompleksi, iwodi, ezi-ofisini, we-administration, iiadministrators, weephotha, kweepharmacists, iimini-theatres,* etc.

iii. *Innovative Xhosa words:*
   Ucelomngeni (cela+ umngeni)
   Ulwabiwo-mali (ukwaba+ imali)
   Ezingaginyisimathe (ukuginya+ amathe)

b. Language imagery:

i. Metaphor

The account-giver has used such metaphors as: *"…ikumgangatho ophezulu…"* (HI2, Q3: 20-21). This means that the primary healthcare in Cuba is the best. Another example: *"…ngokwaselulawulweni…"* (HI2, Q2.2: 11), means administration wise.

ii. Simile

The account-giver uses simile in his speech repertoire. Examples are as follows:
"…njengeedisaster areas…" (pg 44) (HI2, Q5: 18)
"…njengabaphathi… (Page 31) (HI2, Q2.1: 6)
"…ezinjengokongezwa kwabasebenzi. (Page 31) (HI2, Q2.1: 12)

1.3 Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used unequivocal language in his account because the information provided is directly stated. The use of unequivocation language benefits the source credibility and the perceived quality of arguments.

2.   Language use

2.1   Politeness:

The interviewee has tried to avoid the FTAs by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat such as concessions and excuses. However, the account-giver has chosen to perform the FTA, that he did on-record and off-record. On-record is expressed unambiguously through the use of justifications in his account especially the "appeal to higher authorities". The off-record strategy is expressed ambiguously so that the account-giver cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent. The conclusion of the expression is thus left to the reproacher as to what the accounter really means or wants to communicate.

2.2   Effectiveness:

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the accounter has chosen to use mostly justifications and excuses. Among justifications that have been used are those that appeal to right of self-fulfillment and those that appeal to future benefits which outweigh the present negative aspects There are 13 justifications in total.

Present benefits	1
Future benefits	4
Right to self-fulfillment	1
Reframe Principles:	1
Comparison, Differentiation	1
Transcendence	5

The excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances as they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances. The interviewee has used 21 excuses in his account:

Causal excuses: Null cause	6
Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	10
Mitigation: Past adverse conditions	2
Defeasibility: Ignorance	1
Agency: Joint production	1
Diffuse responsibility	1

The interviewee has chosen such strategies that have the potential of success. He has decided to employ justifications especially those that appeal to additional benefits and excuses that mitigate the blame because they are among strategies that are regarded as effective.

2.3   Power of speech style:

The strategies used are those that have a potential of blame avoidance and thereby claiming credit for the account-giver and the department. Such a strategy is justification.

Interview 2

ISebe lezeMpilo

Intetho yoMgomo (2005/2006) yoMphathiswa Obekekileyo wezeMpilo waseMpuma Koloni igxininise kwimiba ethile yezempilo ekukudala ifumaniseka iyingxaki.

Department of Health

The Policy Speech (2005/2006) of the Hon. MEC for Health in the Eastern Cape focused on certain specific health issues which have been problem areas for a long time.

First reproach: p. 8

1.   Inkqubo yokuphuhliswa ngokutsha kweZibhedlele (p. 7-9)

Reproach 1.1

iSebe lezeMpilo linenkqubo yokuphuhliswa kwamaziko akhoyo malunga umz. nezi njongo zilandelayo: "Ukuqoqosha nokuphuhliswa kwemeeko nenkangeleko kwizakhiwo zesibhedlele ndawonye nezixhobo zokusebenza kwizibhedlele" (p. 8).

Izakhiwo nezixhobo zizebhedlele eMpuma Koloni aziqwalaselwa ngendlela ekumgangatho ophezulu. Nangona amaziko nezakhiwo ezikhoyo ephuhliswa ngoku kwaye nezibhedlele zinyusa umgangatho wazo, ingxaki engundoqo isemi, leyo ke yile yokuqwalaselwa nokugcinwa kakuhle kwezibhedlele. Izakhiwo ndawonye nezixhobo zifuna ukunonotshelwa rhoqo, kodwa kukhangeleka le nkathalo ingaqwalaselwa kakuhle kangangokuba nophuhliso olusanda kwenziwa luphele lupatyalaka okanye luchaphazeleka ngephanyazo.

Eh…h ndithi mandiqale ndibulele elithuba lihle kangakanana ondinike lona.

Ngokomxholo walo mbuzo ndingatsho ngelingathandabuziyo ukuba andivumelani nje kwaphela nale mbono yokuba isebe lezeMpilo alizikhathalele konke konke izakhiwo zalo, kodwa ndicinga ukuba kufuneka kuqala siqonde ukuba eli phondo lelinye lalwo ayedotyelelwe ngumbuso wangaphambili wocalu-calulo ngezizathu ke ezahlukeneyo. Esokuqala kwezo zizathu sesokuba eli phondo lelinye lalawo ayezibalule ngokuthath'inxaxheba kwezopilitiko ukulwa nombuso welo xesha, wona ke owathi wenza ngako konke okusemandleni wawo ukuba eli phondo linganikwa thuba lokuphuhla. Ngeso sizathu ke singatsho sithi kungoko sinokukusilela kuphuhliso, usilelo olukhulu kakhulu olungenakho nokuncedwa lulwabiwo-mali esilufumanayo kuba alulingenanga nanjengoko lulindeleke ukuba lujongane nolu silelo lungumphumela wemo yocalu-calulo lwamandulo, kuquka nemimiselo yakalokunje.

Ngoko ke, qho sinolwabiwo-mali, kufuneka siqale sanik'ingqwalasela kuloo miba yosilelo lwamandulo. Kodwa akhona amanyathelo urhulumente awathathileyo ingakumbi xa ujonga intsebenziswano ekhoyo kwesinye sezibhedlela zethu; iyancomeka kakhulu kuba apho ufumana amaziko amabini elizimeleyo nelo liwela phantsi kukarhulumente. Into eyenzekayo ke apho yeyokuba abantu bayakwazi ukuzikhethela aze athi lowo unemali azikhethele ukuba yena uzakuya kweli ziko lizimeleyo, ndicinga ukuba le yeyona ndlela incomekayo yokunika abantu amathuba okuzikhethela. Enye into yile yokuba thina siyikomiti sikhe sazindwendwela ezinye zezibhedlele, eneneni sifumanise iimeko ezingaginyisimathe, kodwa nangani kunjalo ingxaki apho ilele khona ikubantu abajongene nezi zibhedlela ekufuneka beyiqonde kakuhle into yokuba imbono noyilo lombutho ophetheyo ukuba iyintoni ngokuphathelele ekuziseni iinkonzo ebantwini nokuhlangabezana nezi ngxaki zikhoyo. Isizathu kukuba abasebenzi abanalwazi lwaneleyo olunokubanceda ekuhlangabezaneni nezi meko. Ewe ndiyavuma, isebe lijongene nemiceli-mngeni emininzi kodwa ke lenza unako-nako ukuzisombulula ngezo zikrweqe zinqongopheleyo.

1. *Hospital revitalization programme* (p. 7-9)

The Department of Health has a programme for infrastructure development with i.e. the following aim: "The rationalising and improving of the condition and quality of hospital buildings as well as the condition of hospital equipment" (p. 8).

The hospital buildings and hospital equipment in the Eastern Cape are not maintained to a very good standard. Although infrastructure is now being developed and hospitals being upgraded, the central problem remains, and this is concerned with the maintenance. Both buildings and equipment need continuous care but such care is not properly catered for so that any new development will also fall into disrepair.

Well, let me first say this, thank you very much for giving me this opportunity.

On the topic of the question I wouldn't 100% agree with you with the assumption that the Provincial department of Health is not looking after its assets, but I think we need to understand that the Eastern Cape is among the provinces that were depressed and oppresed by the previous government for various reasons. The first reason is that this was one of the key provinces in terms of political involvement and the efforts from the previous state was that the Eastern Cape province must not be given the opportunity of developing and/or growing economically and for that reason we would like to say that we have a backlog, a huge backlog which also the budget we get will not address these backlogs, but a budget that takes care of the current situation. Now, each time that we are having a budget, a budget that is not adequate enough but it also has to address those historical backlogs. But, there are some strides that are taken by the government especially if you look at the partnership in one of our hospitals; it is good in that in the same hospital you get two service centres which the other one is a public centre then the other a private centre. So, people have choices in that if you have some cash you can decide not to use the public centre. I think that this is the best way of giving options to people. Another thing is that as a committee we visited some of the hospitals and yes indeed there are areas that need urgent attention, but again it is not a question of funds but a question of officials who need to understand exactly what is a the programme or vision of the organization that is in government in terms of addressing these issues. But, officials in most of the time you will find that they are not informed enough to understand these issues. So, to me, yes there are some challenges but those challenges the department is trying to address with those limited resources.

Follow-up reproach: p. 9

Reproach 1.2

Zikwakho neengxelo kumaphephandaba ngengxaki zokunikezelwa kweenkonzo kweli Sebe: imali ibibekwe bucala ukujongananophuhliso lezibhedlele ayisetyenziswanga (Sunday Times, April 16, 2006, p.18)

Imali eyi-R10m?

Ewe, ingakumbi xa uqwalasela ela lizwi lam lithi 'abasebenzi' kuba ukuba abasebenzi bayazenza iinzame zokuyisebenzisa ngokukuko imali abayinikiweyo ingakumbi besazi nje ukuba yimali enemiqathango yona efuna kufakwe iinkcukacha zoko uzakwenza ngayo kuba ayisithi thina boonopolitika abafanele ukwenza oko. Konke oku ke kufike kuthi ngomzuzu wokugqibela xa imali ifanele ukubuyiselwa emva kuNdlunkulu kuba ingasetyenziswanga. Ayisithi konke ngabasebenzi besebe abafanele ukutsho ukuba le mali iza kusetyenziswa njani kwaye ke ngaxeshanye, omnye angathi sithi thina bezopolitiko abebefanele ukuyilandelela le mali sibone ukuba iyawenza na lo msebenzi ebeyikhutshelwe wona, kodwa ndingatsho ibelilishwa nje elo.

There are also reports in the press about problems with delivery in this department: the money which has been budgeted for hospitals has not been spent (Sunday Times, April 16, 2006, p.18)

Which is R10m?

Yes, if you take into account my statement that says 'officials' because if the officials have made efforts of utilizing that money as they know exactly that with a conditional grant you have to submit a business plan that I want to do the following, and it is not us as politicians who have to do that. So, all this only came to our attention when the money had to be forfeitedbecause they had a capacity problem of coming up with the plan of accessing those funds. It is not us politicians but departmental officials and at the same time one would say it is the political authority that should have supposedly picked up that, but then it is one of those unfortunate things.

Follow-up comment:

Undibeth'emlonyeni xa bendiza kubuza ukuba nina njengoonopolitika yeyiphi indima eniyidlalileyo ukuqinisekisa ukuba iinkqubo zesebe endikholelwa kwelokuba zigale zixoxwe nina kuqala nize nizise kwisebe ukuba lisebenze ngazo, yeyiphi imigaqo eniyithathayo ukuqinisekisa ukuba oko kuyenzeka. Ndicinga ukuba undiphendulile ke xa usithi nani niye nasilela ke apho njengoonopolitika okanye abaseki-mthetho.

I was just about to ask about the role that you as politicians play to see to it that the departmental programs which I believe are first discussed by the committee then taken forward to be implemented by the department, what steps then do you take to see to it that they are indeed implemented? I think you have addressed that by saying you have also failed there as politicians or legislators.

Ewe, ngenene kunjalo.
Yes, we did.

Second reproach: p. 9

Reproach 2.1

2.   Oovimba abajolise ebantwini (p. 10-11)

iSebe lezeMpilo linakana "ukushokoxeka okuqgubayo kwabasebenzi kwiindawo ezinongcipheko" (p. 10).

Abaphathi besibhedlele bona baqwalasela ukusebenza kwesibhedlele imihla ngemihla; umsebenzi wabo ujolise ekuphuhliseni isibhedlele nabasebenzi kuphela. Abaphathi abanalawulo luthe ngqo kulwabiwo-mali lwesibhedlele nto leyo ebangela ukuba bangabi nathuba laneleyo lokuqesha abasebenzi abaninzi, ingakumbi abongikazi nooqgirha abasemthethweni nabafanelekileyo. Aba basebenzi bezempilo bajongene nemimandla ethile baye babe mathidala ukusebenza phantsi kwezi meko zingaginyisi mathe ezinamawadi ambalwa onyango kunye nezikrweqe ezinqongopheleyo. Abasebenzi bayachaphazeleka zezi meko zimbi kwaye maxa wambi kufuneka basebenze iiyure ezili-12 ngemini babe abanye abongikazi kunyazeleka ukuba bakhathelele izigulane ezingama-20 ukuya kuma-30. Le ngxaki inefuthe elibi kwimveliso kwaye ibangela ukuba abasebenzi bangabi namdla wakusebenzela eli Phondo. Ingxaki evamise ukwenzeka malunga naba mongikazi kukukhalazela kwabo imivuzo: Umvuzo womongikazi awunakumkhuthaza umongikazi omtsha ukuba eze kolu hlobo lomsebenzi.

2. Ndicinga ukuba nakwelo inqaku, sifumanise ukuba njengokuba besijikeleza kwezi zibhedlele nakuthetha-thethwano esiye saba nalo nabaphathi bezibhedlele, xa sibuza umbuzo wokuba bayayithatha inxaxheba kusini na kwiingxoxo ezingolwabiwo-mali, impendulo yaba nguhayi. Siphinde sabuza ukuba "ingaba iimfuno zenu ziqwalaselwa njani xa ningathathi nxaxheba njengabaphathi bezi khompleksi" nalapho safumanisa ukuba unxibelelwano abanalo luphakathi kwabo nentsumpa yephondo kuphela. Besisandul'ukuba nentlanganiso nontsumpa lowo kwezi veki zimbini sibuye ngazo kolu tyelelo yena oqinisekise into yokuba ukususela kulo nyaka-mali ka-2007/2008 abaphathi bezibhedlele bazakubandakanywa kwiingxoxo ezingolwabiwo-mali lwezibhedlele kuba sifumanise ukuba imali abayinikwayo ayikwazi kujongana neemfuno ezinjengokongezwa kwabasebenzi. Liyinene ke elokuba iimeko zezibhedlele azincumisi nje kwaphela ingakumbi ebantwini abaselula anjengoko uyakufumanisa ukuba abasebenzi abaninzi abasekhoyo ngabo sele bekhulile, banemizi yabo kwaye abanathemba lento yimbi. Elona nqaku lam ke leli lokuba abaphathi bezibhedlele ngenene ababandakanywa kuba uyakufumanisa ukuba xa uthetha nalaa mntu upha ezi-ofisini ephondweni ngezinto ezifana nokusebenza nzima kwabantu apho ufumana abantu ababini bejongene newodi enye, akanalwazi lwalonto kuba ayingqamenanga naye. Sifumanise kwesinye sezibhedlele imeko apho amagumbi egcwele ngokumangalisayo babe abongikazi bebabini kuphela, ufumanise ke ngoku ukuba aba bantu balapha bagula kakhulu bonke, bayakhala bafuna uncedo nomongikazi ufumane ukuba uthi elapha abe ephaya abe engabaniki nkathalo ifanelekileyo aba bantu ngolo hlobo. Le yimeko embi kakhulu kuba abongikazi basebenza nzima kakhulu kwaye iimeko abasebenza phantsi kwazo iyabadimaza kakhulu. Kodwa ke nanjengoko ndisitsho, le yimeko untsumpa wephondo athembise ukuba uyinika ingqwalasela nokuba uzakuzithathel'ingqalelo zonke iimbono ezisuka kumancandelo ngamacandelo esebe.

2. *Human resources* (p. 10-11)

The Department of Health recognizes "the current acute shortage of staff in critical positions" (p. 10).

The hospital management, who oversees the day-to-day running of the hospitals, is limited in developing the hospital and its staff. The management has no direct access to its budget and thus they have limited means to employ more staff, especially qualified nurses and specialist doctors. Such specialized health care workers are also reluctant to work in poor conditions with few specialized wards and equipment. The nursing staff also suffers with these abnormal conditions and sometimes has to work for 12 hours a day with some nurses having to look after 20 to 30 patients. This

problem has an impact on their productivity and it makes them reluctant to work for the province. A recurring problem with these nurses is their complaint about salaries: the salary for a nurse does not encourage new nurses to enter the profession.

I think also on that one, we established as we had visits recently to the hospitals and within the interaction that we had and the CEOs (Chief executive officers) of the cluster hospitals or complexes, when we asked the question of participation in the budget processes at it earliest stages, the answer was no. Then we asked the following question that "how are your interests taken on board if you are not participating as the CEO of the complex" and we discovered that they only have interaction with the provincial SG (Superintendent-general). It is only now in our two-week meeting back from the visits that the SG when we asked the question he said that as of this coming financial year (2007-2008) that the hospital managers would be participating because we saw that the current budgets are not taking into account those needs such as staffing. Indeed, the conditions in some of these hospitals are not attractive most especially to young people because you find that most people who are remaining in those conditions are older people who have their homes and have no chances of going to explore other avenues. So, basically my point is that the participation of those hospital managers has been very limited and if you talk to a person from the head office about a situation whereby a ward is being handled by only two people, he or she will not understand what you are talking about because she or he is not directly involved. Now in one of the hospitals that we visited we found a situation of very overcrowded wards with very sick people and only two nurses. It was very strange because all patients were crying out for attention and the nurses are running around not giving proper attention to the patients. So, this is a situation that is not normal hence we are saying the nurses are realy overworked and at times they are a little bit demotivated. But, as I am saying these are the challenges that the SG has acknowledge and promised that they will try to address taking into account all the inputs from various sectors.

Follow-up reproach: p.10

Reproach 2.2

Ingxelo yakutshanje yeWorld Health Organization (WHO) ichaza izizathu ezininzi ezingunobangela wokuba abasebenzi bezonyango abonelisekanga eMzantsi Afrika: ulawulo olungancumisiyo; ukushokoxeka kwamathuba okonyuselwa; ukushokoxeka kwezixhobo zokusebenza; ukwanda kolwaphulo-mthetho kunye nokungancumisi kweemeko zokuphila kwaba bantu.

Kulo mbuzo wemfuduko, uyabona siyinxalenye losapho lwebathi jikelele ngoko ke ngexa ebesizabalaza ngalo, sasizabalazela ukuba kuvuleke amathuba kumntu wonke walapha eMzantsi Afrika, awukwazi kubeka miqathango ezakuthintela abanye abantu bangayi kukhangela amrhiwu aluhlaza. Kwakhona, ubani kufuneka akhumbule ukuba sineminyaka nje elishumi elinesibini sifumene ikululeko ingakumbi xa ujonga emva apho sisuka khona neminyak ebesicinezeleke ngayo. Kuthi ke ngoku xa kufumaneka ubutyebana obungephi kulindeleke ukuba mabahlulwe khon'ukuze kuxhamle wonke ummi weli lizwe. Abantu ke ngenxa yoko bayalandulela eli amatyeli ngamatyeli besiya kuzingela amadlelo aluhlaza madlelo lawo athi abe phesheya kwezilwandle. Xa ndibuyela ke kumbuzo we-administration, ewe ngokwaselulawuleni sifumanise nanjengoko besisenza utyelelo into esenze salwa kakhulu nabo ngokuthi umntu xa eqeshiwe kule nyanga ayikho into eyenza ukuba loo mntu ade aye kwinyanga yesibini engabhatalwa. Ezo ziingxaki ezingolawulo lwesebe ezingenanto yakwenza norhulumante. Ii-administrators ngabantu abaqeshwe lisebe ukulawula iinkqubo zesebe nokujongana nemiba efuna ukuphunyezwa kuba ke

eneneni ayikho imfuneko yenzinye zezi ngxaki. Umzekelo, ukuba umntu uqeshiwe phantsi kuka-HR, akukho nosuku olugqithayo la mntu engabhatalwanga imali yakhe ukuba kufuneka erhole nge-15th imali iyaphuma ngala 15th kungenjalo ulwa kubebomvu. Usenokuyiqonda ke nawe ukuba inokuba injani into yokuba ziqengqeleke iinyanga zibe okanye zibe ntathu ungarholi. Ezi zizinto esizifumanisileyo kubantu esithe saneengxoxo nabo ukuba xa benokuqeshwa lisebe zisenokuqengqeleka iinyanga bengabhatalwa. Zizamile ke ukuqonda kwabaka-HR ukuba ingxaki iphi na, ngokwesiqhelo ke ityala libekwe kumba wokushokoxeka kwabasebenzi, kodwa ayisosizathu eso kuba bakhona abo baqeshiwe ekufanele bewenzile umsebenzi wabo ongundoqo kwabanye abasebenzi. Into endiyitshoyo ke yeyokuba zikhona wena ezo zinto kodwa ke nabantu ngokunjalo bayakusoloko bewazingela amarhiwu aluhlaza.

Xa sisiza kumba wemivuzo, ngelishwa ke abasebenzi banento apha ebizwa ngokuba yi-bargaining chamber apho izinto zixoxwa khona nabammeli babo kuthi xa bengoneliseki sisabelo okanye i-scale abasinikwayo loo nto bathi bahlangabezane nayo kwnagalo mbobo. Thina ke silisebe alukho uhlenga-hlengiso esinokulenza ngaphandle nje kokufezekisa okanye ukuphumelelisa ezo zigqibo kufikelelwe kuzo yi-bargaining chamber.

A recent report of the World Health Organization (WHO) gives many reasons why health workers are not satisfied in S.A: there is poor management; poor opportunities for promotion; poor facilities; high level of crime and poor circumstances of life for these people.

Within the question of exodus, you see we are part of a global family so when we were struggling we were struggling for opening up opportunities for people; you cannot put any conditions that will prevent the other person from exploring other opportunities. Again, one must take into account that we are only 12 years in our democracy regarding all those years that we were oppressed, therefore resources are scarce and the few resources that are available are shared amongst all the citizens of the country. People would therefore from time-to-time look for greener pastures which happen to be overseas. Then coming back to the question of administration, yes administrationwise as we have also picked up from our visits that made us fight with them by saying that if one is employed this month then there is no need for that person to go to the second month without getting paid, so those are administrative issues that have nothing to do with the government. Administrators are people that are employed by the department to manage those programs and deal with those that need implementation because there is no need for some of these things to happen. For instance, if an official is employed under HR, not a day goes by without him or her being paid and if he or she is supposed to get the salary on the 15th, on the 15th the salary is paid out failing which the person will fight tooth and nail. So, you can imagine what happens to a person who does not get paid for a month or two to three. These are the things that we picked up from the people we had a meeting with that if they are employed by the department of health they might go for months without getting paid. We asked from HR what the problem was and of course they blamed it on the shortage of personnel, but that is not an excuse because if personnel is not enough those that are there they have a job to do which is very critical to the welfare of other employees. So what I am saying is that there are those things, but then again people will always seek greener pastures.

When it comes to the issue of salaries or remuneration, unfortunately they have a bargaining chamber where everything is debated through their representatives and if they feel that the scales are not good enough then they must deal with it through that angle because. As a department there are no further adjustments that we can make

except for implementing those that have been agreed upon in the bargaining chamber.

Follow-up reproach:

Kuthekani ke ngamathuba okonyuselwa?

Kuyafana. Kwenye yeeklinikhi kukho isister ebithetha kwale nto isithi ineminyaka emininza isebenza phaya kwaye akakaze zfumane ukonyuselwa. Ewe ikhona loo nto kodwa xa lo mbuza uwubhekisa kwakwezaa officials bendithetha ngazo, bazakukuxelela ukuba baphezu kwawo loo mcimbi. So, into endiyitshoyo yeyokuba kusenokwenzaka ukuba asinazo ii-administrators eziphuhlileyo ukujongana nale miba kuba banesimbo sokujongana nento enye ngexesha bazityeshele okanye bangazihoyi ezinye. Le nto ibonisa ukuba asinabo abaphathi nabasebenzi abanezakhono eziphangaleleyo ukujongana nemiba kuquka namacandelo onke esebe ngaxeshanye angokufanelekileyo.

What about the promotion opportunities?

The same applies. In one clinic I was approached by one sister saying that she has been there for quite a number of years and she has not received any promotion. Yes, that is there, but when you ask the very same officials they will tell you that they are looking at that. So, what I am saying is that we might not be having good administrators to look at these issues; they tend to focus on one area and neglecting others. This shows that we do not have multi-skilled personnel that are looking at the holstical functioning of the hospital administration.

Follow-up reproach:

Ingaba isebe alinayo inkqubo ekhoyo mhlawumbi apho athi umntu xa eqeshwe lisebe kangaka ngeminyaka ethile, umzekelo emihlanu loo mntuusenokonyuselwa kwinqanaba eliphezulu ingakumbi xa athe waziphuhlisa ngokuthi afunde?

Abantu bayazifaka iinkcucukacha nezatifikethi zabo babe bezifaka kuNdlunkulu, kwaye ke njengokuba ndisitsho abanye abaphathi abawenzi umsebenzi wabo kuba kaloku xa ndisebenza phantsi kwakho kwaye ndiripota kuwe kumele uyazi into endiyenzayo. Ingxaki ke ikwinto yokuba abantu abaninzi bakwimisebenzi abangayilungelanga njekwaphela nabangaqeqeshelawanga yona.

Doesn't the department have some program in place that says maybe if a person has been employed for a certain number of years, say five years for example, then that person may be promoted especially if he or she has upgraded him or herself in terms of skills development and further education?

They do make submissions of their certificates but to the head office and as I am saying certain managers are not doing their jobs because if I account to you then you should be aware of what is it that I am supposed to account for. The problem then is that most people are getting jobs that they do not really qualify for.

Follow-up reproach:

Kukwakho ke nalo mba wolwaphulo-mthetho kumaziko ezempilo.

Ndicinga ukuba ngoku besiseLisikisiki abantu bakhalazile kakhulu ngolwaphulo-mthetho kula maziko, kwaye oko kunomthelela ombi kakhulu kubasebenzi nto leyo ebenza bangabinamdla wakusebenza kwezi ndawo. Lo ke ngumba oquka izinto ezininzi kuba kaloku xa usebenza kwiindawo ezinje, amanye amaziko afana noSAPS anendima ekufanel'uba ayidlale kuquka nabantu basekuhlaleni. Le asiyondima yesebe elinye kuloko ngumbandela wamasebe namacandelo ngamacandelo esebenzisana ndawonye. Elinye isolotya kula mba leli loonogada abaqeshelwe

ukugcin'ucwangco kuba ke eneneni mna andiqondi ukuba sifumana umsebenzi onguwo nowale mali siyibhatalayo xa ujonga into yokuba izehlo eziliqela zenzeka kanye kula maziko babe oonogada bekhona bebhatalwa nto leyo engamkelekanga nje kwaphela. Enye yeengxelo esizenzileyo, bendizakukubonisa qha ayikho apha ngoku, esithe sayithumela pha kwapublic works, sibuzile ukuba ingaba sifumana uxabiseko na ngemali esiyibhatalayo kwezi nkampani zoonogada. Konke oku kubuyela kulaa nto bendikhe ndayithetha yokuba asinabo abaphathi abafanelekileyo bokujongana nezixhono kuquka izakhiwo zesebe.

There is also this question of crime in the health centres.

I think when we were at Lusikisiki, people were complaining of the high rate of crime in these areas and that has a massive negative impact on the people's willingness to go and offer their services there. This is a combination of different things because if you are working there other agencies such as SAPS (South African Police Services) also have a role to play including members of the community not just a role of one entity; it is a whole range of stakeholders working together. Another problem is from the side of security guards that are employed because I do not think we realy get the value for the money that we pay for those securities as some of the incidents take place within the health centre premises something which is not acceptable. One of the reports that we have done, I would show you but it not herer now, which we submitted to Public works, we asked if 'do we realy get value for the money we pay for these security officers'. All this goes back to the fact that we do not have proper and efficient management system to look after these assets.

Follow-up reproach: p. 10

Reproach 2.3

Ingxelo yephephandaba iFinancial Mail ikwabalule neengxaki ooqgirha abathi bahlangabezane nazo: ukunqongophala kwabasebenzi njengabachwethezi, abantu ababizwa ngokuba ziiphotha ukuncendisa ukududula izigulani endaweni yokuba ooqgirha bazidudulele ngokwabo; imivuzo engancumisiyo: ooqgirha barholiswa iR139 000 ngonyaka ekubeni befumana iR480 000 ngonyaka eLondon; ukanti namathuba okonyuselwa amfiliba kakhulu.

Njengokuba ndisitsho ikhona ingxaki yemivuzo nengumbandela karhulumente kwaye ke ngelishwa ukuba oku akunikwa ngqwalasela phaya kuza kuba nzima kakhuli kuba kaloku nokuba iphondo belinokwenza unako nako wokurholisa abantu ngaphezu kommiselo karhulumente, oko akusayi kubasemgaqweni. Ewe ndicinga ukuba ummiselo wemivuzo kufuneka uhlahlutyiwe kuba ke nangona ndingenguye nje ugqirha kodwa xa ndijonga imivuza yabo ziipinatsi ingakumbi apha eMzantsi Afrika bona Bantu bakhe bajamelana neemeko ezimbi. Kodwa koogqirha abasuka kula mazwe angabammelwane, le yimivuzo encumisayo kakhulu ingakumbi xa beyithelekisa naleyo bebeyifumana kumazwe abasuka kuwo. Isiphelo nesigqibo ke sesi sokuba urhulumente kufuneka ezame unako nako ukuphucula imivuza yokuba nanjengoko ingancumisi nje kwaphela.

Kulo umba weephotha uyafana nalo wokushokoxeka kwabasebenzi, ngoko ke njengoko ndisitsho ukuba ohleli e-ofisini eBhisho akanalo ulwazi lwento eyenzekayo ezibhedlele, xa uthetha ngokunqongophala kweephotha uyijonga loo nto njengento engenguye undoqo njengokuba kukho le nto yeecritical posts, kum iphotha yicritical post. Into esiyithethile ke kukuba isikhundla ngasinye masiqwalaselwe ngokwesidima saso kuba ke ebunyanisweniasinakuthi ezona zikhundla zingundoqo zezo zoogqirha nabongikazi kuphela kunye nezo ziphezulu, nomntu lo utshayelayo ubalulekile ekuqinisekiseni ukuba iinkozo zonyango ezisemgangathweni ziyafumaneka.

Kufanele sigxininise kwaye siqinisekise ukuba kulo nyaka-mali ezo zikhundla ziyavalwa.

A report in the Financial Mail also highlighted the problems of doctors: they have very few administrative personnel to assist them, such as typists; very few porters in hospitals with the result that doctors must push patients around themselves; they have poor salaries- R139 000 per annum while in London they can get R480 000 per annum; there are also very few opportunities for promotion.

As I am saying there is a problem of remuneration is the governmental issue and unfortunately if it cannot be addressed at that level it would be difficult because if the province can make an exceptional case of paying more than what is stipulated, it would be an anomaly. Yes, I think the salary structure has to be reviewed because even though I am not a Doctor but when I look at what they are paid it is realy peanuts especially for South African doctors who have been exposed to a lot, but for doctors coming from other African states they see these salaries as far much better off than where they come from. The bottom line is that the government has to do something in terms of improving their scales as they are not impressive at all.

The question of porters is the same as that of shortage of personnel, so as I am saying that a person who is in an office in Bisho will not have a sense of what is going on when you say you have a shortage of porters, he or she would look at that as not a critical issue because we have this thing of critical posts which to me a porter is also a critical post. So, what we said is that each job should be dealt with on its merit because we honestly cannot say critical jobs are those of doctors and nurses or all those high-level positions, even a cleaner is critical to maintainng health standards. We then have to press harder on that even on this coming financial year that those vacancies must be filled.

Third reproach: p. 11

3.   Ukushokoxeka kwamachiza

iSebe lezeMpilo linakana ingxaki yokuhanjiswa kwamachiza kwaye enye yeenjongo zalo ezingundoqo kukuphuhlisa oku kuhanjiswa kwamachiza: "imeko ephuhlileyo nobukho bamayeza namachiza ukuze kunciphe okanye kutshatyalaliswe ngokupheleleyo ukushokoxeka kwamachiza obebukade buqguba" (p. 5).

Ingxaki yamachiza amiselweyo ezibhedlele nakwiiklinikhi yingxaki enamajingxeba. Iimeko eziphathelele kumachiza zicace gca: okokuqala, ingxaki engonikezelo: nangona izibhedlele zisenza kangangoko zinakho ukuzuza umlinganiselo onguwo wamachiza, zisoloko zifumanisa ukuba ukuba la machiza awahanjiswanga. Okwesibini, izibhedlele neeklinikhi zinabasebenzi abasemthethweni abambalwa abanokunikezela la machiza. Ekupheleni kwalo mjelo wokunikezelwa kwamachiza ubani uye afumane isigulane singenawo amachiza okanye isigulane kufuneke isigulane silinde ixesha elide phambi kokuba sifumane amachiza angawo.

Eh…h leyo ndicinga ukuba idalwa kukushokoxeka kweepharmacists (abaphithikezi-mayeza) abazakujongana nalo miba. Eyesibini indawo yile yoku-odolwa kwamayeza okwenziwa ixasha sele liphelile kuba abantu banalo mkhwa wokwenza ii-odolo xa sele beshiyekelwe ngamayeza ambalwa kakhulu kwaye ngaphezu koko nabo bamkela ezi odolo banezabo iinkqubo zokuhanjiswa kwala machiza ekufanele bezilandele. Ngoko ke siye sacebisa kwesinye sezibhedlele ebesiye kuzo ukuba kufanele babe nomgaqo abazakuthi bawulandele ngokuthi bafunde abebeyisebenzisa ngaphambili nokuthi ukusetyenziswa kwechiza elithile kumi njani kwelo ziko labo, apho basilele khona kwindlela abebe-odola ngayo kuquka nexesha lokubuya kwe-oda leyo yabo. Omnye umbandela ngulo wobusela kula maziko nto

leyo esibuyisela kulaa nto bendikhe ndathetha ngayo yoonogada kuba kaloku abasebenzi baphuma njani namayeza xa kanti bayasetshwa ngoonogada bengana naxa bephuma. So, kwakhona siphinde sathumela ilizwi kwisebe ukuba liwuse iso lo mbandela ukuba iinkonzo zempilo zikwazi ukusebenza ngendlela encomekayo kuba ngoku ufumanis abantu bengayi kwiilevel one centres (iiklinikhi) basuke baye ngqo kwiilevel two centres (izibhedlele) apho kufanele baye khona kuphela xa bethunyelwa yiklinikhi. Abekho oogqirha, abongikazi namayeza kula maziko aziklinikhi zibe ezi zinto zikhona ezibhedlele ezi ke kuthiwa ngoolevel two centres. Bendikhe ndandwendwela kwelaseCuba; iprimary health care yalapho ikumgangatho ophezulu kakhulu kangangokuba xa usiya kwezilevel two centres awusoze ufumane kugcwele kuba kaloku abantu bazifumana ngokwaneleyo iinkonzo phaya kwezi senta zingulevel one. Kukho oogqirha, abongikazi, amchiza ukanti namagunjana ezoqhaqho, iimini theatres ukutsho ke apho kwenziwa khona uqhaqho olungephi. Yonke into iyafumaneka apha kwaye ke ayibikhona imfuneko yokuba umntu afune ukuya esibhedlele. Lulele apho ke ucelomngeni lweprimary health care yethu kuba aluhlangabezani neemfuno zabantu nto leyo enokuthi ithibaze le ngxaki yokugxalathelana ezibhedlele.

3.   *Shortage of medicine*

The department of Health recognizes problems with delivery of medicine and one of its primary aims is to improve this delivery of medicine: "improved systems and availability of drugs and medicines in order to minimize if not eradicate completely shortages as in the past" (p. 5).

The problem of prescribed medicines in hospitals and clinics is a very old problem. The issues about medicine are clear: firstly, the supply problem: although hospitals make an effort to obtain the correct amount of medicine, they frequently find that these medicines are not delivered. Secondly, the hospitals and clinics have a shortage of qualified staff to dispense this medicine. At the end of this supply line one finds the patient with no medicine or a patient who has to wait a long time for the correct medicine.

Well, that one I think is the shortage of pharmacists to deal with those areas. The second area is the placement of orders very late because people have this tendency of making orders when they have very little left in their centres and on top of that those that are receiving orders have their own distribution program that they have to follow. So, we suggested to one of the hospitals that they should have a system to follow based on their past experiences of the average usage of certain types of medication and the understanding of the ordering processes as well as how long does it take for the medicines to be delivered. The other issue is that of theft within the health centres and this goes back to the point I raised of the security guards in these health centres because they do not search people who are moving in and out of these centres. So, again we have mandated the department to look at this for the health system to function well because people do not go to the level one centre, they go straight to the level two centre which is the hospital where they are supposed to go on a referral system. In level one centre there are no doctors, nurses and most of the time medicines whereas in level two all these are available. I once visited Cuba; their primary health care system is the best because if you go to level two centres you will not find people there because all their primary health needs are dealt with there, there is a doctor, nurses, medicines and theatres to deal with minor operations. So everything is there and there is no point for a person to say I want to another level or hospital. That is a situation with our health care system; it is not exactly addressing those primary health care issues that would help alleviate the problem.

Fourth reproach: p. 12

4.   Iinkonzo zonyango

iSebe lezeMpilo linemeko ephuhlileyo yokusebenza kweeklinikhi kwaye ezi klinikhi zivuzwa ngephesenti efanelekileyo yolwabiwo-mali olupheleleyo lonyango (45.9%): jonga kwiphepha 25 olunenkcukacha zolwabiwo-mali luka 2005/2006). Ezi klinikhi zijongene nenyambalala yezigulane kwaye zikwaqwalaselel kwimimandla ethile yezeMpilo efana nentsholongwane kaGawulayo (iHIV), iSifo sephepha, ulwaluko, isondlo, nezinye izifo.

Imeko yeeklinikhi sele iphuhliswe ithuba elide kakhulu ukuzama ukunceda izigulane kufutshane nendawo ezihlala kuzo. Ingqwalasela kwezi klinikhi ibonisa ukuhla jikelele kwizakhiwo nakwixhobo xa kuthelekiswa neengxaki kwizibhedlele. Ngaphezulu kunoko, ezi klinikhi ziinengxaki ezinkulu zabasebenzi kuba abasebenzi bazo kufuneka bejongene namanani aphezulu ezigulane.

Impendulo yam isamile ke nakulo umba kuba nanjengoko ndiyibalule into yokushokoxeka kwabasebenzi bezonyango njengoogqirha, abongikazi kunye nokushokoxeka kwamachiza kuquka neemeko ezingancumisiyo abaphangela phantsi kwazo kuba kaloku umzekelo ukuba uya kwiklinikhi aphokukho umongikazi omnye awunakulufumana uncedo nohoyo ngexesha olufuna ngalo nto ezakukwenza ukuba unyukele kwinqanaba elilandelayo abo uza kufumana uncedo olubhetele. Eyona nto ibakukekileyo ke kum yile yokuba kuphuhliswe eli nqanaba lisezantsi ukwenzela ukuba ube nazo zonke iimfanelo njengoogqirha, abongikazi, amachiza izinto ezizakwenza ukuba abantu bazive bonelisekile ziinkonzo abazifumanayo nabazakuzifumana eklinikhi.

Ukuhlangabezana nalo mcimbi weeklinikhi ezijongene neelali ezininzi, isebe liyokha ngoku ukongeza iiklinikhi kodwa ke naleyo ayiloncedo lubhekelephi xa kungakuzukubakho basebenzi ngaphakathi namyeza nagabikho ezo khilikhi zithi zifane nezingekhoyo, zibe ngunobenani nje. Le yingxaki enokusombululeka. Ingumnqa ke kum into yokuba lo mcimbi ube awuzange ujongwe njengombandela otshis'ibunzi kuba imimandla efana nephondo leMpuma Koloni kunye namanye amaphondo apho kungekho ngeniso, kwakufanele ukuba athatyathwe njengeedisaster areas. Bekufanel'ukuba anikwe ulwabiwo-mali olukhethekileyo ngaphandle kwale inikwayo yesiqhelo eyi-operational budget kwaye athathwe njengeentsana ezisadinga ukukokoswa khon'ukuze zikhule kwangaxeshanye zijongane nezi meko zilucelo-mngeni neebacklogs ngokunjalo. Sizamile ke ukuqonda kwisebe ukuba kwimeko efezekileyo loluphi ulwabiwo-mali olunokuthi lukwazi ukuhlangabezana nezi ngxaki zikhoyo zebacklogs zesebe, bathetha ke nge-R28b.

Comment:

*Ininzi kakhulu loo mali.

Ewe, ininzi kakhulu. Okwakalokunje sifumana iR6b ukujongana neenkqubo ezikhoyo ngoku nezizayo, ukanti inxalenye yale mali kufanele iphinde izame ukuhlangabezana nezibacklogs. Iyonke le nto yolu lwabiwo-mali ke ithetha ukuba thina apha eMpuma Koloni sakusoloko sisilela ngenxa yezibacklogs.

4.   Clinical services

The department of Health has a well developed system of clinics and these clinics are rewarded with a considerable percentage of the total budget for health care (45.9%): see p. 25 for budget details for 2005/2006). These clinics deal with a multitude of patients and also concentrate on specific areas such as HIV, TB, circumcision, nutrition and others.

The system of clinics has been developed over a considerable long time to help patients near the areas where they live. A close look at these clinics shows a general decline in the building and equipment comparable to the problem in hospitals. Furthermore, these clinics have huge staff problems and the existing staff has to cope with immense numbers of patients.

The same answer still stands that because of what I have just mentioned such as the shortage of health workers, doctors, nurses and the shortage of medicines including the environment that is not conducive because for example if you go to a clinic where there is one nurse, you will not get help or attention at the time that you need it and as a result people will move to levels where they believe they will get better treatment. To me the most fundamental thing is to beef-up that level so that you have all the necessities such as doctors, nurses and medicines; that would make people more comfortable with that kind of service.

In addressing the issue of clinics that serve many communities, the department is now building a lot of clinics, but at the same if there is no staff and medicines those clinics are non-existant or useless. This is the problem that can be addressed. To me it is a pity that this was not taken as a major issue because areas like Eastern Cape and maybe other provinces where there is not much income generation then they should have been declared disaster areas. They are supposed to be given a special type of a budget beside the operational budget and be treated as little babies that need to be nurtured so that they could deal with these issues, because our budget will never address al these backlogs, it will never and I am definitely sure about that. The reason is that the budget we get is an incremental budget that has to address these issues and make adjustments her and ther. So, we have asked the department that in an ideal situation what would be a budget that would address some of these shortcomings, they talk about R28b.

* That is a lot of money.

It is indeed a lot of money. At the moment we get R6b to take care of the current situation and the future, and some of this money has to address some of our historical backlogs. This entire budget problem means that we will always have shortfalls in terms of backlogs.

Fifth reproach: p. 13

5.   Iintsana nabantwana

Isebe lineenkqubo ezikhoyo ezigqwesileyo zokujongana nokubhubha kweentsana (p. 20) kunye nababtwana abangondlekanga (p. 21). Isebe likwanakana ingxaki engundoqo ngokuphathelele kwezi nkqubo: "ukugqwesa kwenkqubo kuthityazwa yindlala egqubayo" (p. 21).

Nangona kunjalo asikho nje kwaphela isizathu sokubhubha kweentsana nokungondleki kwabantwana. Ifuthe lezi ngxaki lichaphazela kakubi uphuhliso lwePhondo kuba abasebenzi abakhoyo bayancipha. Ubukho beenkqubo ezikhethekileyo ukuzama ukujongana nezi ngxaki ayisosisombululo kuba umlinganiselo wengxaki mkhulu kakhulu. Sisityholo kuluNtu nakuRhulumente ukuvumela ukuba iingxaki ezilolu hlobo ziqhubeke kwilizwe ledemokhrasi eliphuhle kangakanana.

Iphondo lethu liphondo apha ebelivinjwe amathuba ukususela mhlamnene kwaye nezinga lemfundo linefuthe kuquka nale mfuduko yabantu abahambayo bayokusebenza ezimayini ingakumbi xa uphinda uqwalasele ke ngoku into iimayini ziyabadenda abantu babuye baokuthi ntimfa apha ephondweni bengenamsebenzi

belambile. Iinkqubo zikarhulumente zokuhlangabezana nolu celo-mngeni aziyondelelaniswa ngokufanelekileyo kuba xa ujonga isebe lezeNtlalo-ntle, elezeMfundo kula nkqubo yaso yesidlo ezikolweni, iipasile zokutya kunye nezinye iinkqubo zokulwa nendlala aziqhutywa kakuhle, ntoleyo eyenza ukuba abantu bangabinakuzuza nangani sisekelwe bona. Ziliqela ke iinkqubo ezikumila kunje kangangokuba thina siyikomiti sithe sifuna ukujonga ukuba ingaba ezi nkqubo ziyawenza umsebenzi eziсekelwe ukuba ziwenze kusini na. Umzekelo, ukuba ujonga isibonelelo sabantwana uyakufumanisa ukuba abantwana abaninzi abazuzi kuso oonina basisebenzisa ukuthenga utywala, i-airtime bazenze bahle nezinye izizathu ezaziwa ngabo. Ewe indlala ikhona kweli phondo lethu kwaye iyagquba. Kodwa ndicinga ukuba urhulumente uwavulile amehlo akhe nanjengoko ethe wazibandakanye kwiinkqubo zophuhliso lolimo nto leyo endicinga ukuba ukuba ibiphakanyiselw'iinyawo kwasekuqaleni, mhlawumbi oku kukudala kwasombululeka. Kodwa ke kungoku ikakhulu apho sizama ukuzivuselela ezi nkqubo zongezekileyo zokulwa nendlala nanjengoko kungekho themba lokuba kungakho iinkampani ezinkulu ezinokuza kutyala apha kweli phondo, yiyo loo nto ke sigqibe kwelokuba sizame macebo wambi. Siyathemba ukuba ezi nkampani ziza kuzba nomdla xa sele zibona ukuba lukhona uphuhliso kunye nozinzo olukhoyo.

Zininzi iinkqubio ezizama ukuhlangabezana nolu cello-mngeni luyindlala, ingxaki apho ikhoyo nanjengoko sele nditshilo, ikulungelelaniso lwezi nkqubo. Umzekelo isebe lezeMpilo belinayo inkqubo yesondlo ebelinayo kodwa iye yathathelwa kwisebe lezeMfundo le yokutyiswa kwabantwana ezikolweni. Isebe lezeNtlalo-ntle nalo linazo iinkqubo ezifana nale yeepasilana zokutya, kodwa ke nanjengoko ndisitsho sisajamelene neengxaki ekunikeleni ngezi nkonzo ngenxa yokungabikho kolungelelaniso olululo.

5. *Babies and children*

The department has effective programs in place to cope with infant mortality (p. 20) and malnourished children (p. 21). The department also recognizes the basic problem with these programs: "the effectiveness of the programme is compromised by abject poverty" (p. 21).

There is however no excuse for infant mortality and malnourished children. The effect of these problems is devastating to the development of the province because the eventual workforce will be depleted. The existence of special programmes to cope with these issues is not a final answer because the extent of the problems is too big. It is an accusation to the community and the government to allow such problems in a democratic well-developed country.

Our province is the province that has been denied all the opportunities right from the beginning and also the question of literacy and the migration problem considering the fact most people are being retrenched now from the mines, flooding back to the province jobless and hungry. The government interventions are not properly coordinated because when you look at Social Development, Education's nutrition programme, food parcels and some other poverty alleviation projects are loosely operated, and as a result people do not get the benefits that are due to them. There are a lot of these intervention programmes and we said as the committee we need to look at the impact of these programmes in our communities if they do serve the purpose for which they are intended. For example, if you look at the Child support grant, most children do not benefit from it even though they are registered as the beneficiaries, some mothers use it to buy liquor, airtime or to beautify themselves, and for other reasons best known to them. Yes poverty in our province is very rife. I think since the government has opened up the eyes in terms of being much more

involved with the agricultural development and if we have done that much earlier maybe this could have been addressed by now. But, it is only now that we are dealing with the resuscitation of all those additional projects as there are no big industries that would come to invest, so we have to look at other alternatives. We believe that big industries will come once they see that there is stability.

There are many programmes that seek to address the question of poverty; the only problem as I said earlier is the coordination of these programmes. For example, the department of Health was involved in some nutrition programme which has now been moved to the department of Education through the school nutrition programme. Social Development also has projests such as food parcels, but because of coordination we are still experiencing some problems.

4.4.3 Interview no: 3

4.4.3.1 Hospitals

1.1 Reproach: Hospital buildings and equipment are not maintained in a good standard in the Eastern Cape:

1.1.1 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Higher values: Reframe principles: Loyalties to standards in politics</u>

The justifier appeals to higher values as means of clarifying to the reproacher that there are certain standards and protocols in politics that all involved must take heed of such as:

a. The portfolio committee has duty of policy oversight (HI3, Q1.1: 1-3)
b. The department adopts the policy and spread it throughout the Province (HI3, Q1.1: 9-12)
c. The department has to give quarterly reports (HI3, Q1.1: 12-21)
d. Portfolio committee has to conduct an oversight inspection (HI3, Q1.1: 21-29)
e. These are the responsibilities of a portfolio committee (HI3, Q1.1: 36-38)

1.1.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Responsibility: vertical diffusion of responsibility:</u>

The excuse-giver is vertically diffusing responsibility to the tender process and the portfolio committee of the department:

a. Departmental reports raise problems concerning tender processes (HI3, Q1.1: 29-33)

b. Portfolio committee wants answers for failure event from the department (HI3, Q1.1: 33-36)

1.1.3 Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. There should be future benefits because:

a. Department has given attention to this need in budget for hospitals (HI3, Q1.1: 6-8)
b. The MEC has come up with intervention programs of revitalizing hospitals (HI3, Q1.1: 8-9)

1.2 Budget for hospitals:

Reproach: The money that has been budgeted for hospitals has not been spent:

Excuse

Causal excuse: null cause

The excuse-giver has relied on the null cause with the intention of disconnecting self from the reproach and he does this by highlighting that the sacked MEC is the one responsible for this situation, he should then take responsibility for his actions (HI3, Q1.2: 6-15)

4.4.3.2 Human resources

2.1. Shortages and conditions of staff:

Reproach: The hospital management has no direct access to its budget and thus they have limited means to employ more staff especially qualified nurses and specialist doctors. Such specialized healthcare workers are also reluctant to work in poor conditions with few specialized wards and equipment:

2.1.1 Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Past adverse condition:

 An excuse has been employed to mitigate the blame by appealing to the past adverse conditions that in the past doctors were given powers to manage hospitals even though they had little knowledge in hospital management (HI3, Q2.1:2-4).

2.1.2 Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of the reproach by reframing the consequences of the failure. There are present benefits because the current policy has come up with intervention strategies to deal with this situation. He categorizes them as follows:

a. Duties of managers and doctors have been separated and new managers have been appointed (HI3, Q2.1:4-8)
b. The availability of the scarce skills and rural allowances to attract specialized health workers to the field and to those areas in which most people are not keen to work (HI3, Q2.1: 14-18)

2.1.3 Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver is focusing more on the adverse conditions at present that contribute to the sad situation affecting the department. He identifies the following as such conditions:

a. Managers of hospitals have no capacity or knowledge to manage (HI3, Q2.1: 8-9)
b. Shortage of managers (HI3, Q2.1: 9-10)
c. Policy of allowances for health workers does not work due to long hours of work (HI3, Q2.1: 18-21)
d. The impact of the allowance policy is not clear because the department does not have figures of success or failure of this policy (HI3, Q2.1:21-32)

2.2 Unsatisfactory working conditions:

Reproach: Health workers are not satisfied in South Africa: there is poor management, poor opportunities for promotion, poor facilities, high level of crime and poor circumstances of life:

2.2.1 Excuse

Causal excuse: Null cause

The excuse-giver presents a null cause as an excuse and a means of disconnecting self and his committee from the reproach. He argues that the causality of this reproach should be on another source and he specifically mentions that:

a. The human resource management of the department as the cause for the reproach (HI3, Q2.2: 1-2)
b. Crime in South Africa is the responsibility of the police (HI3, Q2.2: 45-52)
c. Negligence of hospital managers is also to blame (HI3, Q2.2: 53-58)

2.2.2 Justification

Minimization of blame: Reframe consequences: Future benefits

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. There should be future benefits because an existing program is to be extended and more resources will be made available. He put these issues based on new policies as follows:

a. The career pathing (HI3, Q2.2: 4-7)

b. People returning from overseas are to enter the system at a higher level (HI3, Q2.2: 2-4, 7-13)

c. The implementation of the second notch adjustment (HI3, Q2.2: 20-24)

2.2.3 Excuse:

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver focused attention on two adverse conditions facing the department at present such as the poor conditions under which health professionals work and the question of remuneration:

a. Doctors are leaving in conditions that are not conducive enough (HI3, Q2.2: 31-35, 40-44)

b. There is no security for health workers (HI3, Q2.2: 35-37)

c. Some clinics and hospitals do not have burglar bars (HI3, Q2.2: 37-40)

d. Cleaners in the provincial legislature earn more than professional nurses (HI3, Q2.2: 40-44)

e. Health workers in other sectors receive no inducement (HI3, Q2.2: 11-20)

f. Second notch adjustment is partly implemented (HI3, Q2.2: 24-30)

g. Department does not provide enough support to its employees (HI3, Q2.2: 59-61)

2.3. Problem of doctors:

Reproach: Doctors have very few administrative personnel to assist them; they sometimes have to work as porters; they are poorly paid and there are no promotion opportunities:

2.3.1 Denial

The denier is denying the reproach, which implies that the reproacher is making false accusations because according to his (legislator) knowledge no doctor has ever performed duties of a porter, "It is not usual for doctors to be porters: (HI3, Q2.3: 1-3)

2.3.2 Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions;

The excuse-giver is focusing more on the adverse conditions at present that contribute to the sad situation affecting health workers particularly in the Province of the Eastern Cape. He mentions specifically three problems:

a. Nurses are doing other odd jobs for which they are not trained such as being porters and cleaners (HI3, Q2.3: 3-6, 16-20)

b. The department does not readily employ porters (HI3, Q2.3: 12-14)

c. These are the reasons why nurses leave the profession (HI3, Q2.3: 16-21

2.3.3 Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of the act by reframing the consequences of the failure. He does this by appealing to future benefits such as:

a. Enough people to employ as porters (HI3, Q2.3: 6-12)
b. There are enough funds available for training of all health workers (HI3, Q2.3: 14-16)
c. The department has to do things that are within its reach (HI3, Q2.3:21-27)

4.4.3.3 Shortage of medicine:

Problems with the delivery of medicine:

Reproach: Medicines are not delivered in time and moreover, hospitals and clinics have a shortage of qualified staff to dispense this medicine:

3.1   Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver focused attention on three adverse conditions that are facing the department at present as far as issue of drugs is concerned. Such conditions are:

a. In 1999 they were told that there were problems concerning the distribution of drugs, stolen drugs, that there were only two depots and the possible public-private partnership the department will enter into in an attempt of solving these problems (HI3, Q3: 1-5)
    In 2006 there is still no contract for public-private partnership, drugs continue to disappear and the medicine that is always available is Panado which does not cure all the illnesses (HI3, Q3: 5-10)
b. There is a shortage of qualified pharmacists in Healthcare centers (HI3, Q3:18-19, 27-32)
c. There are only pharmacy assistants (HI3, Q3: 19-27)

3.3   Justification

Higher values: Reframe principles: Loyalty to standards in politics:

Legislators should take responsibility (HI3, Q3: 10-17)

4.4.3.4 The high mortality rate of infants and malnourished children

Reproach: There is no excuse for infant mortality and malnourished children. The effect of these problems is devastating to the development of the province because the eventual workforce will be depleted:

4.1 ***Infant mortality:***

Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

a. The mortality rate is increasing (HI3, Q4: 1-8)
b. The conditions of hygiene in hospitals are very poor and as such patients end-up getting sicker than better because hospitals are a breeding place of diseases… (HI3, Q4: 19-21)

4.2 ***Nutrition:***

Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The situation might be bad but there is hope through the initiatives that are in place which will make things not as bad as they seem such as:

a. Nutrition programs through milk supplements that are meant for babies born of HIV positive mothers, but the program is poorly implemented as these supplements are not available in most hospitals (HI3, Q4: 22-28)
b. There is a social network that constitute of councilors and social workers which is supposed to assist the needy and the poor in terms of accessing government grants and assistance, but the problem is that it is not doing the job as intended or successfully: (HI3, Q4: 28-34)

4.4.3.5 Primary Health Care

Reproach: There is a general decline in clinics' buildings and equipment compared to the problem in hospitals. These clinics have huge staff problems and the existing staff has to cope with immense numbers of patients:

5.1   <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. There should be future benefits because Primary healthcare is a policy based on clinics with the intention of preventing illnesses from escalating to that level of being referred or transferred to hospitals (HI3, Q5: 1-6)

5.2   <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

Excuse-giver argues that there are more clinics now than ever before, but the problem is that they are useless because:

a. Clinics are far from people (HI3, Q5: 7-8)
b. In some clinics there are no drugs, very few nurses or even one in other clinics, patients wait in very long queues and when they give up they go to hospitals (HI3, Q5: 8-13)
c. There are no doctors and people want to see a doctor and they go straight to hospitals causing overcrowding there and there are awkward shifts in primary healthcare (HI3, Q5: 13-17)
d. When referrals to hospitals have been issued you will find that there are no ambulances or patient transport vehicles to transport patients from the clinics to the hospitals and back (HI3, Q5:17-21)
e. Poverty and access to primary healthcare are two major problems (HI3, Q5: 21-23)

1.   Language and style

1.1   *Syntactic level:*

a. Length of sentences:

The account has very long sentences. See *i.a.* Q1.1: 1-6, 6-12 and 12-21. These sentences range from four to nine lines. However, the length of the sentences is not a problem because in the spoken isiXhosa language there are generally longer sentences than the written version.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences that have been used are quite complex in that each sentence has more than one verb. See *i.a.* Q1.1: 1-6, the sentence has five verbs: *uthetha (thetha), ngowokuphucukisa (phucukisa), ukuva (yiva), iqala (qala), ungabona (bona).*

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban or modern version of isiXhosa. It is not a dialect though, but just a modern standard of the language mostly used by the urbanized Xhosa speakers.

1.2   *Lexical level:*

a. Lexical diversity:

i. *Technical terms:* The interviewee has used such technical terms as: *uMphathiswa, ePalamente, umgaqo-siseko, uNdlunkulu, iphondo,* etc. He uses these terms because as the legislator these terms are his daily bread and he should be teaching the public about government policies and programs which entail these terms.

ii. *English terms:* the accounter has also used a lot of English terms probably because parliament deliberations are mostly conducted in English and that it is sometimes difficult to find Xhosa equivalence of such terms. Examples of these terms are: *yepolicy, nemonitoring, ne-evaluation, ngeneed, i-intervention, ukuzirevitaliza, i-over-expenditure, ibudget, iiprograms, zi-implementwe, neepolicies, ii-recommendations, kwi-oversight process,* etc.

iii. Innovative Xhosa words: the interviewee did not use innovative Xhosa words.

b. Language imagery:

i.   *Metaphor*

The account-giver has not used metaphors.

ii.   *Simile*

The account-giver uses simile in his speech repertoire. Examples are as follows:
"*…njengephotha…*" (Q2.3: 3)

1.3   Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used unequivocal language in his account because the information provided is directly stated. The use of unequivocal language benefits the source credibility and the perceived quality of arguments.

2.   Language use

2.1   Politeness:

The interviewee has tried to avoid the face-threatening acts (FTAs) by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat such as excuses. However, the account-giver has chosen to perform the FTA, that he did on-record and off-record. On-record is expressed unambiguously through the use of justifications especially the "appeal to higher values of standards in politics". The off-record strategy is expressed ambiguously so that the account-giver cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent. The conclusion of the expression is thus left to the reproacher to make.

2.2   Effectiveness*:*

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the accounter has chosen to use mostly excuses and justifications. Among justifications that have been used are those that appeal to future benefits which outweigh the present negative aspects and those that appeal to higher values of standards in politics. There are 15 justifications in total.

Present benefits	2
Future benefits	10
Higher values: Loyalties to politics	3

The excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances as they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are actually constrained by external circumstances. The interviewee has employed 30 excuses in his account:

Causal excuses: Null cause	4
Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	23
Mitigation: Past adverse conditions	1
Diffuse responsibility	2

The interviewee has chosen strategies that have the potential of success. He has decided to employ more excuses especially those that mitigate the blame because they are among strategies that are regarded as effective, and also justifications that appeal to future in the sense that if the mentioned strategies are successfully implemented then there is no need for reproach.

2.3   Power of speech style:

The strategies used are those that have a potential of blame avoidance and thereby claiming credit for the account-giver. Such strategies are excuses that mitigate the blame and its consequences and justification that minimization of negative aspects of the failure by highlighting present and mostly future benefits, which somehow outweigh the blame.

Interview no. 3

Intetho yoMgomo (2005/2006) yoMphathiswa Obekekileyo wezeMpilo waseMpuma Koloni igxininise kwimiba ethile yezempilo ekukudala ifumaniseka iyingxaki.

Department of Health

The Policy Speech (2005/2006) of the Hon. MEC for Health in the Eastern Cape focused on certain specific health issues which have been problem areas for a long time.

First reproach: p. 8

Reproach 1.1

1.   Inkqubo yokuphuhliswa ngokutsha kweZibhedlele (p. 7-9)

iSebe lezeMpilo linenkqubo yokuphuhliswa kwamaziko akhoyo malunga umz. nezi njongo zilandelayo: "Ukuqoqosha nokuphuhliswa kwemeeko nenkangeleko kwizakhiwo zesibhedlele ndawonye nezixhobo zokusebenza kwizibhedlele" (p. 8).

Izakhiwo nezixhobo zizebhedlele eMpuma Koloni aziqwalaselwa ngendlela ekumgangatho ophezulu. Nangona amaziko nezakhiwo ezikhoyo ephuhliswa ngoku kwaye nezibhedlele zinyusa umgangatho wazo, ingxaki engundoqo isemi, leyo ke yile yokuqwalaselwa nokugcinwa kakuhle kwezibhedlele. Izakhiwo ndawonye nezixhobo zifuna ukunonotshelwa rhoqo, kodwa kukhangeleka le nkathalo ingaqwalaselwa kakuhle kangangokuba nophuhliso olusanda kwenziwa luphele lupatyalaka okanye luchaphazeleka ngephanyazo.

Lo mcimbi uthetha ngawo ngowokuphucukisa izibhedlele uthi revitalizing and improving izibhedlele ngumzekelo omhle kakhulu ukuva ngalento yepolicy oversight nemonitoring kunye ne-evaluation necommunication kuba nokuba yeyiphi na ipolicy iqala nge-need kwaye ke ineed phaya kweziya zibhedlele zeli phondo nokuba sesiphi na ungabona nyhani ukuba imeko yezi zibhedlele ayikho mgangathweni. Ikhona ke loo need isebe liyinike ingqwalasela lenza ibudget namacebo ukubona ukuba zeziphi kanye izibhedlele ezizakufuna i-intervention izakuba yimalini na, so ke nomphathiswa wachaza kwi-policy speech ukuba kuzakuqhubeka kanje abeke nemali kulo ngxaki ukuzi-revitalise eze zibhedlele. Isebe ke ngoku lona lithi liyithathe loo policy liyisasaze kwiprogrammes nakumacandelo alo, kwizibhedlele ngezibhedlele kuquka ii-regions nee-administrative areas zikaHealth. Thina ke singamalungu ePalamente siyayithatha la policy speech, phakathi konyaka ikhona i-quarterly report apho isebe lichazayo ukuba ihamba kanjani ukuchitha la mali nokufikelela kwiipolicy zabo; thina sibabuze ke emva kwekota yesibini okanye eyesithathu ukuba imali abayichithileyo ingakanani simane ukwenza i-oversight sibabuze ukuba kutheni ningasemva okanye kutheni ingathi nibaleka ngaphambili nje kuba kaloku thina sigada i-over-expenditure kunye ikakhulu kakhulu i-under-expenditure kuba kaloku xa u-under-expend(a) imali obowusele uyinikiwe kwi-budget loo nto ithetha ukuba idelivery ayizikufika kwiindawo ebifanele ukufika kuzo, kulo umba ke ezo ndawo zizibhedlele. Unyaka lo wonke ke siman'ukwenza lo oversight sithetha-thethana namalungu esebe simane siwabizela kwiintlanganiso zekomiti sijonge amanani, sibuze imibuzo ngomlomo kasihlalo bona ke kufuneka basabele ukuba abakwazi kusabela kufuneka banikwe iintsuku ezisixhenxe ukuba bayibhale. Lilonke ke uthetha-thethwano lolomlomo okanye ibe lolo olubhalwa phantsi; olomlomo ke luyarekhodwa kuba kubalulekile ukuba lonke uthetha-thethwano oluqhubekayo loburhulumente lube lubhalwe phantsi ibekhona irekhodi umntu angakwazi ukuthi hayi bendingekho okanye ayiphike ayikhanyele. Ekupheleni kwalo nyaka siyayithatha la report siyibeke ecaleni kwe-annual report yesebe, isebe lona lizakuthi sifikile kwizibhedlele ezithile kwezinye asifikanga kuba bekukho ingxaki ye-court case yecontract ebeyikhutshiwe mhlawumbi i-tender yaze yaphikwa loo tender ukuze sibe asikwazanga kuyichitha loo mali. Siphinde ke thina benithe nizakwenza le nale kodwa aniyenzanga ngoku kutheni, sibhale ke ii-findings zokuba kutheni ezo zinto zingenzekanga size siphinde sense ii-recommendations ukwenzel'ukuba zingaphinde zenzeke kuba olo luxanduva lwethu ukuqinisekisa ukuba imali iyasetyenziswa, iiprogrammes neepolicies zi-implement(we) nokuqinisekisa kwangaxeshanye ukuba iimpazamo ezenzekileyo aziphinde zenzeke.

1. *Hospital revitalization programme* (p. 7-9)

The Department of Health has a programme for infrastructure development with i.e. the following aim: "The rationalising and improving of the condition and quality of hospital buildings as well as the condition of hospital equipment" (p. 8).

The hospital buildings and hospital equipment in the Eastern Cape are not maintained to a very good standard. Although infrastructure is now being developed and hospitals being upgraded, the central problem remains, and this is concerned with the maintenance. Both buildings and equipment need continuous care but such care is not properly catered for so that any new development will also fall into disrepair.

The issue that you are talking about is that of revitalizing and improving hospitals and it is such a good example to hear about this thing of policy oversight, monitoring, evaluation and communication because each policy begins with the need and the need in any of the provincial hospitals is that they are not in good shape. There is that need which is being taken into consideration by the department and the budget has been provided including means of identifying hospitals that require this intervention, and the MEC has also mentioned in his policy speech the budget and ways of revitalizing these hospitals. The department then adopts this policy and spread it across its programmes and sections, in all hospitals including districts and departmental administrative areas. As members of parliament we take this policy and during the year there is a quarterly report where the department would have to explain how far it has gone in terms of expenditure, and then after the second and third quarter we ask them how much they have spent because it is our responsibility to monitor the over-expenditure and mostly the under-expenditure because if you underspend the money that has already been awarded to you then that would mean delivery will not be effective and efficient; in this case the places in which delivery should have been done is hospitals. We then continue doing this oversight inspection, communicating with the department from time to time in our portfolio committee meetings, monitor the figures and ask questions through the chairperson and they should answer to our call failing which they are given seven days to write that report. The communication that we have is both verbal and written; the verbal interaction is recorded because it is important for all the governmental communication to be recorded down in writing so that a person cannot have a chance to deny that. At the end of that year we take this report and put it side by side with the departmental annual report and then the department will say we have gone to certain hospitals and we couldn't reach some of them because there was a problem the tender that has been taken to court and because of that we couldn't use that money in revitalizing that hospital. We then ask them that they said they will A, B and C and that has not been done why and then write findings of why those things haven't been done and also write recommendations to see to it that these things do not happen again because that is our responsibility to ensure that the issued budget is utilized, programmes and policies are implemented ,and at the same time to ensure that such mistakes or problems do not happen again.

Follow-up of the first reproach: p. 9

Reproach 1.2

Zikwakho neengxelo kumaphephandaba ngengxaki zokunikezelwa kweenkonzo kweli Sebe: imali ibibekwe bucala ukujongananophuhliso lerzibhedlele ayisetyenziswanga.

Uyayazi ngokwakho ukuba uMpahthiswa weli sebe ukhutshiwe esihlalweni sakhe ndicinga ke mna ukuba ikakhulu ipublic communication kuba ke eneneni ezi zinto ziyathethwa apha phandle azifihlwa, ewe ngamanye amaxesha ziyafuna ukufihlwa phantsi kwekhaphethi zitshayelelwe phantsi kwekhaphethi kodwa ekugqibeleni zizakuphuma apha ezi zinto kwi-oversight process. So yimiphumela yalo nto le yokuba i-implementation policy ingafikanga kula mgangatho ebekufanel'ukuba ifikelele kuwo uMphathiswa kufanel'ukuba athathe ityala ngaloo nto, thina ke sithi ke sekukade kuba yiminyaka esixhenxe ngoku le eli sebe lingasebenzi ngokulindelekileyo ayiqali ngoku. Le ke sithi ibiyi-last straw kwaye ke ekugqibeleni thina siyayamkela loo nto ingakumbi singamalungu emibutho ephikisayo kuba thina sithi xa usenza ezi-processes uthetha-thethana nesebe ubona ukuba abayichithi nemali abafikeleli ngokomsebenzi wabo kwizinga ebekufanel'ukuba bafikelele kulo ukuphucukisa izibhedlele, ukuba ayenzeki bathi: the buck stops with the political executive member, kule imeko ke the buck stopped at uDr Bevan Goqwana.

There are also reports in the press about problems with delivery in this department: the money which has been budgeted for hospitals has not been spent (Sunday Times, April 16, 2006, p.18)

You know that this department's MEC has been removed from his position because I think this is mostly the case of public communication as people speak about these things out there, there are no secrets even though sometimes they need to swept under carpet but at the end they show themselves through the process of an oversight inspection. These are the results of that that if the implementation policy has not reached the level which it was supposed to reach then the MEC has to take blame for that; we say this department has been underperforming for seven years now. We say this was the last straw and at the end we accept that as the members of the opposition because we say when making these processes that you are talking about and also seeing that the department does not utilize the budget, they do not reach the service delivery level they are supposed to reach in revitalizing hospitals; if that does not happen then they say: the buck stops with the political executive member and in this case the buck stopped with Dr Goqwana.

Second reproach: p. 9

2.   Oovimba abajolise ebantwini (p. 10-11)

Reproach 2.1

iSebe lezeMpilo linakana "ukushokoxeka okuqgubayo kwabasebenzi kwiindawo ezinongcipheko" (p. 10).

Abaphathi besibhedlele bona baqwalasela ukusebenza kwesibhedlele imihla ngemihla, umsebenzi wabo ujolise ekuphuhliseni isibhedlele nabasebenzi kuphela. Abaphathi abanalawulo luthe ngqo kulwabiwo-mali lwesibhedlele nto leyo ebangela ukuba bangabi nathuba laneleyo lokuqesha abasebenzi abaninzi, ingakumbi abongikazi nooqgirha abasemthethweni nabafanelekileyo. Aba basebenzi bezempilo bajongene nemimandla ethile baye babe mathidala ukusebenza phantsi kwezi meko zingaginyisi mathe ezinamawadi ambalwa onyango kunye nezikrweqe ezinqongopheleyo. Abasebenzi bayachaphazeleka zezi meko zimbi kwaye maxa wambi kufuneka basebenze iiyure ezili-12 ngemini babe abanye abongikazi kunyazeleka ukuba bakhathelele izigulane ezingama-20 ukuya kuma-30. Le ngxaki inefuthe elibi kwimveliso kwaye ibangela ukuba abasebenzi bangabi namdla wakusebenzela eli Phondo. Ingxaki evamise ukwenzeka malunga naba mongikazi kukukukhalazela kwabo imivuzo: Umvuzo womongikazi awunakumkhuthaza umongikazi omtsha ukuba eze kolu hlobo lomsebenzi.

Ok. Izinto eziphembelela le ngxaki ikakhulu zimbini. Okokuqala, kukho ukushota kwabantu kwizikhundla zolawulo kanye kwezi zibhedlele. Kuqala isibhedlele besiphathwa yi-Superintendent enguqgirha iphinde ibe ngumphathi wesibhedlele. Loo meko ke itshintshile kuba ipolicy yangoku ithi awunakubangugqirha uphinde ube ngumanejala; ugqirha makazigcine kwimeko yokujongana nokuncedisa abantu abagulayo kuze kufakwe imaneja ijonge isibhedlele. Ngoku ke kufakwe iiMiddle Managers kwizibhedlele ezincinci okanye iiChief Executive Officers kwii-complexes. Aba bantu ke kwezinye iimeko abanayo icapacity okanye ulwazi lokuwenza lo msebenzi, so bakhulela kwaphaya kodwa ke loo nto ibalaseliswa ngumbandela wokushokoxeka kwabasebenzi abasezi-ofisini. Ngumbandela wokuqala ke lo kulawulo lwesibhedlele, ukuchitha imali, ukujonga ukuba zeziphi ezinye iingxaki ezikhoyo nayo yonke loo nto. Eyesibini ebalulekileyo ingxaki kukushokoxeka kwabasebenzi bezonyango abantu abasebenza kwi-health environment kwaye ikhona ngoku ipolicy entsha ekhangela ukutsalela abantu kwizibhedlele naseziklinikhi, oogqirha, oonesi, njl-njl.; bathi xa beyibiza le nto yi-scarce skills allowances apho oogqirha abakhethekileyo noonesi abaqeqeshelwe ukubelekisa bathi bafumane iirural allowances ukutsala abantu ukuba bayokusebenza ezilalini. Kodwa zonke ezi zinto azizukunceda kakhulu ukuba oogqirha noonesi bafika kwezi zibhedlele betsalwa zezi zibonelelo ze-scarce skills nezibonelelo zasezilalini bafike pha babone ukuba iishifts zabo zithatha 12-14 iiyure bazakubaleka baphinde bahambe; so nangona imigaqo emitsha iphunyezwa ifuthe layo ayikacaci ncam ukuba ikhona na. Izolo besinentlanganiso siyikomiti yezeMpilo sisiva ukuba abesebe ukuba bangaphi na abantu abathe batsalwa zezi incentives, so silinde ukuba isebe lisithumelele amanani apho ke sizakuthi sijonge ukuba bangaphi na abantu abaphumileyo kwiservice kunyaka ophelileyo nokuthi bangaphi na abangenileyo uze ukwazi ukubona ukuba siyashiywa okanye siyakwazi ukuyifumana le target yethu. Luqhagamshelwano esinalo olo nesebe apho sizakuthi kwisebe nithi niyaqesha abantu bayeza, khawusinike amanani waba bangenileyo nabo bamkileyo, leyo ke yiprocess ye-oversight esiyenzayo. Andifuni ukungena kakhulu kwizizathu zokushokoxeka, ewe kukhona ukushokoxeka kwabasebenzi bezonyango nokwabasebenzi kwicandelo labaphathi/ abalawuli bezibhedlele.

2. *Human resources* (p. 10-11)

The Department of Health recognizes "the current acute shortage of staff in critical positions" (p. 10).

The hospital management, who oversees the day-to-day running of the hospitals, is limited in developing the hospital and its staff. The management has no direct access to its budget and thus they have limited means to employ more staff, especially qualified nurses and specialist doctors. Such specialized health care workers are also reluctant to work in poor conditions with few specialized wards and equipment. The nursing staff also suffers with these abnormal conditions and sometimes has to work for 12 hours a day with some nurses having to look after 20 to 30 patients. This problem has an impact on their productivity and it makes them reluctant to work for the province. A recurring problem with these nurses is their complaint about salaries: the salary for a nurse does not encourage new nurses to enter the profession.

Ok. There are mainly two things influencing this problem. Firstly, there is shortage of personnel on the managerial level of these hospitals. At the beginning the hospitals were managed by a Superintendent who is a doctor and at the same be a hospital manager. That situation has changed now because the current policy maintains that one cannot be a doctor and be a manager at the same time; the doctor must remain a doctor looking after patients and the manager must be employed to look after the day-to-day running of the hospital. Now there are middle mangers is small hospitals

and chief executive officers (CEO's) in complexes. In some cases these people do not have the capacity to do this job, most of them learn more about the job as time goes by, but this is compounded by the shortage of personnel in managerial positions. This is the first problem concerning hospital administration, expenditure and identifying other problems that the hospital is faced with. The second important problem is the shortage of health workers people working in a health environment and now there is a new policy in place aimed at attracting more health workers to the field such as doctors, nurses, etc.; they call it scarce skills allowance where specialized doctors and nurses with midwifery will receive rural allowances for working in rural areas. All these do not help that much because in most cases these doctors and nurses will arrive in those rural areas being attracted by these incentives only to find that they have to work 12 to 14 hours per shift, so they end up leaving again; so even though this new policy is being implemented, it is not clear if the impact is there or not. Yesterday we had Health committee meeting to find out from the department how many people have been attracted by these incentives, we are still waiting for those numbers from the department to see how many people have left the department and how have joined so that we can be in a position to see if we do meet the target we set for the department or not. That is the interaction we have with the department and the oversight process requires that we get those figures from the department of the number of people who left the system and those who have joined. I do not want to dwell much on the shortages and problems for such, yes there are problems on the level of health workers and that of administrators.

Follow-up of second reproach: p. 10

Reproach 2.2

Ingxelo yakutshanje yeWorld Health Organization (WHO) ichaza izizathu ezininzi ezingunobangela wokuba abasebenzi bezonyango abonelisekanga eMzantsi Afrika: ulawulo olungancumisiyo; ukushokoxeka kwamathuba okonyuselwa; ukushokoxeka kwezixhobo zokusebenza; ukwanda kolwaphulo-mthetho kunye nokungancumisi kweemeko zokuphila kwaba bantu.

Zonke ezo meko uzichazayo ziimeko zeHuman resource management enqongopheleyo apha esebeni lezeMpilo kodwa inik'umdla into yokubona isebe lilahlekelwa ngabantu abaninzi kangaka beyokuphangela kumazwe angaphesheya; bathe baqala ke ipolicy entsha ebizwa ngokuthi yicareer pathing into ethetha ukuba ukuba ungene apha uyinesi emva kweminyaka ethile uzakuba ngu-sister okanye umatron, mhlawumbi ubeyi-hospital middle manager okanye i-superintendent. So, ikhona ke loo career pathing abayijongayo. Ukhona ke nalo mba wabantu abaphumayo bayokuphangela kumazwe aphesheya baze babuyele apha ekhaya benolwazi olungaphezulu kunolu bebenalo phambi kokuba bahambe, xa babuyayo ke babuyela kowona mgangatho uphantsi; isebe liyayijonga ke ngoku loo meko ngokwento ekuthiwa yi-public service administration ukuze umntu xa ebethe waphuma waze wabuya kwakhona enolwazi olongezelelekileyo angene kwinqanaba elilungileyo elizakumenza azive enomdla wokusebenzela isebe kwakhona. Kaloku kufuneka ubenemvakalelo ethile ekhethekileyo ukuze ukwazi ukuba nguqgirha okanye umongikazi; uyive ngaphakathi kuwe kodwa ukuba i-inducement yokuphuma uyokuyenza loo nto ayikhuthazi ungakhetha ukuyozihlalela phaya ekhaya okanye abanye bakhethe ukuyokwenza omnye umsebenzi ngaphandle kweprofession yabo. Iyasibetha kakhulu ke loo nto kuba zikhona iihealth workers apha kweli phondo ezisebenza ngaphandle kwesebe kodwa ibe ikhona ishortage. So, icareer pathing kunye ne-entrance levels zabantu zibalulekile kwakhona iminyaka emininzi apha kweli phondo ibikhona lento ye-second notch adjustment apho umntu xa ebephangele iminyaka ethile kufuneke enze i-evaluation kuthiwe kulungile ke

siyawunyusa umvuzo wakho, ibingenzeki kweli phondo okanye yenzeke kwenye iregion ingenzeki kwenye, yenzeke kwesi sibhedlele ingenzeki kwesinye. Loo nto iyingozi kwimoral yabantu kuba wena kolu phando lwakho ubuza ngecommunication, ikhona ke le communication i-unofficial leyo ke yeyomlomo, omnye umntu ophangela kwesi sibhedlele achaze ukuba apha kuthi sifumana le abe lowa engayifumani kwesakhe isibhedlele; loo nto ke idala itension nokwehla kwemoral abantwini kwaye ke ibhidlangile loo nto apha kweli phondo .

A recent report of the World Health Organization (WHO) gives many reasons why health workers are not satisfied in S.A: there is poor management; poor opportunities for promotion; poor facilities; high level of crime and poor circumstances of life for these people.

All those are issues human resource management which is scarce in the department of Health, but what is interesting is that is looking a lot of working who are leaving this country to work overseas. They have started with a new policy called career pathing which implies that if you have entered the system at the level of a nurse after a certain number of years you will then be promoted to a level of a sister or matron, maybe even the hospital middle manager or superintendent. So, there is that career pathing which is being considered. There is also this issue of people who leave the country to work overseas and come back with more skills and expertise, and when they arrive they start at the lowest level; the department is also considering that situation through something called public service administration to see to it that when a person returns with more expertise in the field, he or she is employed back to the correct level to encourage him or her into investing that knowledge and expertise back to the department. It is important to have special feeling in order to be a doctor or nurse, but if the inducement to do your work is not encouraging, you will choose to stay home or get another job in a different field. This has a negative impact on the department especially in the province because there are health workers who are working in other sectors and not for the department of health even there are shortages. So, career pathing and people's entrance levels are very important and for many years there has been something called second notch adjustment in this Province whereby if a person has worked for a certain number of years he or she will be evaluated then get salary adjustment; this was not implemented in this province or you will find that it is happening in certain regions and not in others, or in one hospital and not in the other. That is very dangerous to the morale because in your research you are enquiring about communication, there is communication that is unofficial the verbal one; an employee in this hospital will tell the other that in our hospital we get this and that and that only to find that the one listening does not get those incentives in her hospital, and that causes tensions and it affects the morale of people and unfortunately that is rampant in this province.

Follow-up reproach:

Kulo mba wolwaphulo-mthetho apho ufumanisa ukuba mhlawumbi oogqirha nabongikazi bayahlaselwa ngoku bekwizakhiwo zikarhulumente bezama ukunikezela ngeenkonzo zonyaka ebantwini abazidingayo, kodwa kuthi kunjalo kufumaniseke ukuba kukho abantu abangenayo kwezi zakhiwo bafike benze nantoni na abafun'ukuyenza.

Kulo mba wolwaphulo-mthetho ke oku akwenzeki kwizakhiwo zezibhedlele kuphela nakwezinye iindawo ingakumbi ezilalini apho ufumanisa ukuba oogqirha imeko abahlala kuyo ayamkeleki kangangokuba abantu abafuni ukuyohlala phaya kuba akukho lukhuseleko, kukude ezikolweni nezinto ezinjalo yiyo ke loo nto kukho lento yezibonelelo zasemaphandleni. Kodwa ke nokuba ikhona lo nto yezo zibonelelo

ayizokunceda ingakumbi xa uhlaselwa ngumntu ukuba awunalo ukhuseleko. Eny'into ebalulekileyo naseziklinikhi nasezibhedlele uyakufumanisa ukuba zikhona izibhedlele ezingenazo iiburglar bars kuza kuthi xa kumnyama oonesi bebodwa esibhedlele bejongene nabantu abagulayo kufike izigebenga zizokwenza ubundlobongela kwisibhedlele. Ebunyanisweni imeko yabasebenzi bezonyango ingakumbi kweli phondo ingathi ayihoyekanga kuba uva umzekelo oomabhalane nabantu abatshayelayo baseBisho bamkela ngaphezu konesi okanye usister oneminyaka engaphezulu kwelishumi nge-experience kwaye ke loo nto iyabadimaza kakhulu.

In this issue of crime where you find maybe that doctors and nurses attacked within the government premises trying to render their services to those who need them, but stil find that there are people who have access to these health centres and do whatever they like.

this issue of crime does not take place only in hospitals, even in rural areas where you find that doctors are leaving in conditions which are not conducive enough to an extent that most people are not prepared to go there as there is no security; the schools are too far and things like that and this is the reason why there are such things as rural allowances. But, even if you have that rural allowance it does not help when you are being attacked. Another important thing is that there are clinics and hospitals without burglar bars and you find that criminals will arrive at night when it is dark to find these nurse alone without any security. In reality the situation of health workers especially in this province is not prioritized because if you go to these clerks and cleaners in Bisho their salaries are far more than those of nurses or a nursing-sister who has more than ten years of service in terms of experience and that is very demotivating.

Follow-up reproach:

Kulo mba ke ngoku wobundlobongela ingaba ayikho into nina njengabaseki bomthetho eninayo ukuqinisekisa ukuba ukhuseleko lukhona kwezindawo zonyango, mhlawumbi apho nizakuthi nizame ukuba kubekho nokuba ngoonogada abakhoyo kwezindawo?

Uyabona isebe lezeMpilo linoxanduva lokukhusela abantu balo, so isibhedlele ke kunye neendawo zokugcina amachiza kufuneka zivalelwe kuba ikhona imithetho ebekiweyo ekufanele ukuba ilandelwe, kodwa eyona ngxaki ingaphaya kwesibhedlele kuba ulwaphulo-mthetho apha eMzantsi Afrika yeyona nto efanele ukulandelwa ngamapolisa neeforums zasekuhlaleni. Ayizukusinceda nganto ke ukuthi sithi ulwaphulo-mthetho ezibhedlele naseziklinikhi yimeme yesebe lezeMpilo ngoko ke maliqeshe oonogada kuba kaloku leyo iresponsibility siyayi-outsource luxanduva lwamapolisa ukuze kukhuseleke abantu ekuhlaleni. Kodwa ke iminimum standards zibalulekile, ukuba umzekelo isibhedlele sifanele sibiyelwe ngocingo sifakelwe nesango elizakuba ne-access control ayizukunceda nto ke ukuba kukho isango langasemva elisoloko livulekile kwaye ke loo nto ibuyela kwakhona kubaphathi besibhedlele kuba ngabo abafanel'ukuqinisekisa ukuba ucingo lusoloko lukwimeko entle, amasango asoloko evaliwe okanye etshixiwe nokuba indawo yokungena esetyenziswayo inye ngamaxesha onke. Ngamanye amaxesha ngabaphathi besibhedlele ukanti ngamanye amaxesha lisebe elinganiki nkxaso ngezixhobo ezifanelekileyo zokwakha izibhedlele neeklinikhi ezisemgangathweni.

Concerning this issue of crime don't you have means in place as politicians to ensure that there is security in these health centers maybe by seeing to it that there are security guards in these centers?

You see that is the responsibility of the department of Health, the hospital including the dispensary should be locked because there are rules that should be followed, but he main problem is that this is way beyond hospitals because crime is rife in South Africa and it is something that should dealt with by the police and community police forums. To say crime in hospitals and clinics is the responsibility of the department and therefore it must provide security will not help us because we outsource that responsibility and it the police and communities' baby. But, minimum standards are important because for example a hospital is supposed to be fenced and must have a gate with an access control; it will not help that much if there is back door or gate that is always open and that comes back to hospital managers because it is their duty to ensure that there is a proper fence, that all gates and doors are always locked and that there is only one entrance. Sometimes it is hospital mangers and sometimes the department does not provide the necessary support and resources to build and maintain clinics and hospitals that are up to standard.

Follow-up no.2 of the second reproach: p. 10

Reproach 2.3

Ingxelo yephephandaba iFinancial Mail ikwabalule neengxaki ooggirha abathi bahlangabezane nazo: ukungongophala kwabasebenzi njengabachwethezi, abantu ababizwa ngokuba ziiphotha ukuncendisa ukududula izigulani endaweni yokuba ooggirha bazidudulele ngokwabo; imivuzo engancumisiyo: ooggirha barholiswa iR139 000 ngonyaka ekubeni befumana iR480 000 ngonyaka eLondon; ukanti namathuba okonyuselwa amfiliba kakhulu.

Uyabona lo mba weporters yingxaki ekho phantse kuzo zonke izibhedlele asikho isibhedlele endiye kuso esingayikhankanyi loo ngxaki. Okokuqala akukho lula nje ukumbona ugqirha esebenza njengephota laa msebenzi uphinda uxhomekeke koonesi, oonesi ke banawo umsebenzi wabo kodwa ekugqibeleni ufumanise ukuba kufuneka baphinde babe ziiphotha, bahlambe amashiti, bacoce namawodi benze yonke loo nto. Thina ke kweli phondo lethu sine-unemployment engaphezu kwe-40%, ukuba sizimisele ukuyiphelisa le unemployment sizakuqesha umntu ozakuthi asebenzise umtshayelo ukucoca amawodi okanye iithoyilethi kwaye ke baninzi abantu abawufunayo loo msebenzi kube kungekho noqeqesho olungako okufuneka lwenziwe. Ukuba ngaba uyiphota wonke umntu kuquka mna nawe lo, siyaxelelwa nje ukuba uthatha umntu kule wodi umse phaya, siqeqeshwe nje iimini ezimbini nje kuphela kodwa ke asiyenzi naloo nto ukuthatha umntu phaya esitratweni umfake ezibhedlele kwelona zinga liphantsi ukusuka apho sithi hayi akukho bantu. Ikhona imali kuba ke nala phota ingaqala phaya umntu aphele eyi-radiographer ukuba uyabona ukuba uyabona ukuba uyayithanda le nto afunde mhlawumbi abe yinesi. Eyona nto ibalulekileyo kukuba sikwazi ukujonga ukuba ziintoni ezi ngxaki kanye ezi zigxotha iinesi zethu kuba ke inesi ekufuneka icoce amawodi ijike ibe yiphota iphinde ibe yinesi yiyo ehambayo kuba kaloku uphelelwa ngamandla ancame athi hayi mandihambe kwalapha eMzantsi Afrika, silahlekelwe ke thina ke. Yilahleko enkulu le elizweni lethu kwaye ke asinakumelana nayo kufuneka ke siqale kwizinto esikwayo ukufika kuzo lula, umzekelo uyagula ufuna iCT scan, xa uhlala eRhawutini unephika uzakuya kwiCT scan kubonwe ukuba nantsi ingxaki ukanti xa uhlala emaphandleni ufuna nje umntu ozakukuthatha xa ugulayo akuse kugqirha unyangwe uhleli phakathi koonsesi; so ke masingaxhomekeki kwiCT scan kuloko sixhomekeke kwizinto esifikelela lula kuzo apha kweli phondo njengeephota, abantu abatshayelayo, oonesi ooggirha bazakubakho ke ngoku kwizibhedlele.

A report in the Financial Mail also highlighted the problems of doctors: they have very few administrative personnel to assist them, such as typists; very few porters in

hospitals with the result that doctors must push patients around themselves; they have poor salaries- R139 000 per annum while in London they can get R480 000 per annum; there are also very few opportunities for promotion.

You see this issue of porters is an existing problem in almost all hospitals, not even a single hospital that we visited which did not mention that. Firstly, it is not usual to see a doctor doing a job of a porter, it depends on nurses; nurses do have their job but you find that they are expected to perform other duties such as being porters, washing linen, cleaning wards and doing all those things. In our province we have over 40% unemployment and if we are prepared to address this problem of unemployment, we will employ people who are prepared to use a mop to clean the wards or toilets; there are many people who would do that and there is no training needed. If you are a porter including you and I, e are just told to take the patient from point A to point B and be trained for two days only, but we do not do that even taking a person from the street corner and employ his or her on the lowest level in hospital instead we say there are no people. There are funds and one can begin as porter and end up being a radiographer if she or he likes that or study or get trained as a nurse. The most important thing to do is to try and find out the reasons that make our nurses to leave the profession or the country. This is a great loss to our country and we cannot afford it, we must then start with things that are within our reach; for example if you are sick and need a CT scan, if you are in Gauteng you can be able to go for CT scan to see what the problem is, but all you need in rural areas is someone to take you to the doctor and get help. So, we must rely on CT scan but on those things that are within our reach in this province such as porters, cleaners and doctors and nurses will then come to render their services.

Third reproach: p. 11

3.   Ukushokoxeka kwamachiza

iSebe lezeMpilo linakana ingxaki yokuhanjiswa kwamachiza kwaye enye yeenjongo zalo ezingundoqo kukuphuhlisa oku kuhanjiswa kwamachiza: "imeko ephuhlileyo nobukho bamayeza namachiza ukuze kunciphe okanye kutshatyalaliswe ngokupheleleyo ukushokoxeka kwamachiza obebukade buqguba" (p. 5).

Ingxaki yamachiza amiselweyo ezibhedlele nakwiiklinikhi yingxaki enamajingxeba. Iimeko eziphathelele kumachiza zicace gca: okokuqala, ingxaki engonikezelo: nangona izibhedlele zisenza kangangoko zinakho ukuzuza umlinganiselo onguwo wamachiza, zisoloko zifumanisa ukuba ukuba la machiza awahanjiswanga. Okwesibini, izibhedlele neeklinikhi zinabasebenzi abasemthethweni abambalwa abanokunikezela la machiza. Ekupheleni kwalo mjelo wokunikezelwa kwamachiza ubani uye afumane isigulane singenawo amachiza okanye isigulane kufuneke isigulane silinde ixesha elide phambi kokuba sifumane amachiza angawo.

Ndafika apha ngo-1999 sixelelwa ukuba umba wokuhanjiswa kwamachiza yingxaki apha kweli phondo kuba ayabiwa kwaye iidepho zimbini kuphela, enye iseBhayi enye iseMthatha; saxelelwa kwango-1999 njalo ukuba kuzakubakho i-public-private partnership ukujongana nokuhanjiswa kwamachiza ngendlela efanelekileyo, ngu-2006 ngoku kwaye loo kontraka izagexezela nangoku emva kweminyaka esixhenxe yonke namayeza ke asaqhubeka elahleka. IPanado ayikwazi kuyinyanga yonke into, ewe iyakwazi ukunyanga izinto ezininzi kodwa hayi zonke izigulo kwaye nabantu abasenalo ukholo ngoku kuba xa besiya eklinikhi banikwa le Panado nokuba umntu ugula yintoni na unikwa kwalePanado. Idala unxunguphalo kakhulu ke leyo kwaye nathi kufuneka siyithathe inxaxheba sizii-legislators kuba kaloku sihlala sisenza i-oversight, sithi ngo-1999 izakubakhona i-public-private partnership ukujongana nolawulo lokuhanjiswa kwamachiza ngokukuko kodwa ngo-2000 ingabikho, ngo-

2001 ingabikho nango-2002 njalo nje kangangokuba ungazifunda zonke eza report, zichaza loo nto rhoqo ngoko ke nathi ekugqibeleni masiyithathe iresponsibility kuba ukuthi bendikuxelele akumncedi umntu osendleleni, akumncedi umntu ofika pha efuna uncedo okanye unyango zibe iipilisi zingekho, ayincedi nto loo nto.

3.   *Shortage of medicine*

The department of Health recognizes problems with delivery of medicine and one of its primary aims is to improve this delivery of medicine: "improved systems and availability of drugs and medicines in order to minimize if not eradicate completely shortages as in the past" (p. 5).

The problem of prescribed medicines in hospitals and clinics is a very old problem. The issues about medicine are clear: firstly, the supply problem: although hospitals make an effort to obtain the correct amount of medicine, they frequently find that these medicines are not delivered. Secondly, the hospitals and clinics have a shortage of qualified staff to dispense this medicine. At the end of this supply line one finds the patient with no medicine or a patient who has to wait a long time for the correct medicine.

I arrived here 1999 we were told that this Province has a problem of distribution, drugs are stolen and that there are only two depots, there is one in Port Elizabeth and the other one in Mthatha. We were also told that there will be a public-private partnership to deal with the distribution of drugs, it is now 2006 and there is still instability with that contract and the drugs continue disappearing. Panado does not cure all the sicknesses, it helps in many things but not all of them and people have now lost faith because when they go to the clinic they are given this Panado it does not matter what the sickness is, you still get Panado. This is major frustration and we as legislators we should take responsibility because we continue doing this oversight as we said in 1999 there will be a public-private partnership to manage the proper distribution of drugs but it is still not there in 2000, 2001, 2002, etc. as a result when you read all these reports they mention that all the time and at the end we must take responsibility because to say 'I told you' does not help the person on the street, does not help the person who arrives in these centers seeking help whereas there are no drugs, it does not help at all.

Follow-up reproach:

Ikhona nenxalabo yokuba kuye kufumaniseke ukuba omnye uyaya esibhedlele kodwa abantu abanikezela ngamachiza ezibhedlele ufumanise into yokuba abanalo ulwazi olufanelekileyo lokunikezela ngamachiza, omnye mhlawumbi ugqirha ubhalile phaya ukuba makafumane iipilisi ezithile kodwa umntu anikwe iipilisi ezingezizo.

Uyabona ke leyo into yenzeka ngawo onke amaxesha kuba ndiyakuxelela ukuba ebunyanisweni iipharmacists azikho apha eMpuma Koloni, azikho tu. Zikhona ke iipharmacy assistants zona zibetha nje ngomnxeba baxelelwe ukuba nanku umntu apha phambi kwam ingathi uthile ndimthini na, umntu acinge ukuba masinimnike ipilisi ethile isuke imgamncedi umntu kuloko imenze abaworse. Zikhona ke iintshukumo ezenziwayo ze-telli-medicine netelli-diagnosis kuquka i-e-medicine apho unokuthumela iscan somntu okanye i-x-ray kugqirha, ugqirha ke yena akuxelele ukuba ithini na idiagnosis nokuba kusetyenziswe awaphi amachiza. Ingxaki ke kukuba amachiza, iiii…ipharmacist nayo ifunde iminyaka emithandathu njengogqirha; thina ke sisebenzisa iipharmacist assistants ezikwazi nje ukunikezela amayeza abanalo ulwazi oluphangaleleyo kwaye iyasibetha kakhulu loo nto kuba azikho iipharmacist ube ungenakho ukuzingela (recruit) iipharmacists kweli phondo. Ezinye

izibhedlele apha eMpuma Koloni ziba nethamsanqa ukuba zithe zanayo nokuba inye ipharmacist kuba izibhedlele ezininzi azinazo iipharmacists apha kweli phondo.

There is another concern that sometimes a person will to the hospital but find that the people issuing these drugs at the dispensary have no proper knowledge or skills of dispensing drugs, maybe sometimes one's doctor will prescribe certain drugs only to be given wrong tablets.

You see that happens all the time because we have a shortage of pharmacists in this Province. There are pharmacy assistants and they operate telephonically where they are told that a person is here and these are the symptoms, the pharmacy assistant then decide on the drugs to be given to that patient only to find that they make the situation worse instead of curing the patient. There are telli-medicine and telli-diagnosis initiatives in place including e-medicine where you can send a patient's scan or x-ray to the doctor and the doctor will give you the diagnosis and the drugs to be used. The problem then is that dugs, the… the pharmacist just like the doctor ahs studied for six years; we use pharmacist assistants who have no knowledge or expertise in this, all they know is to issue drugs only and that affects us a lot because there a re no pharmacists and you cannot even recruit them. Some hospitals in the Eastern Cape are lucky if they have even one pharmacist because most hospitals have no pharmacists in this province.

Fourth reproach: p. 12

4.   Iintsana nabantwana

Isebe lineenkqubo ezikhoyo eziggwesileyo zokujongana nokubhubha kweentsana (p. 20) kunye nababtwana abangondlekanga (p. 21). Isebe likwanakana ingxaki engundoqo ngokuphathelele kwezi nkqubo: "ukugqwesa kwenkqubo kuthityazwa yindlala egqubayo" (p. 21).

Nangona kunjalo asikho nje kwaphela isizathu sokubhubha kweentsana nokungondleki kwabantwana. Ifuthe lezi ngxaki lichaphazela kakubi uphuhliso lwePhondo kuba abasebenzi abakhoyo bayancipha. Ubukho beenkqubo ezikhethekileyo ukuzama ukujongana nezi ngxaki ayisosisombululo kuba umlinganiselo wengxaki mkhulu kakhulu. Sisityholo kuluNtu nakuRhulumente ukuvumela ukuba iingxaki ezilolu hlobo ziqhubeke kwilizwe ledemokhrasi eliphuhle kangakanana.

Ayamkeleki nje kwaphela ke leyo into kwaye yenye yeengxaki isebe elijamelene nazo apha ephondweni. Ukususela kunyaka ophelileyo isebe belinayo inkqubo yokuhlangabezana neentsana ezizalwayo ezibhedlele kwaye into engamkelekanga yinto yokuba njengokuba sikhula njengesizwe sinolwazi nobuchule obuphangaleleyo bokwenza izinto kodwa izinga lokubhubha kweentsana liyonyuka endaweni yokuba lihle; indlala ikhona namhlanje kwaye ibikhona nayizolo kodwa i-expertise iyanda ngoko bekufanele ukuba siyawehlisa amazinga okubhubha kwabantwana bethu, isizathu soko ke yinto yokuba imeko yasezibhedlele ingunobangela wokubhubha kwentsana. Uyayikhumbula laa incident kwaZulu Natal apho kwabhubha abantwana abangama-32 ngenxa ye- clepcylia? Iclepcylia ke yintsholongwana ekho kuzo zonke izibhedlele, ukuba uyicoce kakuhle iwodi akukho mntu uzakusweleka ngenxa yeclepcylia kodwa ukuba awuyicocanga kakuhle kuzakusweleka umntwana namhlanje; isibhedlele ke kufanele ukuba sibone ukuba lo mntwana usweleke ngenxa yecepcylia bacoce ngomso. Ayenzeki ke loo nto kude kusweleke abantwana abangama-32 ukuze babone ukuba inene yiclepcylia, so iclepcylia kuba ke xa uyicinga phantse wonke umntu ongenayo esibhedlele unesifo kangangokuba kuphithizela nje iintsholongwane kula ndawo, kungoko kubalulekile ke ukuba

izibhedlele zethu zigcinwe zicocekile kangangoko kunokwenzeka. Ihygiene kwizibhedlele zethu ikwimeko apho ufumanisa ukuba iyindawo yokufukamela izifo uthi ungena phaya ufuna ukunyangwa kuthi kanti uyokuyenza imeko yakho ibe maxongo nangakumbi.

4. *Babies and children*

The department has effective programs in place to cope with infant mortality (p. 20) and malnourished children (p. 21). The department also recognizes the basic problem with these programs: "the effectiveness of the programme is compromised by abject poverty" (p. 21).

There is however no excuse for infant mortality and malnourished children. The effect of these problems is devastating to the development of the province because the eventual workforce will be depleted. The existence of special programmes to cope with these issues is not a final answer because the extent of the problems is too big. It is an accusation to the community and the government to allow such problems in a democratic well-developed country.

This is not acceptable at all and is one of the problems that we are faced with as the department. Since last year the department has a programme to address this issue of babies that are born in hospitals and what is not acceptable is to find that as we grow as the country with all the expertise, the infant mortality rate is also increasing instead of decreasing; poverty has always been around and with al the expertise and knowledge that we have acquired we should be reducing the mortality rate of our children, our hospital conditions are the reason for this. Do you remember the case in Kwazulu-Natal where 32 babies died because of clepcylia? Well, clepcylia is a bacteria which you find in all hospitals, if you properly clean your hospital wards no one will die but if do not clean you wards a baby will die today then the hospital should know that that baby died of clapcylia and clean the wards properly as from tomorrow. That does not happen; it takes 32 babies to see that indeed it was clapcylia because if you look at this situation everybody who goes to hospital has a sickness and as a result the place is crowded and flooded with bacteria, and that is the reason why hospitals should be kept clinically and hygienically clean. The hygiene in our hospitals is not in a good condition as a result hospitals are a breeding place of diseases; you go to hospital because to be healed only to get ore sick.

Follow-up reproach:

Nilisebe ke ngoku aninazo iinkqubo zesondlo ezikhoyo ukujongana nale meko yendlala egqubayo apha ephondweni?

Zikhona iinutrition programmes zabantwana ingakumbi aba bantu baneHIV, kuthiwa zikhona kodwa thina silisebe senze utyelelo safumanisa ukuba kwezinye izibhedlele azikho ezi milk substitutes neepapa ezikhoyo nezinto ezinjalo. Ayinguye wonke umntu ohluphekayo ofumanayo kulento, ngabantu abakwiHIV/AIDS programme abayifumanayo ingenguye wonke umntu ohluphekileyo ngoko ke awunalungelo lokusuka uye eklinikhi uthi ndinomntwana ufuna isubstitute milk. Bakhona oonontlalontle kuquka ooceba abafanel'ukujongana nabantu abahluphekayo, baqwalasela ukuba lo mntu ngenene akananto kuba ke awunakumgxotha umntwana uthi akanakufumana nto ngenxa yokuba umama wakhe akekho kwiprogramme. So, isocial network yethu ikhona, ukuba iyasebenza ngokukuko lowo ngumbuzo kodwa mna ingathi ayikokungasebenzi kwesocial network kuloko kuxa befika ezibhedlele abantu begula ibe imeko yesibhedlele ingekho mgangathweni.

As the department don't you have nutrition programmes in place to deal with this situation of pocerty in the province?

There are nutrition programmes especially for people with HIV, they say these programmes are there but when we made visits we discovered that in some hospitals these milk substitutes, porridge and such things are not available. This is not for all the poor people, it is meant only for those who are in the HIV/AIDS programme and if you are not in this programme you cannot just go there and demand milk substitutes. There are social workers and councilors, it's a whole network of people involved who are supposed to deal and assist the poor and consider if that person is indeed needy or poor because in reality you cannot chase away a hungry child just because he or she the mother is not on the programme. So, we do have our social network and if it functioning well that is a question, but I would say it is not only the social network that should operate well but the hospital condition s should be conducive as well.

Fifth reproach: p. 13

5. Iinkonzo zonyango

iSebe lezeMpilo linemeko ephuhlileyo yokusebenza kweeklinikhi kwaye ezi klinikhi zivuzwa ngephesenti efanelekileyo yolwabiwo-mali olupheleleyo lonyango (45.9%): jonga kwiphepha 25 olunenkcukacha zolwabiwo-mali luka 2005/2006). Ezi klinikhi zijongene nenyambalala yezigulane kwaye zikwaqwalaselel kwimimandla ethile yezeMpilo efana nentsholongwane kaGawulayo (iHIV), iSifo sephepha, ulwaluko, isondlo, nezinye izifo.

Imeko yeeklinikhi sele iphuhliswe ithuba elide kakhulu ukuzama ukunceda izigulane kufutshane nendawo ezihlala kuzo. Ingqwalasela kwezi klinikhi ibonisa ukuhla jikelele kwizakhiwo nakwixhobo xa kuthelekiswa neengxaki kwizibhedlele. Ngaphezulu kunoko, ezi klinikhi ziinengxaki ezinkulu zabasebenzi kuba abasebenzi bazo kufuneka bejongene namanani aphezulu ezigulane.

Uyabona umgaqo-siseko othathwe ngulo rhulumente ngowe-primary healthcare-based health system, into ethetha ukuthi umntu ogulayo elalini makabonwe aze afumane uncedo eklinikhi kuqala phambi kokuba agule kangangokuba kufuneke esiwe esibhedlele. Le yindlela ekuqhutywa ngayo kwihlabathi lonke yokusetyenziswa kwe-primary healthcare; ukuba uyambona umntu ukuba uzakugula, mnyange phambi kokuba agule kwaye ke le yipolicy karhulumente. Ingxaki ke kukuba kwezinye iindawo iiklinikhi zikude kwaye abantu abakwazi kufikelela kuzo, kodwa ke manditsho ukuba kuleminyaka ili-12 idlulileyo urhulumente uzakhile iiklinikhi kakhulu; kodwa uye ufumanise ukuba kukho iklinikhi entsha eNgqamakhwe ezilalini, entle ibe ingenamayeza okanye inomntu omnye ongakwazi ukubabona bonke abantu bahlale kuloo mingcelele iintsuku zilandelelana bade bancame baye esibhedlele ekubeni bebengafanelekanga ukuba baye ezibhedlele. Naloo nto ke yabantu yokuthanda ukuya ezibhedlele kuba kaloku bonke abantu bayafuna ukubonwa ngugqirha abafuni manesi, iyingxaki kuba izibhedlele ziyagcwala kakhulu ziphele zijongana neemeko zeprimary healthcare ebekufanel'ukuba zibonwa kwiiklinikhi; ibeke uxanduva ke ngoku kwimeko embi yezibhedlele. Abanye baye bafumane i-referrals zokusiwa kwizibhedele ibe ingekho inqwelo yezigulane ukubasa apho okanye asiwe eMonti eFrere nge-ambulance afike abonwe ngugqirha aze alale ubusuku obunye athi xa akhululwayo ngengomso ufumanise ukuba uzakuhlala iintsuku ezimbini nezintathu elinde inqwelo ezakumgodusa. So, ipolicy yokuba neprimary-preventative healthcare yinto entle kakhulu kodwa ke iyapatyalakiswa yindlala kunye ne-access yeproper primary healthcare kwilocal level.

5. Clinical services

The department of Health has a well developed system of clinics and these clinics are rewarded with a considerable percentage of the total budget for health care

(45.9%): see p. 25 for budget details for 2005/2006). These clinics deal with a multitude of patients and also concentrate on specific areas such as HIV, TB, circumcision, nutrition and others.

The system of clinics has been developed over a considerable long time to help patients near the areas where they live. A close look at these clinics shows a general decline in the building and equipment comparable to the problem in hospitals. Furthermore, these clinics have huge staff problems and the existing staff has to cope with immense numbers of patients.

You see the policy that has been adopted by this government is that primary healthcare-based health system, which means that if a person is sick he or she must be taken to the clinic and get help before her condition progresses to the extent he or she should be taken to hospital. This is an international practice to practice primary preventative healthcare; if you see that a person is going to get sick, cure that person cure that people she or he gets serious, and that is government's policy. In some areas clinics are too far and I must say that in the past 12 years the government did built more clinics, but you will find that there is a beautiful new clinic in Ngqamakhwe and no drugs or medicines inside, it has only one nurse who cannot be able to see all these patients who have been waiting in those queues for days until they give up and go to hospital where they are not supposed to go. Even this habit of rushing to hospital on the basis that everybody wants to be seen by the doctor and they do not want nurses causes this problem of overcrowding in hospitals ; the hospitals end up dealing with primary healthcare cases which are supposed to dealt with at the clinical level and that puts a strain on the already bad situation of hospitals. Some do get referrals to hospitals only to find that there is not patient transport or they are taken to Frere hospital in East London by an ambulance and the patient is seen by the doctor and be admitted for a night, when this person is discharged the following day there is no transport to take her or him back and would have to stay there for two or three more days waiting. This policy of preventative healthcare is a wonderful thing, but it is compounded by poverty and the access to primary healthcare on the local level.

4.4.4 Interview no: 4

4.4.4.1. Hospitals

1.1 Reproach: Hospital buildings and equipment are not maintained in a good standard in the Eastern Cape:

1.1   Concession:

The interviewee agrees to the reproach: *"Iyinyani yona le into"* (HI4, Q1.1: 1)

a. The department failed to utilize the R10m grant (HI4, Q1.1: 1-7)

b. There is a problem of poor management within the department of Health in the province of the Eastern Cape (HI4, Q1.1: 8- 12) and

c. There is lack of accountability within the department (HI4, Q1.1: 17-20)

1.2. Budget for hospitals:

Reproach: The money that has been budgeted for hospitals has not been spent:

1.2.1   <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee agrees that the department failed to utilize the R10m that has been awarded to it specifically for hospital revitalization. In all, he and the department take full responsibility and accountability for the failure event: (HI4, Q1.1: 1-7)

1.2.2   <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuses: Null Cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way he wants to disconnect himself or his committee from the reproach as he intends to put the causality of the act on some other source, external to himself. He identified such external sources which are the cause of the reproach as follows:

a. There is a problem of poor management within the department of Health in the province of the Eastern Cape (HI4, Q1.1: 8- 12); the incapability of the department in utilizing the money that has been awarded specifically for hospital revitalization (HI4, Q1.2: 1-8)
b. This R10m was a conditional grant from the National Government awarded to the Eastern Cape specifically for hospital revitalization program (HI4, Q1.2: 9-20)
c. There is a problem of poor management within the department of Health in the province of the Eastern Cape (HI4, Q1.1: 8- 12) and
d. There is lack of accountability within the department (HI4, Q1.1: 17-20)

4.4.4.2. Human resources

2.1. Shortages and conditions of staff:

Reproach: The hospital management has no direct access to its budget and thus they have limited means to employ more staff especially qualified nurses and specialist doctors. Such specialized healthcare workers are also reluctant to work in poor conditions with few specialized wards and equipment:

Reproach on budget:

2.1.1 <u>Denial</u>

The legislator blatantly denies the reproach. He highlights two issues that:

a. Hospital managers are involved in budgets especially when it comes to salaries, medicines and general hospital operations (HI4, Q2.1: 1-7)
b. He does not believe that hospital managers have no interest in budgets (HI4, Q2.1: 13-14)

2.1.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the severity of the reproach by appealing to the adversity of the current situations within the department. These situations are:

a. Most hospitals do not have bank accounts to which their allocations can be deposited and kept (HI4, Q2.1: 8-12)

Reproach on shortages of health workers:

2.1.3 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee agrees that:

a. The Eastern Cape has a shortage of health workers (HI4, Q2.1: 14-16)
b. The Department of Health and hospitals do not have a way to solve this shortage (Hi4, Q2.1: 16-18)
c. The Department should have started twelve (12) years ago to train more health workers (HI4, Q2.1: 18-22)
d. The shortage of health workers is a problem which cannot be solved by the department (HI4, Q2.1:22-24)

Reproach on view of the department:

2.1.4 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Defeasibility: plea of ignorance:</u>

The excuse employs defeasibility through the plea of ignorance of other departmental personnel from other regions as the cause for these negative consequences. He mentions the following issues:

a. Many districts do not see themselves as a department and managers of such districts consider the department only as Bisho (HI4, Q2.1: 24-27)
b. Managers of districts such as Sterkspruit do take part in meetings of department of Health and thus form part of the department (HI4, Q2.1: 27-29)
c. Thus, there is no reason for Mpilisweni hospital to consider themselves as not part of the department (HI4, Q2.1: 29-31)

2.2   Unsatisfactory working conditions:

Reproach: Health workers are not satisfied in South Africa: there is poor management, poor opportunities for promotion, poor facilities, high level of crime and poor circumstances of life:

2.2.1 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee agrees to the reproach in that:

a. Nurses are not well paid (HI4, Q2.2: 1)
b. Working conditions are not conducive enough for health workers (HI4, Q2.2: 2)
c. Criminals attack health workers within the premises of the health institutions (HI4, Q2.2: 2-4)
d. Communities sometimes demonstrate against health workers (HI4, Q2.2: 4-6)

2.2.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver mentions three situations that are the cause for this reproach. These situations are:

a. There is no clear program for human resource development (HI4, Q2.2: 8-10)

b. Nursing training colleges have also been closed down (HI4, Q2.2: 10-13)

c. The rural allowance programme has not yet been fully implemented in all the areas and in those where it is implemented the staff is not paid in time (HI4, Q2.2:14-23)

2.3. Problem of doctors:

Reproach: Doctors have very few administrative personnel to assist them; they sometimes have to work as porters; they are poorly paid and there are no promotion opportunities:

2.3.1 Excuse

Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility:

The excuse-giver is trying to disconnect self from the reproach by presenting another source which should bear responsibility for the negative consequences of the situation. He argues that:

a. The government in power has responsibility through its program of GEAR (HI4, Q2.3: 1-6)

b. The government has given money to private companies to the detriment of the department of health (HI4, Q2.3: 7-10)

2.3.2 Justification

Reframe principles: Fairness:

The interviewee argues that it is only fair that they are allowed to move as they please, thus, they are free to move anywhere they want (HI4, Q2.3: 11-12)

2.3.3 Justification

Right of self-fulfillment:

The justifier argues that people have the right to fulfill themselves:

a. The countries to which our healthcare professionals are migrating to are more industrialized and as such they pay better (HI4, Q2.3: 13-14) and

b. Our healthcare professionals are migrating to countries whose populations are declining and have a great demand for health workers and for that reason, there are more opportunities overseas than in S.A. (HI4, Q2.3: 14-17)

4.4.4.3 Shortage of medicine:

Problems with the delivery of medicine:

Reproach: Medicines are not delivered in time and moreover, hospitals and clinics have a shortage of qualified staff to dispense this medicine:

3.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver focused attention also on one major adverse condition that is facing the department at present as far as the issue of drugs is concerned:

a. There are no proper delivery mechanisms of medicines even though medicines are there in the depots (HI4, Q3: 2-5; 13-23)
b. There is a problem of ordering medicine which is not done in advance (H4, Q3: 5-7)
c. The system of delivery of drugs is also hampered by negligence within the department (Hi4, Q3: 7-8)

3.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver tries to disconnect himself from the reproach by presenting another source which in this case is the management of the department of Health as responsible for the failure event: (HI4, Q3: 1-2, 24-27 and 31-34)

4.4.4.4 Primary Health Care

Reproach: There is a general decline in clinics' buildings and equipment compared to the problem in hospitals. These clinics have huge staff problems and the existing staff has to cope with immense numbers of patients:

4.1   Excuse

Causal excuse: null cause:

The excuse-giver disconnects self from the failure event by mentioning other structures external to him as the source of the reproach and which should bear responsibility. Such sources are:

a. The department which fails to monitor or rather supervise its employees (HI4, Q4:1-2, 6-11)
b. Nursing staff lacks discipline and dedication to its work (HI4, Q4:2-6)

4.2   Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: future benefits:

The justifier argues that bad as the situation seems, there are intervention strategies set in place to rectify the problem at hand. He mentions two such strategies:

a. There is set radius to be followed of areas that should be served by one clinic (HI4, Q4: 12-1)
b. Mobile clinics have also been made available for those areas that struggle to get primary healthcare (HI4, Q4:15-16)

4.3   Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver focused on two adverse conditions that are currently facing the department. He mentions two such conditions as:

a. Nurses do not work regular hours as they sometimes leave work before 17H00 and do not work during weekends (HI4, Q4: 2-6)
b. Mobile clinics are not always available to take care of the people's health needs (HI4, Q4: 17-20)

4.4.4.5 The high mortality rate of infants and malnourished children

Reproach: There is no excuse for infant mortality and malnourished children. The effect of these problems is devastating to the development of the province because the eventual workforce will be depleted:

5.1   Excuse

Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility:

The excuse-giver mention that the department is responsible for the reproach, but it does not want to take responsibility (HI4, Q5: 1-2)

5.2   Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The justifier mentions two situations that are responsible for the reproach to mitigate the blame. They are:

a. The awareness campaigns and inoculation campaigns which are not successful (HI4, Q5: 2-9)
b. The unavailability and/or shortage of the inoculation drugs in the healthcare centers (HI4, Q5:9-14)

5.3   Justification

Comparison:

The justifier argues that most diseases of children can be avoided nowadays, thus there is no reason or need for children to die (HI4, Q5: 14-15)

1.   **Language and style**

1.1 *Syntactic level:*

a. Length of sentences:

The account has very long sentences. See *i.a.* Q1.1: 1-5 and 7-14. These sentences range from five to seven lines. However, the length of the sentences is not a problem

because isiXhosa is generally characterized by longer sentences particularly the spoken language than is the case with the written language.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences used are quite complex in the sense that each sentence has more than one verb. See i.a. Q1.1: 1-5, the sentence has almost five verbs: *suka, hlaziya, lahleka, yazi (lingakwazanga), sebenzisa*, and Q1.1: 15-19- the sentence has five verbs in it: *phucula (yokupucula), thenga (nokuthenga), gcina (yokugcina), chitha (aliyichithi), enza (alenzi).*

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban or modern version of isiXhosa. It is not a dialect though, but just a modern standard of the language mostly used by the urbanized Xhosa speakers.

1.2   Lexical level:

a. Lexical diversity:

i.   *Technical terms:* The interviewee has used such technical terms as: *uNdlunkulu, isixa-mali, unyaka-mali, uMphathi, inkcitho-mali, unongxowa, iGEAR, inkqubo karhulumente, ulwabiwo-mali*, etc. He uses these terms because as the legislator these terms are his daily bread and he should be teaching the public about government policies and programs which entail these terms.

ii.   *English terms:* the interviewee has used few English terms probably because parliament deliberations are mostly conducted in English and that it is sometimes difficult to find equivalence of such terms in isiXhosa. Examples of these terms are: *yipublic-private partnership, iidepho, iradius,* etc.

iii.   *Innovative Xhosa words:* the accounter uses innovative words in his account such as: *"…Koloni…"* (from Colony invented from the word colonization)

b. Language imagery:

i.   Metaphor

The account-giver has used such metaphors as: *"ISebe lona lisithele nje ngesebe lenkawu"* (Q5: 1), which means that the department is actually not prepared to take responsibility for its failures. Another example is: *"…zilisebe…"* (Q2.1: 25), which means the district managers are actually a part of the department or rather the department.

ii.   Simile

The account-giver uses simile in his speech repertoire. Examples are as follows:
"…enje ngokuba uxelelwe…" (Q1.2: 10)
"…njengemasisi…" (Q5: 8)

1.3   Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used equivocal language in his account such as *"…ndisazama ukucinga ukuba ingaba yenzeka njani into yokuba abaphathi bezibhedlele bangabi nanxaxheba bayithathayo…"* (Q2.1: 1-3) Another example is on Q2.1: 8: *"Ewe le nto uyithethayo ingenzeka…",* which means- whatever it is that you are saying, might happen, and *"…andiqondi ukuba into enjalo ingenzeka"* Meaning- I do not think such a thing can happen (Q2.1: 13-14). The use of this equivocation somehow threatens source credibility and the perceived quality of the arguments.

2.   Language use

2.1 Politeness*:*

The interviewee has tried to avoid the FTAs by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat such as concessions and excuses. However, the account-giver has chosen to perform the FTA, that he did on-record and off-record. On-record is expressed unambiguously through the use of excuses especially those that mitigate the blame, diffuse responsibility and those that appeal to null cause, thereby claiming that someone should take causality and responsibility of the failure event. The off-record strategy is expressed ambiguously so that the account-giver cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent.

2.2 Effectiveness:

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the interviewee chose to use mostly excuses, concessions and a few justifications. Among justifications that have been used are those that appeal to right of self-fulfillment and those that appeal to future benefits which outweigh the present negative aspects There are six justifications that have been used:

Future benefits	2
Right to self-fulfillment	2
Fairness	1
Comparison	1

The excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances as they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances. The interviewee has used 22 excuses in his account:

Causal excuses: Null cause	7
Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	11
Defeasibility: Ignorance	1
Diffuse responsibility	3

The interviewee has chosen strategies that he believe have chances of success. The use of metaphor indicates that the interviewee's attitude towards the failures as raised by the interviewer and as such he deviates from neutrality. He has decided to employ more excuses in his speech repertoire and also concessions which are considered to be more mitigating than justifications and denials/refusals. The use of diffusion of responsibility and a plea of ignorance is not benefiting the account though because these are excuses that are considered "poor" accounts.

2.3 Power of speech style:

The strategies used are those that have a potential of blame avoidance and thereby claiming credit for the account-giver and the department. The interviewee chose to employ the more mitigating strategies that threaten mostly his positive and negative face and thereby preserving that of the reproacher.

Interview no: 4

ISebe lezeMpilo

Intetho yoMgomo (2005/2006) yoMphathiswa Obekekileyo wezeMpilo waseMpuma Koloni igxininise kwimiba ethile yezempilo ekukudala ifumaniseka iyingxaki.

Department of Health

The Policy Speech (2005/2006) of the Hon. MEC for Health in the Eastern Cape focused on certain specific health issues which have been problem areas for a long time.

First reproach: p. 8

1. **Inkqubo yokuphuhliswa ngokutsha kweZibhedlele** (p. 7-9)

Reproach 1.1

iSebe lezeMpilo linenkqubo yokuphuhliswa kwamaziko akhoyo malunga umz. nezi njongo zilandelayo: "Ukuqoqosha nokuphuhliswa kwemeeko nenkangeleko kwizakhiwo zesibhedlele ndawonye nezixhobo zokusebenza kwizibhedlele" (p. 8).

Izakhiwo nezixhobo zizebhedlele eMpuma Koloni aziqwalaselwa ngendlela ekumgangatho ophezulu. Nangona amaziko nezakhiwo ezikhoyo ephuhliswa ngoku kwaye nezibhedlele zinyusa umgangatho wazo, ingxaki engundoqo isemi, leyo ke yile yokuqwalaselwa nokugcinwa kakuhle kwezibhedlele. Izakhiwo ndawonye nezixhobo zifuna ukunonotshelwa rhoqo, kodwa kukhangeleka le nkathalo ingaqwalaselwa kakuhle kangangokuba nophuhliso olusanda kwenziwa luphele lupatyalaka okanye luchaphazeleka ngephanyazo.

Iyinyani yona le into ngakumbi apha eMpuma Koloni kangangokuba kunyaka ophelileyo kukho isibonelelo esisuka kurhulumente kaNdlunkulu ekuthiwa yi-Hospital revitalization grant yokuhlaziywa kwezibhedlele; silahlekelwe sisixa-mali esingama-R10m kulo nyaka-mali udlulileyo ngesizathu esinye nje sokuba isebe lingakwazanga kuyisebenzisa le mali. Lilonke ke asikuko ukuba ayikho imali yokuhlaziya izibhedlele, imali yokuphuhlisa izibhedlele neyokuzigcina zisemgangathweni ikhona loo mali kodwa ingxaki yeyokuba ayichithwa. Isebe lezempilo eMpuma Koloni linengxaki yokungabi nalulawulo luluqilima kwaye ke into yokungachithwa kwemali ngumphumela wokungabikho kolawulo olululo esebeni ude ufumanise into yokuba ithi imali ikhona bangayichithi zibe ke nezibhedlele zethu eMpuma Koloni zikwimeko embi kakhulu ngokwezakhiwo ezenza iimeko zibe kwezi zibhedlele, umzekelo osandul'ukubakho ngulo waba bantwana bebesandul'ukusweleka eMakhiwane ngenxa ye-generator esuke ya…ya…, eneneni bekungekho generator njekwaphela xa umbane ubucima. Lilonke ke imali ikhona yokuphucula izibhedlele nokuthenga izixhobo ekufanelekileyo ukuba zibekhona naleyo yokugcina izibhedlele zisemgangathweni kodwa ingxaki ekhoyo yeyokuba isebe lezempilo aliyichithi kwaye alenzi nto ngabalawuli abangayichithiyo imali nabangawenziyo umsebenzi wabo. Thina ke siyipalamente kudala sithetha ngayo le nto sisilwa nomphathiswa kunye nesebe kodwa akude kubekho nto yenzekayo.

1. Hospital revitalization programme (p. 7-9)

The Department of Health has a programme for infrastructure development with i.e. the following aim: "The rationalising and improving of the condition and quality of hospital buildings as well as the condition of hospital equipment" (p. 8).

The hospital buildings and hospital equipment in the Eastern Cape are not maintained to a very good standard. Although infrastructure is now being developed and hospitals being upgraded, the central problem remains, and this is concerned

with the maintenance. Both buildings and equipment need continuous care but such care is not properly catered for so that any new development will also fall into disrepair.

That is true especially here in the Eastern Cape as a result last year there is a fund from the national government called the hospital revitalization programme for the province and we have lost R10m in the last financial year because of only one reason that the department failed to utilize that money. In all, it is not because there is no money for hospital revitalization, renovations and maintenance, but the problem is under expenditure. The department of health in the Eastern Cape has a problem with proper management and the problem of under expenditure is the end result of poor management to an extent that the money is not spent even though it is available irrespective of the fact that our hospitals are dilapidated in terms of infrastructure. A recent example is that of Cecilia Makhiwane hospital where many children died because of power failure and the generator was… in fact that there was not back-up. In all there is money for hospital revitalization , but the problem is that the department does not spend it and on top of that the department does absolutely about managers who do not utilize such funds. As parliamentarians have always been talking about this and fighting with the MEC and his managers, but nothing has been done.

Follow-up reproach: p. 9

Reproach 1.2

Ndiyayiva le nto uyithethayo ngomba wale R10m ebivezwe kwiphephandaba iSunday Times lomhla we 16 ku April ka 2006, ngaphandle kolawulo olungongopheleyo njengokuba sele utshilo zeziphi ezinye izizathu ezithe zancendisa ekubeni le mali ingakwazi ukuchithakala okanye ke mhlawumbi njengokuba le mali besele ikhutshiwe yaze ayasetyenziswa ngumphathiswa nabalawuli bakhe ancedisana nabo, kungokuba ibingenakho na ukuba iphinde isetyenziswe kunyaka-mali olandelayo?

Ingxaki ekhoyo yile yokuba imali karhulumente kufanele ichithwe kwisithuba seenyanga ezili-12 ngonyaka-mali lowo kuze kuthi ukuba ayichithwanga iqengqelekiselwe kunyaka-mali olandelayo, uye ufumanise ke into yokuba kuba nzima emaxesheni amaninzi ukuba imali ithi ingasetyenziswa kulo nyaka-mali igqithiselwe kunyaka-mali olandelayo nakulowo iphinde ingachithwa kuze kufuneke ukuba iphinde igqithiselwe kolandelayo abe ekhona amasebe wona akwaziyo ukuyichitha imali yawo kungenakwenzeka ke ukuba kumane kugcinwa imali igcinelwe isebe elithile elingakwaziyo ukuyisebenzisa lona; ilapho ke ingxaki. Njengokuba besele nditshilo ukuba le R10 m ibisisibonelelo kwaye ke imali xa iphume njengesibonelelo ibanayo imiqathango enjengokuba uxelelwe ukuba nazi izinto ekulindeleke ukuba uzenze ngale mali kwaye ufanele ukuba uyichithe ngexesha elithile ize inikwe ke iMpuma Koloni; ukuba iMpuma Koloni ayikwazi kuyichitha la mali akhona amanye amaphondo akwaziyo wona ukuyicitha la mali ngoko ke unongxowa kandlunkulu akazukwazi ukuyigcina la mali eyigcinela iMpuma Koloni engakwaziyo ukuyichitha abe ekhona amanye amaphondo akwaziyo ukuyichithale mali abe eyifuna. Liyinene elokuba siyayidinga le mali kuba sikhona isidingo kuba izibhedlele neeklinikhi zethu zikwimeko embi kodwa ingxaki yeyokuba akukwazeki ukuba imali igcinwe igcinelwa iMpuma Koloni apho izakufika ihlale ebhankini ingasetyenziswa abe ekhona amanye amaphondo namanye amasebe ayifunayo le mali.

I understand the issue you are raising of this R10m that appeared on the 'Sunday Times', April 16 2006, besides the lack of management as you already mentioned what other problems have contributed to this under-expenditure or maybe since the

money has already been issued was it not possible for it to be rolled over to the next financial year?

The existing problem is that the government's funding should be spent within the period of twelve months of that financial year and if it is not spent then it should be rolled-over to the next financial year. It becomes difficult then to keep on rolling over the budget to next and the next financial year when there are other departments who are able to utilize their budget within the targeted financial year, the money cannot be kept then for the department that is incapable of spending it and that is where the problem is. Like I said this R10m was a grant and a grant has its own conditions such as what to do with the money and when to do that and then it is given to the province, in this case the Eastern Cape; if the Eastern Cape is incapable of utilizing this money there are other provinces who are capable and then the national treasury will have to transfer the money to those provinces that are capable of utilizing it instead of keeping it for the province that fails to utilize the grant. It is true that we need the money because there is a need to revitalize our hospitals and clinics, but then it is impossible to keep the money for the Eastern Cape where it will be kept in the bank instead of utilizing it when there are other provinces that are in need of that money.

Second reproach: p. 9

2.   Oovimba abajolise ebantwini (p. 10-11)

Reproach 2.1

iSebe lezeMpilo linakana "ukushokoxeka okuqgubayo kwabasebenzi kwiindawo ezinongcipheko" (p. 10).

Abaphathi besibhedlele bona baqwalasela ukusebenza kwesibhedlele imihla ngemihla, umsebenzi wabo ujolise ekuphuhliseni isibhedlele nabasebenzi kuphela. Abaphathi abanalawulo luthe ngqo kulwabiwo-mali lwesibhedlele nto leyo ebangela ukuba bangabi nathuba laneleyo lokuqesha abasebenzi abaninzi, ingakumbi abongikazi nooqgirha abasemthethweni nabafanelekileyo. Aba basebenzi bezempilo bajongene nemimandla ethile baye babe mathidala ukusebenza phantsi kwezi meko zingaginyisi mathe ezinamawadi ambalwa onyango kunye nezikrweqe ezinqongopheleyo. Abasebenzi bayachaphazeleka zezi meko zimbi kwaye maxa wambi kufuneka basebenze iiyure ezili-12 ngemini babe abanye abongikazi kunyazeleka ukuba bakhathelele izigulane ezingama-20 ukuya kuma-30. Le ngxaki inefuthe elibi kwimveliso kwaye ibangela ukuba abasebenzi bangabi namdla wakusebenzela eli Phondo. Ingxaki evamise ukwenzeka malunga naba mongikazi kukukhalazela kwabo imivuzo: Umvuzo womongikazi awunakumkhuthaza umongikazi omtsha ukuba eze kolu hlobo lomsebenzi.

Ewe ndiyayiva le nto uyithethayo kodwa ndisazama ukucinga ukuba ingaba yenzeka njani into yokuba abaphathi bezibhedlele bangabi nanxaxheba bayithathayo ekwenziweni kolwabiwo-mali kuba ke uye ufumanise into yokuba nakwesiphi na isibhedlele kukho amacandelo amabini ekufumaniseka ingawona atya imali kahulu, iintlawulo zabasebenzi ize okwesibini ibe ngamayeza kuquka nokujongana nesibhedlele imihla ngemihla; uthi ufumanise ke intoyokuba emaxesheni amaninzi abaphathi bezibhedlele banenxaxheba kwizinto ezinjalo. Ewe le nto uyithethayo ingenzeka xa ujongene nezibhedlele ezininzi ekufumaniseke into yokuba uninzi lwazo alunazo ii-akhawunti zebhanki, umzekelo iMpilisweni ayinayo i-akhawunti yebhanki apho kuzakuthiwa nalu ulwabiwo-mali lwabo luzakufakwa kwi-akhawunti yabo yebhanki, imali yabo ihlala ephondweni kodwa ibe iMpilisweni izazi ukuba inemali enga; mhlawumbi ke kusenokwenzeka ukuba abananxaxheba kuloo nto leyo kodwa ke andiqondi ukuba into enjalo iyenzeka. IMpuma Koloni ihleli inengxaki

yokunqongophala kwabongikazi, oogqirha, oosokhemisi nabanye abasebenzi abonobugcisa kumacandelo athile ezempilo, into endinokuyithetha yeyokuba isebe lezempilo kuquka nezibhedlele azinayo indlela esisigxina yokuzam'ukusombulula yokushokoxeka kwabasebenzi de ufumanise into yokuba sineminyaka eli-12 sakhululekayo ngoko ke ukuba ukusukela kusuku lokuqala sifumene inkululeko ngo-1994 besithe saqeqesha oogqirha ekuthatha iminyaka esixhenxe ukubaqeqesha ngoku ngaba sinoogqirha abaninzi kuquka nabasebenzi bamanye amacandelo. Uthi ufumanise ke ukuba into yokuba ingxaki yokunqongophala kwabasebenzi bezonyango yingxaki isebe lezempilo elinayo kwaye asiyongxaki ekungathi isebe linayo indlela yokuyisombulula. Eny'into ke yile yokuba iziphaluka ezininzi aziziboni zona ngokungathi zilisebe kwaye uye ufumanise ukuba xa uthetha nomphathi wesiphaluka uthetha ngeBisho xa ethetha ngesebe, akathethi ngokungathi uyinxalenye yesebe yena; uye ufumanise into yokuba la mntu ungumphathi phaya kwisithili saseSterkspruit uyahlala kwiintlanganiso zabalawuli besebe lezempilo kwaye uyinxalenye yesebe ngoko ke ayikho into ebangela into yokuba umntu oseMpilisweni athi isebe alindenzeli into ethile ngokungathi yena akayonxalenye yelo sebe.

2. *Human resources* (p. 10-11)

The Department of Health recognizes "the current acute shortage of staff in critical positions" (p. 10).

The hospital management, who oversees the day-to-day running of the hospitals, is limited in developing the hospital and its staff. The management has no direct access to its budget and thus they have limited means to employ more staff, especially qualified nurses and specialist doctors. Such specialized health care workers are also reluctant to work in poor conditions with few specialized wards and equipment. The nursing staff also suffers with these abnormal conditions and sometimes has to work for 12 hours a day with some nurses having to look after 20 to 30 patients. This problem has an impact on their productivity and it makes them reluctant to work for the province. A recurring problem with these nurses is their complaint about salaries: the salary for a nurse does not encourage new nurses to enter the profession.

Yes I do agree with what you are saying but I am still trying to figure out how possible is it to exclude hospital managers from the budget discussions because it has been discovered that there are mainly two sections in each hospital that utilize more of the budge; the staff salaries and secondly drugs and general operations of the hospital, you then find that hospital managers have a contribution in such things when it comes to the drafting of the budget. What you are saying might happen especially when considering that most hospitals do not have bank accounts, for example Mpilisweni hospital does not have a bank account and as a result their allocations remain within the province but they know how much their budget is. It might happen that they do not take part in budget discussions, but I do not think that such a thing is possible. The province has always had a problem of shortages of doctors, nurses, pharmacists and other health professionals and what I can say about this is that he department including hospitals do not have a permanent system of addressing these shortages. We are 12 years to our democracy now and if from day one of our democracy in 1994 we had embarked on training doctors who takes seven years, we would be having more doctors and other medical professionals today. The shortage of medical professionals is the problem that seems unlikely to be solved by the department . Another problem is that most districts do not consider themselves as the department to an extent that when district directors talk about the department they talk about Bisho and that they do not regard selves as part of the collective. You will find then that the district director in Sterkspruit sits on the provincial directors'

meetings and for that reason for that person to claim that the department is not providing for him or her because she or he is part of the department.

Follow-up reproach: p. 10

Reproach 2.2

Ingxelo yakutshanje yeWorld Health Organization (WHO) ichaza izizathu ezininzi ezingunobangela wokuba abasebenzi bezonyango abonelisekanga eMzantsi Afrika: ulawulo olungancumisiyo; ukushokoxeka kwamathuba okonyuselwa; ukushokoxeka kwezixhobo zokusebenza; ukwanda kolwaphulo-mthetho kunye nokungancumisi kweemeko zokuphila kwaba bantu.

Uyabona ke iyinyani yona into yokuba abongikazi abahlawulwa kakuhle nokuba iimeko abaphangela phantsi kwazo azikho ntle kangangokuba sinemizekelo eliqela apha eMpuma Koloni apho kuthi kusuke kungene izigebenga ezibhedlele zonzakalise abantu okanye ilali yona ngokunokwayo isuke ivukele, kukho umzekelo welali yaseMadwaleni eXhorha apho kwabakho uvukelo ngabahlali bevukela abongikazi kuba besithi kuqeshwa abongikazi abasuka eKZN. Zikhona ke iimeko ezinjalo kodwa ke nalapho le nto ibuyela kulanto bendiyithetha yokungabikho kombono omhle wokuphuhlisa abasebenzi kuba uye ufumanise into yokuba izibhedlele zaseMpuma Koloni kwakuqeqeshwa abongikazi phaya phambi kuka-1994, kuzo zonke izibhedlele kodwa kuthe kusakungena lo rhulumente yapheliswa yonke loo nto yokuqeqeshwa kwabongikazi neekholeji ezo zavalwa kangangokuba naloo nkqubo ekhoyo yokuqeqeshwa kwabongikazi ayikemi ngendlela kuquka naleyo yokuqeqeshwa koogqirha. Ngokufananyo ke indlela yokubagcina aba gqirha nabongikazi kwezi ndawo bakuzo ayikemi ngendlela kuba ke kudala kusithiwa kufanele kubekhona isibonelelo sokusebenza ezilalini kubhatalwe abo gqirha nabongikazi bazinikezeleyo kwezo ndawo, isandul'ukuqalwa ke naleyo into kwiminyaka nje emibini edlulileyo sele bebaninzi abantu abamkileyo; kuninzi kakhulu ukungabikho kwenkathalo kwisebe lezempilo ingakumbi apha eMpuma Koloni ekuqinisekiseni kwinto yokuba abantu babhatalwa ngexesha loo mali incinci ukuba uye ufumanise into yokuba bakhona abantu abaye bangasifumani esi sibonelelo sithetha ngaso sabantu abasebenza ezilalini zide ziqengqeleke iinyanga umntu engayifumani le mali. Ezi zingxaki ezikhoyo kwaye zingqamene ngqo nolawulo lwesebe.

A recent report of the World Health Organization (WHO) gives many reasons why health workers are not satisfied in S.A: there is poor management; poor opportunities for promotion; poor facilities; high level of crime and poor circumstances of life for these people.

It is a fact that nurses are not well paid and that working conditions are not conducive enough as a result we have examples here in the Eastern Cape where you find that criminals attack people within the premises of the health centres or where you find that the area itself will make demonstration against health workers as it was the case in Madwaleni clinic in Elliotdale because the community felt that the system was employing nurses from KZN only. There are such cases but then this goes back again to what I said that there is no clear programme for human resources development because you will find that in Eastern Cape nurses were employed more before 1994 and that has come to a halt since the inception of this new government. The nursing colleges have also been closed and therefore affecting the new programme of employing more nurses and training more doctors. The same applies to the system of retaining these doctors and nurses who are already in the system as we all know that they have been talking about incentives such as rural allowances for those doctors and nurses who are willing to work in those remote rural areas; this

has only started two years ago and there are many health workers that have already left the country. The rate of negligence in ensuring that people are paid in time within the department of health in the Eastern Cape is overwhelming to an extent that some health workers will go for months without getting their rural allowances and there are no explanations for that. These problems are then related to the departmental management.

Follow-up reproach: p. 10

Reproach 2.3

Ingxelo yephephandaba iFinancial Mail ikwabalule neengxaki ooggirha abathi bahlangabezane nazo: ukungongophala kwabasebenzi njengabachwethezi, abantu ababizwa ngokuba ziiphotha ukuncendisa ukududula izigulani endaweni yokuba ooggirha bazidudulele ngokwabo; imivuzo engancumisiyo: ooggirha barholiswa iR139 000 ngonyaka ekubeni befumana iR480 000 ngonyaka eLondon; ukanti namathuba okonyuselwa amfiliba kakhulu.

Inene leyo into injalo kuba uyakuqwalasela into yokuba ulwabiwo-mali lwezempilo kule minyaka mine nemihlanu edlulileyo luya lusihla ngokwehla kuba ukusukela ngo-1996 urhulumente akaqeshi ngokufanelekileyo nto leyo ekhokhelela ekubeni ulwabiwo-mali lwesebe lube luyehla ukusukela ngoko. Ezi zingxaki ezikhoyo ezingqamene nenkqubo karhulumente ka-GEAR eyathi yenza into yokuba inkcitho-mali kumasebe onke ibe iyehla ude ufumanise into yokuba emaxesheni amaninzi izibhedlele zenziwe zibe zezabucala nokuba kubekho le nto ibizwa ngokuba yi-public-private partnership nto leyo eyenza ukuba imali ebifanel'ukuba iya kubasebenzi, ekuphuculeni imeko yezempilo neenkonzo ezinikezelwayo ezibhedlele yehle ngokwehla kule minyaka ilishumi idlulileyo.

A report in the Financial Mail also highlighted the problems of doctors: they have very few administrative personnel to assist them, such as typists; very few porters in hospitals with the result that doctors must push patients around themselves; they have poor salaries- R139 000 per annum while in London they can get R480 000 per annum; there are also very few opportunities for promotion.

That is true because you will notice that in the past four or five years the department's budget has been decreasing mainly because the government has not been employing as required as from 1996. These are the problem related to the GEAR programme which caused a nosedive of all the departments' budgets to an extent that most hospitals are now being privatized and also the public-private partnership which; for this reason funds that should have been used for staff salaries, improvement of health services end up being given to these private companies to the detriment of the health system as a whole.

Follow-up reproach:

Ingaba ezi zinto zizonke ngokolwakho uluvo ziyayikhuthaza into yokuba aba ggirha bahambe bayokunikezela iinkonzo zabo kwamanye amazwe?

Ingxaki kaloku yile yokuba siphila kwilizwe apho kungekho mida ngoko ke umntu uyakwazi ukusuka kwelinye ilizwe ayokuphangela kwelinye kwaye ke ngelishwa lethu ufumanise into yokuba sikhuphisana namazwe akhokhelise ushishino ngokwezempilo abe ke ebhatala ngcono kakhulu kunathi. Eny'into ke yile yokuba amazwe asentshona anabemi abagugayo nabaphelayo ngoko ke kukho isidingo esikhulu sabasebenzi bezonyango kuloo mazwe, esinokukwenza ke thina kukuba sibabhatale kakuhle abasebenzi bethu bezonyango.

According to your to your own understanding of the situation do you think these things condone the migration of doctors to render their services to other countries?

The problem is that we live in a country that has no borders and as such one is free to move from one country to work in the other, the unfortunate part of this is that we end up competing with industrialized countries as far as the health system is concerning where you find that health are paid well. And also, the western countries have declining populations and for that there is a great demand of health workers and what we can do is to pay our health workers better than we do.

Third reproach: p. 11

3. Ukushokoxeka kwamachiza

iSebe lezeMpilo linakana ingxaki yokuhanjiswa kwamachiza kwaye enye yeenjongo zalo ezingundoqo kukuphuhlisa oku kuhanjiswa kwamachiza: "imeko ephuhlileyo nobukho bamayeza namachiza ukuze kunciphe okanye kutshatyalaliswe ngokupheleleyo ukushokoxeka kwamachiza obebukade buqguba" (p. 5).

Ingxaki yamachiza amiselweyo ezibhedlele nakwiiklinikhi yingxaki enamajingxeba. Iimeko eziphathelele kumachiza zicace gca: okokuqala, ingxaki engonikezelo: nangona izibhedlele zisenza kangangoko zinakho ukuzuza umlinganiselo onguwo wamachiza, zisoloko zifumanisa ukuba ukuba la machiza awahanjiswanga. Okwesibini, izibhedlele neeklinikhi zinabasebenzi abasemthethweni abambalwa abanokunikezela la machiza. Ekupheleni kwalo mjelo wokunikezelwa kwamachiza ubani uye afumane isigulane singenawo amachiza okanye isigulane kufuneke isigulane silinde ixesha elide phambi kokuba sifumane amachiza angawo.

Eneneni wena asikho isizathu saloo nto, esikhoyo sinye nje kuphela seso songungabikho kolawulo oluncumisayo ude ufumanise into yokuba emaxesheni amaninzi amayeza akhona kwiidepho, zimbini ke iidepho esinazo apha eMpuma Koloni iseMthatha naseBhayi kwaye namayeza akhona ingxaki nje kukuba aphume phaya edepho aye eziklinikhi nasezibhedlele kuthi ke nalawo angekhoyo apho edepho ufumanise into yokuba imali yokuba mawathengwe ikhona ingxaki nje ilele apha kulawulo olu lwesebe. Enye ingxaki ekhoyo yile yokungabikho kwenkathalo kangangokuba akukho mntu apha eMzantsi Afrika onokukhala ngento yokungabikho kwamayeza kuba imali yokuwathenga ikhona kunye nendlela yokuwasasaza ikhona; zikhona iindlela ezimiselwe ukuhambisa la machiza ngoko ke asikho nje kwaphela isizathu esenza ukuba amayeza angabikho ngaphandle ngokungakhathali.

3. *Shortage of medicine*

The department of Health recognizes problems with delivery of medicine and one of its primary aims is to improve this delivery of medicine: "improved systems and availability of drugs and medicines in order to minimize if not eradicate completely shortages as in the past" (p. 5).

The problem of prescribed medicines in hospitals and clinics is a very old problem. The issues about medicine are clear: firstly, the supply problem: although hospitals make an effort to obtain the correct amount of medicine, they frequently find that these medicines are not delivered. Secondly, the hospitals and clinics have a shortage of qualified staff to dispense this medicine. At the end of this supply line one finds the patient with no medicine or a patient who has to wait a long time for the correct medicine.

There is absolutely no reason for that , the only reason is that of lack of effective management because you will find in most cases that our depots in uMthatha and Port Elizabeth are packed with drugs and the only problem is dispatching them to

hospitals and clinics; even those that are finished in those depots the money to buy them is available and failure to do that still lies with the departmental management. Another problem is that of negligence within the department and there is no need for anyone to complain about the shortage of drugs within government centres because the budget to deal with that is available including the distribution infrastructure of those drugs. There are mechanisms provided for the distribution of drugs, therefore there is absolutely no reason why drugs should not be made available in hospitals and clinics.

Follow-up reproach:

Ukuba ndingabuza zeziphi ezi ndlela zikhoyo zokuhambisa la mayeza?

Masenze umzekelo ngezaklinikhi zakowenu eSterkspruit, zonke iiklinikhi zaseSterkspruit ziyafikeleleka kuquka nale ingaphaya ePhelandaba uyakwazi ukuhamba uyokumisa ngqo esangweni xa uhamba ngemoto, zimbalwa kakhulu iindawo eMzantsi Afrika ezingafikelelekiyo; ngoko ke akekho umntu onokuthi amayeza awafikanga kwiklinikhi ethile ngenxa yokuba kungekho ndlela, andisathethi ke ngazo zona izibhedlele kuba ke asikho nje kwaphela isizathu esenza into yokuba amayeza epressure kuba ndandikhe ndaya eMlamli ndafika phaya kusithiwa awekho amayeza epressure. Esi sesona sigulo sixhaphakileyo ngoko ke asikho isizathu esenza into yokuba amayeza okusinyanga angabikho ezibhedlele naseziklinikhi kuba ke eneneni neendlela ziyavuma nemoto ingahamba iyokufika.

If I may ask what are these mechanisms used to dispatch these drugs?

Let us make an example with the clinics in Sterkspruit, all the clinics in Sterkspruit are reachable including Phelandaba because you are able to drive right through the gates and there are very few areas that cannot be reached by car in South Africa; for this reason there is absolutely no one who could claim that drugs couldn't be delivered to a certain clinic because there are no roads particularly hospitals. I once went to uMlamli hospital in need of blood pressure drugs, I couldn't get them because they were not available and that is not acceptable because this is one of the most common illnesses and as such drugs to cure the illness should always be available, the road infrastructure has made it possible for delivery vehicles to drive until the doorway of both hospitals and clinics.

Follow-up reproach:

Yeyiphi indima edlalwa zizibhedlele neeklinikhi kule nto yokushokoxeka kwamachiza okanye ke mhlawumbi isebe lisuka lizigqibele ngokunokwalo ukuba lithumele awaphi amayeza kwizibhedlele nakwiklinikhi?

Hayi kaloku into eyenzekayo kukuba ifaka i-oda yamayeza esibhedlele size isibhedlele sona siyigqithisele edepho loo oda, ingxaki ibalapha ekubuyeni kwalo oda isiya esibhedlele naseklinikhi kwaye yonke le nto yingxaki ebangelwa kukungabikho kolawulo olululo nolawulo lweeklinikhi; okwesibini uye ufumanise into yokuba indlela elulawulwa ngayo uluhlu lwamayeza eziklinikhi ingohlobo lokuba ayalindwa amachiza kude kushiyeke iibhokisi ezimbini ekubeni bebefanele into yokuba ba-ode xa kusele mhlawumbi iibhokisi ezilishumi nangaphezulu. Yiyo ke loo nto ndisithi yonke le ngxaki ibangelwa lulawulo oluhexayo nenkqubo lokuqinisekisa ukuba amazinga abo oluhlu lwamayeza azihli ukugqitha kwizinga elithile, ngoko ke asikuko ke ukuba amayeza awekho okanye imali yokuthenga amayeza.

Is there any role played by hospitals and clinics in this shortage of drugs or perhaps the department just decides o its own which drugs to send to these health centres?

What happens is that the order is sent to the hospital and the hospital will transfer that order to the depot, the problem is then on the return of that order back to the hospitals and clinics and this is basically caused by the lack of proper management and monitoring of these clinics. Secondly, you will find that the way in which the inventory is controlled in these clinics is such that they wait until there are only two or so boxes of drugs left instead of placing order while they still have about ten and more boxes. This is the reason why I say this problem is mainly caused by the mismanagement and unclear mechanisms of ensuring that levels of inventory do not drop beyond a certain point, and therefore it is not because there are no drugs or that there are no funds to buy these drugs except for lack of monitoring and proper management.

Fourth reproach: p. 12

4.   Iinkonzo zonyango

iSebe lezeMpilo linemeko ephuhlileyo yokusebenza kweeklinikhi kwaye ezi klinikhi zivuzwa ngephesenti efanelekileyo yolwabiwo-mali olupheleleyo lonyango (45.9%): jonga kwiphepha 25 olunenkcukacha zolwabiwo-mali luka 2005/2006). Ezi klinikhi zijongene nenyambalala yezigulane kwaye zikwaqwalaselel kwimimandla ethile yezeMpilo efana nentsholongwane kaGawulayo (iHIV), iSifo sephepha, ulwaluko, isondlo, nezinye izifo.

Imeko yeeklinikhi sele iphuhliswe ithuba elide kakhulu ukuzama ukunceda izigulane kufutshane nendawo ezihlala kuzo. Inggwalasela kwezi klinikhi ibonisa ukuhla jikelele kwizakhiwo nakwizixhobo xa kuthelekiswa neengxaki kwizibhedlele. Ngaphezulu kunoko, ezi klinikhi ziinengxaki ezinkulu zabasebenzi kuba abasebenzi bazo kufuneka bejongene namanani aphezulu ezigulane.

 Uyabona ke apha sijkeleza into enye kuba kaloku umba wokongamela yingxaki yolawulo, ewe ndiyavumelana nawe kangangokuba uye ufumanise into yokuba kwezinye iindawo abongikazi abaphangeli ngeempelaveki ekubeni bebefanel'ukuba bayaphangela, kwezinye iindawo abatshayisi nangaloo- 16h: 30 ufumanise into yokuba baphuma emsebenzini ngentsimbi yesibini ukwenzel'into yokuba bafike kusavuliwe edolophini; zingxaki ezikhoyo ezi ezingunobangela wokungahambi kakuhle kolawulo kuba ke eneneni nakweyiphi na ifemu ukuba abukho mntu ugadileyo ukuba ingaba abasebenzi bayayenza na le nto ekufanele ukuba bayenze, ngokuqinisekileyo ke abasebenzi abazukuyenza loonto kuba bayayazi into yokuba nokuba umntu uphume nini emsebenzini akukhomntu uzakumbuza ngaloo nto kwaye ke le nto ixhaphakile apha eMpuma Koloni.

4.   Clinical services

The department of Health has a well developed system of clinics and these clinics are rewarded with a considerable percentage of the total budget for health care (45.9%): see p. 25 for budget details for 2005/2006). These clinics deal with a multitude of patients and also concentrate on specific areas such as HIV, TB, circumcision, nutrition and others.

The system of clinics has been developed over a considerable long time to help patients near the areas where they live. A close look at these clinics shows a general decline in the building and equipment comparable to the problem in hospitals. Furthermore, these clinics have huge staff problems and the existing staff has to cope with immense numbers of patients.

You see, we are running around in circles here because the issue of monitoring and supervision is a departmental management problem; yes I do agree with you

because you sometimes find that in other clinics nurses are not working during weekends whereas they are supposed to and in other areas they knock-off earlier than 16H:00 maybe at 14H:00 as they want to get to town earlier than 17H:00. These are problems that resulting from the lack of proper management because when we are being realistic even in factories if there is no monitoring workers will do their job and they are free to move around as they please because they know for sure that there is no one to reprimand them for that, and this unfortunately is very prevalent in the Eastern Cape.

Follow-up reproach:

Kuthekani ke ngoku ngezi klinikhi ekufumaniseka into yokuba zijongene neelali ezininzi ngexesha, mhlawumbi iilali eziphaya kwisixhenxe nesibhozo?

Nalapho ke kufuneka kubekhona iradius ethile engangeekhilomitha ezintlanu okanye ezilishumi zommandla ongqonge iklinikhi leyo kwaye lo ngumgaqo osekwe lisebe kodwa ke uye ufumanise into yokuba le nto ayisebenzi phaya ezilalini okanye emaphandleni. Enye ke indlela abazama ukuhlangabezana ngayo nawo lo mba yile yokuba kubekhona iiklinikhi ezihamba-hambayo kodwa ke nazo azisebenzi ngendlela ebekufanel'ukuba zisebenza ngayo kuba uye ufumanise into yokuba ibaneentsuku engafiki ngazo okanye iiveki ziqengqeleke zibe zingafiki ekubeni bekufanel'ukuba zifike nabantu babe beyilindele kuba kaloku bayayazi ukuba bekufanel'ukuba zibe zifikile.

What about those clinics that are catering for many areas say maybe seven or eight areas at a time?

There must be a radius of about five kilometers or ten of the area surrounding the clinic and that is the standard set by the department, but you will find that this does not apply in rural areas. Another way in which they are trying to deal with this is matter is to make mobile clinics available to these areas, but the problem is that these mobile clinics are not addressing the situation as anticipated because you find they are not always available as they are scheduled for certain days only to find that they do not pitch even on those scheduled days whereas people are waiting.

Fifth reproach: p. 13

5.   Iintsana nabantwana

Isebe lineenkqubo ezikhoyo eziggwesileyo zokujongana nokubhubha kweentsana (p. 20) kunye nababtwana abangondlekanga (p. 21). Isebe likwanakana ingxaki engundoqo ngokuphathelele kwezi nkqubo: "ukugqwesa kwenkqubo kuthityazwa yindlala egqubayo" (p. 21).

Nangona kunjalo asikho nje kwaphela isizathu sokubhubha kweentsana nokungondleki kwabantwana. Ifuthe lezi ngxaki lichaphazela kakubi uphuhliso lwePhondo kuba abasebenzi abakhoyo bayancipha. Ubukho beenkqubo ezikhethekileyo ukuzama ukujongana nezi ngxaki ayisosisombululo kuba umlinganiselo wengxaki mkhulu kakhulu. Sisityholo kuluNtu nakuRhulumente ukuvumela ukuba iingxaki ezilolu hlobo ziqhubeke kwilizwe ledemokhrasi eliphuhle kangakanana.

Isebe lona lisithela nje ngesebe lenkawu kuba ke isibonelelo sabantwana sele lineminyaka liqhuba nangona liphethwe lisebe lezentlalontle; ewe yona iyinyani into yokuba abantwana abaninzi bayafa kwaye babulawa yindlala kodwa ke emaxesheni amaninzi uye ufumanise into yokuba iinkqubo zokuqondisa abantu azizisanga iziphumo ebekufanel'ukuba zizizisile kwaye ke neenkqubo zokugonywa kwabantwana azifikeleli ngokwaneleyo ebantwini kuba uye ufumanise into yokuba

abantwana abaninzi bathi babulawe zizifo ebekungafanelekanga ukuba zibe ziyababulala njengemasisi nesifo sotyatyazo nezinye ke ebengezithintelwe. Uye ufumanise ke emaxesheni amaninzi into yokuba loo maphulo okugonywa kwabantwana afa namthanyana neziphumo zawo azikho zihle kuba uyakufika kwiklinikhi ethile la mayeza okugonyela imasisi engekho, ufike mhlawumbi wonke la mayeza alandelwayo engekho kuba kaloku kukho umgaqo omiselweyo olandelwayo wokugonywa kwabantwana ufumanise ukuba awekho loo mayeza eklinikhi; ndiyayiva yona le yendlala kodwa ke nezinye izifo ezibulala abantwana bekungafanelekanga ukuba zibe ziyababulala.

5.   *Babies and children*

The department has effective programs in place to cope with infant mortality (p. 20) and malnourished children (p. 21). The department also recognizes the basic problem with these programs: "the effectiveness of the programme is compromised by abject poverty" (p. 21).

There is however no excuse for infant mortality and malnourished children. The effect of these problems is devastating to the development of the province because the eventual workforce will be depleted. The existence of special programmes to cope with these issues is not a final answer because the extent of the problems is too big. It is an accusation to the community and the government to allow such problems in a democratic well-developed country.

The department is just ducking and diving because the child support grant has been going on for some years now even though it is managed by the department of social development. Yes it is true that children are dying because of malnutrition and poverty, but in most cases you will find that the awareness campaigns did not bring about the expected results and that the inoculation campaigns do not reach people sufficiently as you know that most children die of diseases that they are not supposed to die of such as measles and diarrhea and other diseases that could have avoided through immunization. You sometimes find that such campaigns collapse due to the shortage of immunization drugs in clinics as there is a course that has to be followed; I do understand this but then again most illnesses and diseases that children die from could have been easily avoided.

4.4.5 Interview no: 5

4.4.5.1 Hospitals

1.1 Reproach: Hospital buildings and equipment are not maintained in a good standard in the Eastern Cape:

1.1.1 Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver focused attention on four adverse conditions facing the department at present such as the budget constraints, infrastructure and the employees:

a. The departmental budget does not have enough capacity to improve hospital buildings (HI5, Q1.1: 6-7)

b. Most hospitals have two different structures, the old and the new (HI5, Q1.1: 7-9)

c. There are no funds to maintain these buildings (HI5, Q1.1: 9-10)

d. Provincial hospitals have workers (health) which are not too keen in doing their job (HI5, Q1.1: 17-19)

1.2 Budget for hospitals:

Reproach: The money that has been budgeted for hospitals has not been spent:

1.2.1 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuses: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver used the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way he wants to disconnect himself from the reproach and put the causality of the act on some other source, external to himself. He identified such external sources which are the cause of the reproach as follows:

a. The department of Health because it lacked the capacity to utilize the funds that have been awarded to it (HI5, Q1.2:3-4, 8-11)

b. The National Government does not avail the money in time and on top of that it does not provide clear guidelines on planning and utilization of grants (HI5, Q1.2: 5-8)

4.4.5.2 Human resources

2.1 Shortages and conditions of staff:

Reproach: The hospital management has no direct access to its budget and thus they have limited means to employ more staff especially qualified nurses and specialist doctors. Such specialized healthcare workers are also reluctant to work in poor conditions with few specialized wards and equipment:

2.1.1   Justification

Derogation of victim: Attacking the accuser:

The justifier is trying to reduce the credibility of the source of the reproach to lessen the unpleasantness of the action and thereby diverting the attention from the accusation in an attempt of reducing the damage on his image and that of his department. He argues that:

a. South Africans are not patriotic enough and they are not prepared to sacrifice by serving their country (HI5, Q2.1: 6-11)
b. Doctors are exploiting the government because he invests in their education, but when they complete their studies they leave the country (HI5, Q2.1: 12-16)

2.1.2   Denial

The denier is blatantly denying the reproach arguing that these issues are being exaggerated deliberately (HI5, Q2.1: 18)

2.2   Unsatisfactory working conditions:

Reproach: Health workers are not satisfied in South Africa: there is poor management, poor opportunities for promotion, poor facilities, high level of crime and poor circumstances of life:

Denial

The reproachee has decided to deny the reproach silently by not attending to it (HI5, Q2.2: 1-10)

2.3. Problem of doctors:

Reproach: Doctors have very few administrative personnel to assist them; they sometimes have to work as porters; they are poorly paid and there are no promotion opportunities:

2.3.1   Denial

The reproachee is blatantly denying the reproach:

…do not want to agree with that… (HI5, Q2.3: 1)

2.3.2   Justification

Derogation of victim: Attacking the accuser:

The justifier is diverting the attention away from the accusation in attempt to reduce the damage on his department's image and to reduce the credibility of the source of the reproach. He maintains that people of this country are not patriotic and that is the main thing (HI5, Q2.3: 2-4)

4.4.5.3 Shortage of medicine:

Problems with the delivery of medicine:

Reproach: Medicines are not delivered in time and moreover, hospitals and clinics have a shortage of qualified staff to dispense this medicine:

3.1   Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier is trying to minimize the severity of the offence by mentioning that there are actually future benefits associated with this situation in an attempt to reframe the consequences. These benefits are:

a. Outsourcing the distribution of drugs to service-providers (HI5, Q3:3)
b. Coding of government drugs to differentiate them from others (HI5, Q3: 6-9)

4.4.5.4 Primary Health Care

Reproach: There is a general decline in clinics' buildings and equipment compared to the problem in hospitals. These clinics have huge staff problems and the existing staff has to cope with immense numbers of patients:

4.1   Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver argues that even though the department has such initiatives, they are hampered by the existing adverse situations such as:

a. The public is not willing to follow the protocol instead they go straight to hospitals without referrals (HI5, Q4: 3-5)
b. There is no difference with incentives received by health workers in rural areas and those in townships and that is the cause for the reluctance of most workers in rendering their services in rural areas (HI5, Q4: 8-11)

4.2   Justification

Minimization of blame: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:

The justifier is appealing to the positive present benefits associated with the situation and he does that with the aim of reframing the negative consequences and to minimize the severity of the reproach. He mentions such benefits as:

a. The department's focus on primary healthcare (HI5, Q4: 1-2)
b. There are incentives mainly intended to cater for those willing to work in rural areas and to attract more qualified and specialized health workers to those areas (HI5, Q4: 5-7)

4.3   Justification

Minimization of blame: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier is appealing to the positive future benefits associated with the situation and he does that with the aim of reframing the negative consequences and to minimize the severity of the reproach. Such benefits are:

a. The departmental organogram is going to be broadened (HI5, Q4: 11-12)
b. There are funds that have been put aside for driving the initiative of populating the department's organogram (HI5, Q4: 13-14)

4.4.5.5 The high mortality rate of infants and malnourished children

Reproach: There is no excuse for infant mortality and malnourished children. The effect of these problems is devastating to the development of the province because the eventual workforce will be depleted:

5.1 Denial

The legislator is denying the reproach and thereby reducing the credibility of the source of the reproach by highlighting that:

a. The accuracy of the reproach and the manner in which it is stated is questionable (HI5, Q5: 3-4, 5-6)

5.2 Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:

The justifier is trying to minimize the failure aspects of the reproach by mentioning that there are actually positive present benefits which will lead to future benefits as there is progress considering the large number of communities that are benefiting already from poverty alleviation programs and government grants (HI5, Q5: 9-12)

1.   Language and style

1.1 *Syntactic level:*

a. Length of sentences:

The account has very long sentences that range from five to seven lines per sentence. See *i.a.* Q1.1: 1-5 and 13-19. The length of the sentences is not a problem because isiXhosa has generally longer sentences particularly within the spoken language than is the case with the written language.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences used are quite complex because they contain more than one verb. See i.a. Q1.1: 1-5, the sentence has almost ten verbs: *uyabona, uwuchaphazelayo, yokwenza, wokusebenza, yokugcinwa, yokwenza, livelisa, zithini, uzakwehla, ziwe.*

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban/modern version of isiXhosa. It is not a dialect but a modern standard of the language that is mostly used by the urbanized or rather modernized Xhosa speakers.

1.2   Lexical level:

a. Lexical diversity:

i.   *Technical terms:* The interviewee has used such technical terms as: *ulwabiwo-mali, uNdlunkulu, isixa-mali, amaPhondo, inkqubo, umgaqo karhulumente, ingxoxo-mpikiswano, umceli-mngeni,* etc. He uses these terms because as the legislator they are frequently used in their deliberations and also in their committee meetings. And, as the public representative he should be teaching the public about government policies and programs which entail these terms.

ii.   *English terms:* the interviewee has used few English terms probably because it is sometimes difficult to find equivalence of such terms in isiXhosa. Examples of these terms are: *ukupasa, ikholera, le-medium channel of transfer of payment, u-Anti, isystem, isystem yekhompyutha, uku-populate i-organogram,* etc.

iii.   *Innovative Xhosa words:* innovative words that have been used by this interviewee are: *ubuthandazwe,*

b. Language imagery:

i.   Metaphor

The account-giver has used such metaphors as: *"…iselapho ke ingxaki- sisakhono seSebe ekusebenziseni le mali"* (Q1.2: 10-11) which means that the department lacks the capacity of utilizing its funds and that is where the problem is.

ii.   Simile

The account-giver uses simile in his speech repertoire. Examples are as follows:
"…njengengxaki…" (Q2.2: 5)

1.3   Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used equivocal language in his account such as *"…nangona ke zisenokubakho iimeko ezinjalo…"* which means it is possible for such situations to happen, but he is not sure (Q2.3: 1-2). Another example is on Q2.1: 8: *"Andiqinisekanga ke ngengqokelela…"* (Q5: 1) which means "I am not certain about the statistics…", and *"…nangona ndingaqondi ukuba indlela owubeka ngayo…"* (Q5:

2-3) which means "…even though I am not sure that the way you put it…", and *"…andiqinisekanga ngalo mbono uyibekayo…"* (Q5: 5-6) and it means "…I am not sure about your view..." The use of this equivocation is the threat to the source credibility and the perceived quality of the arguments.

2. Language use

2.1 Politeness:

The interviewee has tried to avoid the FTAs by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat such as excuses. However, the account-giver has chosen to perform the FTA, that he did on-record and off-record. On-record is expressed through the use of excuses especially those that mitigate the blame and those that appeal to null causes. The off-record strategy is expressed ambiguously so that the account-giver cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent.

2.2 Effectiveness:

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the interviewee chose to use mostly justifications, excuses and denials. Among justifications that have been used are those that appeal to present and future which outweigh the present negative aspects as they are aimed at reframing the consequences of the failure event. There are ten justifications that have been used:

Minimization: Present benefits	3
Minimization: Future benefits	4
Attacking the accuser	3

The excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances as they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances. The interviewee has used seven excuses in his account:

| Causal excuses: Null cause | 2 |
| Mitigation: Present adverse conditions | 5 |

The interviewee has chosen strategies that he believe have great chances of success. The use of metaphor indicates that the interviewee's attitude towards the failures is such that it deviates from neutrality. He has decided to employ more

justifications to minimize the failure event and thereby reframe the negative consequences. Even though justifications are said to be aggravating in nature, they have been employed in such a way that they bring positive outcomes.

2.3 Power of speech style:

The strategies used are those that have blame avoidance qualities and thereby claiming credit for the account-giver. The interviewee chose to employ the more mitigating strategies that threaten mostly his positive and negative face and thereby preserving that of the reproacher. However, aggravating strategies have also been employed in such a way that they do not threaten the reproacher's face through the use of justification, which challenges the perceptions of the consequences of the departmental policies. These are those justifications that appeal to additional benefits such as present and future benefits.

Interview no: 5

ISebe lezeMpilo

Intetho yoMgomo (2005/2006) yoMphathiswa Obekekileyo wezeMpilo waseMpuma Koloni igxininise kwimiba ethile yezempilo ekukudala ifumaniseka iyingxaki.

Department of Health

The Policy Speech (2005/2006) of the Hon. MEC for Health in the Eastern Cape focused on certain specific health issues which have been problem areas for a long time.

First reproach: p. 8

1.   Inkqubo yokuphuhliswa ngokutsha kweZibhedlele (p. 7-9)

Reproach 1.1

iSebe lezeMpilo linenkqubo yokuphuhliswa kwamaziko akhoyo malunga umz. nezi njongo zilandelayo: "Ukuqoqosha nokuphuhliswa kwemeeko nenkangeleko kwizakhiwo zesibhedlele ndawonye nezixhobo zokusebenza kwizibhedlele" (p. 8).

Izakhiwo nezixhobo zizebhedlele eMpuma Koloni aziqwalaselwa ngendlela ekumgangatho ophezulu. Nangona amaziko nezakhiwo ezikhoyo ephuhliswa ngoku kwaye nezibhedlele zinyusa umgangatho wazo, ingxaki engundoqo isemi, leyo ke yile yokuqwalaselwa nokugcinwa kakuhle kwezibhedlele. Izakhiwo ndawonye nezixhobo zifuna ukunonotshelwa rhoqo, kodwa kukhangeleka le nkathalo ingaqwalaselwa kakuhle kangangokuba nophuhliso olusanda kwenziwa luphele lupatyalaka okanye luchaphazeleka ngephanyazo.

Uyabona ke ngoku lo umcimbi uwuchaphazelayo unento yokwenza nomgangatho wokusebenza kwesebe elo lezempilo kuba kaloku into yokugcinwa kumgangatho onguwo kwezakhiwo zesebhedlele inento yokwenza nento yokuba isebe eli livelisa ntoni na kwaye zithini iziphumo zalo mveliso kuze kuthi ke ukuba ayikho imveliso umgangatho uzakwehla nezakhiwo ezi ziwe phantsi. Thina ke siyayiqwalasela loonto sijonge apha kulwabiwo-mali lwesebe ukuba lunaso na isakhono sokujongana ezi zakhiwo, kodwa ke njengokuba usithi le ntetho iphosa nje into yokuba kwizibhedlele

ezininzi ezikhoyo apha uyakufumanisa into yokuba kukho izakhiwo ezindala kukho nezakhiwo ezintsha, ngelinye ixesha ke kungabikho mali ezaneleyo zokujongana nezi zakhiwo kuthethwa ngazo. Yona into yokuba kufuneka zigcinwe ngendlela eyiyo inene yeyonanto inokusinceda kwezi zibhedlele kuba ke akukho bantu banokuphila kakuhle izakhiwo abahleli kuzo zingagcinwa ngendlela efanelekileyo. Nolu luvo lusoloko lukho apha eMzantsi Afrika endingazi ke ukuba luluvo olutheni na, luyafana ke kwiindawo zonke kuba ukuba ujonga izibhedlele ezizimeleyo uyakufumanisa ukuba zikumgangatho ophezulu kakhulu kwaye zintle ube ufumanisa into yokuba ikwangabantu abanye aba kodwa uthi xa ujonga ezi zikarhulumente ufumanise ukuba zikwimeko emaxongo kakhulu babe nabantu abasebenza khona berhuqa iinyawo ukuhamba oku. Le ke ingunozala wokuya kungalingani ebendisithi kuyafuneka ukuba kukhe kujongwe ukuba kubangelwa yintoni na.

1. *Hospital revitalization programme* (p. 7-9)

The Department of Health has a programme for infrastructure development with i.e. the following aim: "The rationalising and improving of the condition and quality of hospital buildings as well as the condition of hospital equipment" (p. 8).

The hospital buildings and hospital equipment in the Eastern Cape are not maintained to a very good standard. Although infrastructure is now being developed and hospitals being upgraded, the central problem remains, and this is concerned with the maintenance. Both buildings and equipment need continuous care but such care is not properly catered for so that any new development will also fall into disrepair.

The issue you are raising has something to do with the performance of the department of Health because the maintenance of hospital buildings has to do with the delivery of the department and the outcomes of that delivery and if there is no delivery then the standard of hospitals buildings will be in a dilapidated manner. We do take that into consideration looking at the budget that has been provided to see if it the capacity to maintain these buildings, but then this policy speech you are talking about has missed just one thing that there are old and new hospitals structures and that sometimes there is not enough money to cater or maintain these structures. It is true that these hospitals should be kept in good conditions because people can never heal or get better in such conditions. There is also this notion revolving around the country though I do not know where it emanates from and it is the same wherever you go because if you look at the private hospitals you will find that they are in good condition and beautiful only to find that the government hospitals are in dilapidated conditions with very demotivated workers. This is then the result of that imbalance I spoke about earlier which I think its cause should be investigated.

Follow-up reproach: p. 9

Reproach 1.2

*Zikwakho neengxelo kumaphephandaba ngengxaki zokunikezelwa kweenkonzo kweli Sebe: imali ibibekwe bucala ukujongana nophuhliso lwezibhedlele ayisetyenziswanga.

Uyabona ke iyinyani loo nto kangangokuba kukho isixa-mali esiyi- R4, 4b engasetyenziswanga kuphuhliso lwezakhiwo kule meko ke babe bethetha ngamaphondo onke angayisebenzisa imali, kodwa ke loo nto eneneni inento yokwenza nesakhono sesebe ekusebenziseni le mali kwaye uninzi lwale mali ivela kuNdlunkulu kwaye ayifiki ngethuba apha emaphondweni ifika ngelo xesha kukho loo nto. Eyona nto ibalulekileyo ke yile besikade siyixoxa apha ePalamente yokuba le-medium channel of transfer of payment yiyo efanele inike isikhokelo esicacileyo

ekuyileni nasekusebenziseni le mali kuba asinako ukuplana ngomzuzu wokugqibela ekubeni besiyaze kwakunyaka ongaphambili ukuba sizakufumana imali, iselapho ke ingxaki sisakhono sesebe ekusebenziseni le mali.

There are also reports in the press about problems with delivery in this department: the money which has been budgeted for hospitals has not been spent (Sunday Times, April 16, 2006, p.18)

You see that is true to an extent that there is about R4, 4b that has not been utilized in the development of infrastructure and in this case they were referring to all provinces that they have not used the money that has been provided, but that has to do with departmental capacity in utilizing the funds and most of this fund is provided by the national office even thoughb it does not arrive in the provinces in time. What is important then is what we have been discussing in Parliament that this medium channel of transfer of payment should provide a clear procedure on planning and usage of this money because we cannot plan at the last moment when we have known in the previous year that we will receive a budget; that is where the problem lies, the departmental capacity in utilizing this money.

Second reproach: p. 10

2.   Oovimba abajolise ebantwini (p. 10-11)

Reproach 2.1

iSebe lezeMpilo linakana "ukushokoxeka okuqgubayo kwabasebenzi kwiindawo ezinongcipheko" (p. 10).

Abaphathi besibhedlele bona baqwalasela ukusebenza kwesibhedlele imihla ngemihla, umsebenzi wabo ujolise ekuphuhliseni isibhedlele nabasebenzi kuphela. Abaphathi abanalawulo luthe ngqo kulwabiwo-mali lwesibhedlele nto leyo ebangela ukuba bangabi nathuba laneleyo lokuqesha abasebenzi abaninzi, ingakumbi abongikazi nooqgirha abasemthethweni nabafanelekileyo. Aba basebenzi bezempilo bajongene nemimandla ethile baye babe mathidala ukusebenza phantsi kwezi meko zingaginyisi mathe ezinamawadi ambalwa onyango kunye nezikrweqe ezinqongopheleyo. Abasebenzi bayachaphazeleka zezi meko zimbi kwaye maxa wambi kufuneka basebenze iiyure ezili-12 ngemini babe abanye abongikazi kunyazeleka ukuba bakhathelele izigulane ezingama-20 ukuya kuma-30. Le ngxaki inefuthe elibi kwimveliso kwaye ibangela ukuba abasebenzi bangabi namdla wakusebenzela eli Phondo. Ingxaki evamise ukwenzeka malunga naba mongikazi kukukhalazela kwabo imivuzo: Umvuzo womongikazi awunakumkhuthaza umongikazi omtsha ukuba eze kolu hlobo lomsebenzi.

Uyabona ke apha uchaphazela omnye umcimbi onobuzaza kakhulu; ndandikhe ndaya kwesinye sezibhedlele zikarhulumente kobunye ubusuku ndise u-Anti oncedisayo engaphilanga safika ke nyhani kuvalwe iingcango zangaphakathi esibhedlele abongikazi bezitshixele ndabe mna ndigulelwa kakhulu ndifuna ukuthubeleza ndiyokufika kwakamsinya kwigumbi lonyango lokuqala kodwa andakwazi. Eyona nto ndiyibalulayo ke yeyokuba ngamanye amaxesha thina bantu baseMzantsi Afrika le nto kuthiwa bubuthandazwe asinayo nje kwaphela kwaye ngalo mzuzwana sifumene inkululeko ngawo sekukho abantu abathetha ngolu hlobo uthetha ngalo, abanako nokuthi bangazinikezela basebenzele uMzantsi Afrika wabo ngokuthi umntu athi kobu bomi bakhe buseleyo anganakho ukuzinikezela asebenzele abantu belizwe lakhe; abakwazi kuyenza loo nto kwaye yingxaki ke leyo kwakunye nento yokuba aba gqirha bathi bakube befundisiwe yonke into ngurhulumente bathi bakupasa bahambe. Yonke le nto inento yokwenza nobuthandazwe; ixhapahakile ke loo nto kwaye ayilunganga kuba urhulumente lo

ukhoyo uyabethakala kakhulu yiloo nto nanjengoko engenazo iindlela zokumvalela umntu ukuba angahambi kuba emfundisile. Owona mbandela ke kum ngulo wokuba asinabo nje kwaphela ubuzwe kangangokuba ngelinye ixesha ezinye iingxaki zithi zibaxwe nangolona hlobo.

Follow-up reproach: p. 10

Reproach 2.2

Ingxelo yakutshanje yeWorld Health Organization (WHO) ichaza izizathu ezininzi ezingunobangela wokuba abasebenzi bezonyango abonelisekanga eMzantsi Afrika: ulawulo olungancumisiyo; ukushokoxeka kwamathuba okonyuselwa; ukushokoxeka kwezixhobo zokusebenza; ukwanda kolwaphulo-mthetho kunye nokungancumisi kweemeko zokuphila kwaba bantu.

Ewe liyinene elokuba siyaqhwalela ngokwasezimalini kodwa loo nto ayithethi into yokuba abantu mabenze ngolu hlobo ubachaza ngalo kuba ke ayibancedi abantu kwaye ingalincedi nelizwe ngokunjalom kuba ukuba ngaba thina sikholelwa ngolo hlobo ingakumbi abantu abamnyama kuba ke mna yonke lento ndiyibona njengengxaki ingakumbi xa singazimiselanga ukuzincama ukanti abelungu bona banezizathu ezininzi eziyimiphumela yeminyaka emininzi ezenza into yokuba babe abanawukwazi ukuhlala bazinikezele ekwakheni eli lizwe. Ngamanye amaxesha ke siyazi ukuba kukhona abantu ababalekayo baye kooma-Saudi Arabia beleqa imali kuba ke nyhani ininzi imali abayifumanayo phaya kodwa ke ngelinye ixesha usuke ungayivisisi kakuhle.

2. *Human resources* (p. 10-11)

The Department of Health recognizes "the current acute shortage of staff in critical positions" (p. 10).

The hospital management, who oversees the day-to-day running of the hospitals, is limited in developing the hospital and its staff. The management has no direct access to its budget and thus they have limited means to employ more staff, especially qualified nurses and specialist doctors. Such specialized health care workers are also reluctant to work in poor conditions with few specialized wards and equipment. The nursing staff also suffers with these abnormal conditions and sometimes has to work for 12 hours a day with some nurses having to look after 20 to 30 patients. This problem has an impact on their productivity and it makes them reluctant to work for the province. A recurring problem with these nurses is their complaint about salaries: the salary for a nurse does not encourage new nurses to enter the profession.

A recent report of the World Health Organization (WHO) gives many reasons why health workers are not satisfied in S.A: there is poor management; poor opportunities for promotion; poor facilities; high level of crime and poor circumstances of life for these people.

You are highlighting another sensitive issue here; I once went to one provincial hospital at night taking my sick housekeeper there only to find doors locked in the corridors because the nurses were afraid so they locked themselves in and I had an emergency but I couldn't get through. What I am highlighting here is that as South Africans we are not patriotic at all and it is amazing that in this short period of our democracy there are people who are speaking like this, they cannot even sacrifice themselves into serving their country and they cannot even spend the few years that they have left into serving their people and their country; they cannot do that and that is a problem including the fact that these doctors after the government has invested on their education when they complete their studies they decide to leave the country.

This has everything to do with patriotism; that is very prevalent and is wrong because the current government is suffering as she does not mechanisms of stopping these people from leaving the country just because she has given the education that they have, but the main issue is that we are not patriotic to an extent that sometimes some issues are just being deliberately exaggerated. Yes, it is true that economically we are not strong but at the same time that does not imply that people do as you have described because that does not benefit the people of this country and the country as well if we have such beliefs especially Blacks as I perceive this as a problem when we are not prepared to sacrifice ourselves because to me whites have many reasons borne of years many years that cause them not to have the need to serve this country. We also know that sometimes there are people who migrate to Saudi Arabia because in reality there they are getting paid a lot of money there but then sometimes you just do not understand all that.

Follow-up reproach: p. 10

Reproach 2.3

Ingxelo yephephandaba iFinancial Mail ikwabalule neengxaki ooggirha abathi bahlangabezane nazo: ukungongophala kwabasebenzi njengabachwethezi, abantu ababizwa ngokuba ziiphotha ukuncendisa ukududula izigulani endaweni yokuba ooggirha bazidudulele ngokwabo; imivuzo engancumisiyo: ooggirha barholiswa iR139 000 ngonyaka ekubeni befumana iR480 000 ngonyaka eLondon; ukanti namathuba okonyuselwa amfiliba kakhulu.

Uyabona ke andifuni kuyivuma ncam ke le nangona ke zisenokubakho iimeko ezinjalo kodwa ke oyena ndoqo ngulo wokuba abantu bethu abanabo ubuthandazwe, ayikho enye into ngaphandle nje kokuba abantu abafuni kuzinikezela okanye ukuzincamela ukusebenzela abantu nelizwe labo.

A report in the Financial Mail also highlighted the problems of doctors: they have very few administrative personnel to assist them, such as typists; very few porters in hospitals with the result that doctors must push patients around themselves; they have poor salaries- R139 000 per annum while in London they can get R480 000 per annum; there are also very few opportunities for promotion.

You see, I do not want to agree with that even though it might happen that such cases do exist, but the bottom line is that our people are not patriotic enough and there is absolutely nothing more thatn that people are not prepared to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of their people and their country.

Third reproach: p. 11

3.   Ukushokoxeka kwamachiza

iSebe lezeMpilo linakana ingxaki yokuhanjiswa kwamachiza kwaye enye yeenjongo zalo ezingundoqo kukuphuhlisa oku kuhanjiswa kwamachiza: "imeko ephuhlileyo nobukho bamayeza namachiza ukuze kunciphe okanye kutshatyalaliswe ngokupheleleyo ukushokoxeka kwamachiza obebukade bugquba" (p. 5).

Ingxaki yamachiza amiselweyo ezibhedlele nakwiiklinikhi yingxaki enamajingxeba. Iimeko eziphathelele kumachiza zicace gca: okokuqala, ingxaki engonikezelo: nangona izibhedlele zisenza kangangoko zinakho ukuzuza umlinganiselo onguwo wamachiza, zisoloko zifumanisa ukuba ukuba la machiza awahanjiswanga. Okwesibini, izibhedlele neeklinikhi zinabasebenzi abasemthethweni abambalwa abanokunikezela la machiza. Ekupheleni kwalo mjelo wokunikezelwa kwamachiza ubani uye afumane isigulane singenawo amachiza okanye isigulane kufuneke isigulane silinde ixesha elide phambi kokuba sifumane amachiza angawo.

Ewe loo nto injalo kwezinye iindawo kodwa ke uyakukhumbula ukuba bekukho ukutshintshwa kwenkqubo yokuhanjiswa kwamachiza kwade kwakhutshelwa kwiinkampani zabucala oko kuhanjiswa kwamachiza ngenxa yento yokuba ezibhedlele naseziklinikhi amayeza ayabiwa kwangabasebenzi aba yabangela loo nto into yokuba isystem le ingasebenzi kakuhle kwezinye iindawo namyeza la angafumaneki kakuhle, kodwa ke ikhona le nkqubo ebiqhutywa lisebe yokuzama ukuwanombola amayeza nokulandela umkhondo wawo nendlela aphume ngayo kusetyenziswa isystem yekhompyutha ukuzama ukuphelisa le ngxaki kwaye liyinene elo.

3.   *Shortage of medicine*

The department of Health recognizes problems with delivery of medicine and one of its primary aims is to improve this delivery of medicine: "improved systems and availability of drugs and medicines in order to minimize if not eradicate completely shortages as in the past" (p. 5).

The problem of prescribed medicines in hospitals and clinics is a very old problem. The issues about medicine are clear: firstly, the supply problem: although hospitals make an effort to obtain the correct amount of medicine, they frequently find that these medicines are not delivered. Secondly, the hospitals and clinics have a shortage of qualified staff to dispense this medicine. At the end of this supply line one finds the patient with no medicine or a patient who has to wait a long time for the correct medicine.

That is true in some areas but you will remember that the distribution of drugs has been transformed through the process of tendering it to service providers as drugs were being stolen by workers in hospitals and clinics and that has affected service delivery by the system itself and the shortage of srugs in some areas. There is a programme that has been implemented by the government to record the drugs so that it can be easy to track or trace them even the way in which they have been issued using the computer system as a means of curbing this problem and tha is a fact.

Fourth reproach: p. 12

4.   **Iinkonzo zonyango**

iSebe lezeMpilo linemeko ephuhlileyo yokusebenza kweeklinikhi kwaye ezi klinikhi zivuzwa ngephesenti efanelekileyo yolwabiwo-mali olupheleleyo lonyango (45.9%): jonga kwiphepha 25 olunenkcukacha zolwabiwo-mali luka 2005/2006). Ezi klinikhi zijongene nenyambalala yezigulane kwaye zikwaqwalaselel kwimimandla ethile yezeMpilo efana nentsholongwane kaGawulayo (iHIV), isifo sephepha, ulwaluko, isondlo, nezinye izifo.

Imeko yeeklinikhi sele iphuhliswe ithuba elide kakhulu ukuzama ukunceda izigulane kufutshane nendawo ezihlala kuzo. Ingqwalasela kwezi klinikhi ibonisa ukuhla jikelele kwizakhiwo nakwixhobo xa kuthelekiswa neengxaki kwizibhedlele. Ngaphezulu kunoko, ezi klinikhi ziinengxaki ezinkulu zabasebenzi kuba abasebenzi bazo kufuneka bejongene namanani aphezulu ezigulane.

Uyabona ke umgaqo karhulumente lo ukhoyo ngoko ngowokugxininisa kwinto yokuba iiklinikhi ibe zizo ezisetyenziswayo ngoku kwiindawo ngeendawo kodwa ingxaki ekhoyo yeyokuba abantu bona ngokunokwabo isuke ibe ngabo ababalekela ezibhedlele nangona ngelinye ixesha ke izinto zisuswa ngurhulumente zisisiwa kwiklinikhi, leyo ke yingxaki yokuqala. Eyesibini yile yokuba bekusoloko kunzinyana ukutsala abasebenzi abaqeqeshiweyo basiwe kwezi klinikhi; zikhona ke ngoku

izibonelelo ezifakwayo ngurhulumente kodwa ke ingxaki yazo yinto yokuba ziyalingana nezomntu osebenza elokishini nangona kwakuthiwe kuzakubakhona ezijongene nokutsala abantu abaqeqeshiweyo ukuze bayokusebenza ezilalini, ayisebenzi kakuhle ke loo system nangona ikhona kuba iyalingananisa naye wonke umntu ongumsebenzi. Okwesithathu ke sisakhono esi sesebe, ndizama ukuthi ke uku-populate i-organogram le yesebe kodwa ke loo nto ithatha ixesha elide ngenxa yezixhobo ezifana nemali nokuqesha abongikazi abazawukwazi ukujongana nezo meko; zezo ngxaki ke ezi zijamelene nesebe kuba ke eneneni ke le yingxaki kuba ke nakwingxoxo-mpikiswano yakunyaka ophelileyo nakwingxelo yakulo nyaka le miba ibikhe yavela ndingatsho ke ndithi yimiceli-mngeni isebe elijamelene nayo.

4. *Clinical services*

The department of Health has a well developed system of clinics and these clinics are rewarded with a considerable percentage of the total budget for health care (45.9%): see p. 25 for budget details for 2005/2006). These clinics deal with a multitude of patients and also concentrate on specific areas such as HIV, TB, circumcision, nutrition and others.

The system of clinics has been developed over a considerable long time to help patients near the areas where they live. A close look at these clinics shows a general decline in the building and equipment comparable to the problem in hospitals. Furthermore, these clinics have huge staff problems and the existing staff has to cope with immense numbers of patients.

You see, the current policy stresses on the fact that clinics should be utilized more by the public in all areas, but the existing problem is that people would rather go to hospitals instead even though government has shifted resources to the clinics and that is the first problem. The second one is that it has always been difficult to attract qualified people to work in rural areas but there are incentives now provided by the government to to cater for this purpose, the only problem with the incentives is that they are the same as those received by people working in townships even though initially it was said that there will be specific incentives to cater for those nurses working in rural areas; this system is not efficient then because it cuts across the board. Thirdly, is the departmental capacity, what I am trying to say is that there isa need to populate the department's organogram, but that takes time as it involves resources such as funds and nurses that will deal with these situations. These are the problems the department is faced with and this is really a problem that came up in last year's debate and in this year's report, I would then say it is one of the challenges the department is faced with.

Fifth reproach: p. 13

5. Iintsana nabantwana

Isebe lineenkqubo ezikhoyo eziggwesileyo zokujongana nokubhubha kweentsana (p. 20) kunye nababtwana abangondlekanga (p. 21). Isebe likwanakana ingxaki engundoqo ngokuphathelele kwezi nkqubo: "ukuggwesa kwenkqubo kuthityazwa yindlala egqubayo" (p. 21).

Nangona kunjalo asikho nje kwaphela isizathu sokubhubha kweentsana nokungondleki kwabantwana. Ifuthe lezi ngxaki lichaphazela kakubi uphuhliso lwePhondo kuba abasebenzi abakhoyo bayancipha. Ubukho beenkqubo ezikhethekileyo ukuzama ukujongana nezi ngxaki ayisosisombululo kuba umlinganiselo wengxaki mkhulu kakhulu. Sisityholo kuluNtu nakuRhulumente ukuvumela ukuba iingxaki ezilolu hlobo ziqhubeke kwilizwe ledemokhrasi eliphuhle kangakanana.

Andiqinisekanga ke ngengqokelela yamanani onawo ngephondo eli kodwa ke lubekhona uqhambuko lweekholera kwezinye iziphaluka zephondo nangona ndingaqondi ukuba indlela le owubeka ngayo lo mba sichaneke kangakanani na ngokuphathelele ikakhulu kulento yokubhubha kweentsana. Ewe lubekhona uqhambuko kwa-into yokuba lube nempembelelo kuluntu andiqiniseki ngalo mbono uyibekayo kodwa ke iyinyani yona into yokuba babakhona abantwana abaswelekayo nangona yona impemebelelo yendlala okanye impumelelo karhulumente yokulwa nendlala inokulinganiswa kakuhle xa sele sinenkcazo ecacileyo yale nkqubo yesondlo kunye nazo zonke iinkqubo ezenziwa ngurhulumente zokulwa nendlala kuba ndikholelwa kwelokuba ikhona inkqubelaphambili nanjengoko bebaninzi abantu ekuhlaleni ezixhamlayo kwizibonelelo ezivela kurhulumente ukuze kubekhona impembelelo nangona ndingakwazi ukuyimeta ukuba ithini na kanye-kanye ingakumbi kule nto yokuveliswa kwemisebenzi.

5. *Babies and children*

The department has effective programs in place to cope with infant mortality (p. 20) and malnourished children (p. 21). The department also recognizes the basic problem with these programs: "the effectiveness of the programme is compromised by abject poverty" (p. 21).

There is however no excuse for infant mortality and malnourished children. The effect of these problems is devastating to the development of the province because the eventual workforce will be depleted. The existence of special programmes to cope with these issues is not a final answer because the extent of the problems is too big. It is an accusation to the community and the government to allow such problems in a democratic well-developed country.

I am not sure about the statistics that you have on the province but there're have been some cholera outbreaks in some parts of the province even though I do not know how accurate is the manner in which you have structured your statement as far as the infant mortality rate is concerned. Yes there have been outbreaks for the fact that it had an impact on the population , still I am not sure about your statement but it is true that children die even though the impact of poverty or government's success impact on poverty alleviation can only be measured when we clear report of the poverty alleviation programme including all other government's programmes of alleviating poverty because I believe that there is progress as there are broader communities that are benefiting government's programmes and grants so to have an impact even though I cannot be able to measure it especially concerning job creation.

4.4.6 Interview no: 6

4.4.6.1 Hospitals

1.1 Reproach: Hospital buildings and equipment are not maintained in a good standard in the Eastern Cape:

1.1.1 Excuse

<u>Responsibility: Diffusion</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to diffuse responsibility for the failure event by mentioning that this problem is caused by the lack of effective management (HI6, Q1.1: 3-4)

1.1.2 Excuse

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver employed an excuse in his response in an attempt to mitigate the blame by focusing on the present conditions that are hampering the proper management of hospitals in the province. In this regard he mentions the following:

a. The nature and set-up of the province is that it is mainly rural making it difficult for effective interaction between the department and the public to take place and even to call Imbizos (HI6,Q1.1: 5-12)

1.1.3 Justification

<u>Higher values:</u>

The justifier is trying to reframe moral principles by mentioning that different standards ought to be applied in evaluating the situation in the sense that there are other issues that have to be taken into consideration as far as the rationalization of hospitals is concerned (HI6, Q1.1: 14-17)

1.2. Budget for hospitals:

Reproach: The money that has been budgeted for hospitals has not been spent:

1.2.1 Excuse

<u>Causal excuse: null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver mentions that the causality of this reproach is on another source external to him which should bear responsibility. He mentions such source as the chief financial officer (CFO) of the department who just resigned from his position or duties and that resulted in the mismanagement of funds within the department (HI6, Q1.2:3-9)

He also mentions the following sources:

a. It is the department of Public Works that is responsible for the issuing and processing of tenders (HI6, Q1.2: 14-16)
b. Service providers that have been awarded with tenders to do the job have failed to deliver (HI6, Q1.2: 17-20)

1.2.2 Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Plea of ignorance

The excuse-giver argues that as the department they could not foresee that some of the things they did will later have negative consequences. He mentions such things as:

a. Buying equipment imported from overseas (HI6, Q1.2: 10-11)
b. Tender processes that take a long time to be finalized (HI6, Q1.2: 11-13)

4.4.6.2 Human resources

2.1 Shortages and conditions of staff:

Reproach: The hospital management has no direct access to its budget and thus they have limited means to employ more staff especially qualified nurses and specialist doctors. Such specialized healthcare workers are also reluctant to work in poor conditions with few specialized wards and equipment:

Reproach regarding shortages and conditions of staff:

2.1.1 Excuse

 Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

An excuse has been employed to mitigate the severity of the reproach by appealing to the adversity of the situations relating to the current situation. The excuse-giver mentioned three such conditions:

a. The province was under section 100 which was used to monitor the financial expenditure of the province of the Eastern Cape (HI6, Q2.1: 1-3)

b. Administrators lack the capacity to differentiate between clinical and corporal services (HI6, Q2.1: 7-10)

c. Departmental inspectors have been stripped of their powers because of their conduct (HI6, Q2.1: 4-7, 18-21)

2.1.2 Excuse

Defeasibility: Plea of ignorance:

The excuse-giver denies knowledge of the negative consequences of the reproach and that as the department they failed to foresee that their focus on the business side of the department neglecting the healthcare service would have undesirable consequences (HI6, Q2.1: 10-13)

2.1.3 Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier is trying to minimize the failure aspects of his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. There should be future benefits because the department is focusing more on the core business which is that of providing healthcare services to the people instead of driving the business side of things (HI6, Q2.1: 14-17)

2.2 Unsatisfactory working conditions:

Reproach: Health workers are not satisfied in South Africa: there is poor management, poor opportunities for promotion, poor facilities, high level of crime and poor circumstances of life:

Reproach of poor management in the department of Health:

2.2.1 Concession:

The interviewee agrees that some of the issues as raised by the reproach are true (Hi6, Q2.2: 1)

2.2.2 Excuse

Mitigation of blame: present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver argues focus is mainly based on the coporate side of the department instead of the clinical, which is supposed to be the core of the department. He mentions this as a major adversity within the department as a result those in HR get promotions more and faster than doctors and nurses (HI6, Q2.2: 2-6)

2.2.3 Justification

Mitigation of blame: present benefits:

The justifier mentions that there are future benefits because the department has shifted its focus from coporate affairs to the clinical which is basically doctors and nurses (HI6, Q2.2: 6-7)

Reproach of clinics and referrals to hospitals:

2.2.4 Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the severity of the reproach by appealing to the present adverse conditions. He mentions these conditions:

a. Poor organization which is affecting most rural hospitals (HI6, Q2.2: 8-10)
b. People go straight to hospitals because they believe that they will get help there unlike in their local clinics (HI6, Q2.2: 16-18)

2.2.5 Justification

Minimization: Reframe responsibility: Present benefits:

The justifier is trying to minimize the severity of the reproach by mentioning that there are benefits associated with the situation and as a result of that blame is not warranted. He identifies the following as such benefits:

a. The rural development program to deal mostly with rural hospitals and clinics (HI6, Q2.2: 8)

b. The department will see to it that people [patients] do follow the protocol before going to hospital by ensuring that the clinics have all the necessary primary healthcare equipment, staff and drugs(HI6, Q2.2:11-15, 16-20, 20-38)

Reproach on crime in healthcare environments:

2.2.6 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver has used a null cause in his excuse to disconnect himself and his department from the reproach by putting the causality of the act on some other source, external to himself. He identified such source as the community which should be responsible for protecting its assets including the nurses as they are there to serve the community (HI6, Q2.2: 39-47)

2.2.7 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to minimize the failure aspects on his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. There are future benefits through the department's initiative of employing private security companies to safeguard the healthcare centers (HI6, Q2.2: 47-51)

2.3 Problem of doctors:

Reproach: Doctors have very few administrative personnel to assist them; they sometimes have to work as porters; they are poorly paid and there are no promotion opportunities:

2.3.1 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Derogation of the victim: Reciprocity:</u>

The justifier blames the accuser for the reproach in that the victim deserves the injury because if he had not compared self with economically developed countries, there would not be a need for the reproach (HI6, Q2.3: 1-3)

2.3.2 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The justifier is trying to mitigate the blame by appealing to the present adverse conditions with the hope of lessening the negative affects of the harm. He mentions the unsatisfactory remuneration received by professional health workers as the cause for their demotivation (HI6, Q2.3: 4-11) and the new government's policies that have made it easy for people to protest and thereby hampering transformation (HI6, Q2.3: 15-19)

2.3.3 <u>Justification</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: future benefits:</u>

The justifier argues that there is future benefits associated with the situation such as the human resources plan or strategy that has been adopted by the minister which is aimed at addressing the question of professional health workers' salaries. The justifier mentions this strategy with the aim of minimizing the severity of the reproach and reframing the consequences of the failure event (HI6, Q2.3; 12-14)

2.3.4 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Adverse past conditions:</u>

The excuse employed the adversity of the past situation in an attempt to mitigate the blame. The excuse-giver thus mentions the background of the Province as the major stumbling block or rather the cause of the reproach and thereby highlighting that it has been very difficult to maneuver around the question of integrating three previous governments with their issues into one solid government (HI6, 2.3: 20-37)

4.4.6.3 Shortage of medicine:

Problems with the delivery of medicine:

Reproach: Medicines are not delivered in time and moreover, hospitals and clinics have a shortage of qualified staff to dispense this medicine:

3.1   Excuse

Mitigation: Present adverse conditions:

Excuse has been employed to mitigate circumstances by appealing to present conditions:

a. Drugs are stolen in depots, on the way to the health centers and also in the healthcare centers (HI6, Q3: 2-3)
b. People fail to understand that hospital medication is different from that provided by clinics which differ according to the sickness of that particular patient (HI6, Q3: 21-25)

3.2   Justification

Minimization: reframe consequences

The justifier tries to reframe consequences of the reproach by appealing to future benefits such as:

a. Qualified managers will be employed to monitor and facilitate the distribution of drugs from the depots (HI6, Q3: 4-7)
b. Educational programs on how to keep healthy to avoid relying on drugs (Hi6, Q3: 13-18)

4.4.6.4 Primary Health Care

Reproach: There is a general decline in clinics' buildings and equipment compared to the problem in hospitals. These clinics have huge staff problems and the existing staff has to cope with immense numbers of patients:

4.1   Denial

Simple denial:

The reproachee is simply denying the failure event by arguing that the allocated budget does not deal directly with clinics instead the money goes to the running of the district offices (HI6, Q4: 1-4)

4.2   Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:

The justifier tries to reframe the negative consequences of the act by appealing to positive future benefits that are intended for the minimization of the blame on the part of the MEC and his department. Such benefits are the following:

a. A separate budget for the day-to-day running of the clinics which will be allocated based on the number of patients served by that particular clinic and the nurses working in that clinic (HI6, Q4: 4-7)
b. To set up normal clinic standards for the benefit of the public such as employing enough nurses, providing enough medicine and equipment (HI6, Q4: 8-17)

4.4.6.5 The high mortality rate of infants and malnourished children

Reproach: There is no excuse for infant mortality and malnourished children. The effect of these problems is devastating to the development of the province because the eventual workforce will be depleted:

5.1   Excuse

Causal excuse: Null cause:

The excuse-giver employed a null cause in his excuse to disconnect himself and his department from the reproach by putting the causality of the act on some other source, external to him. He identified such sources as the departments of Social Development and Agriculture (HI6, Q5: 3-7).

He argues that the department of Health is just at the receiving end of the whole poverty situation in that they get to be involved only when people are really sick (HI6, Q5: 8-13 and 25-26)

5.2   Excuse

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

An excuse has been employed to mitigate the severity of the reproach by appealing to the adversity of the current situation. He mentions that:

a. Money is not given to the departments that are in a better position of assisting people such as the department of Social Development and the department of Agriculture (HI6, Q5: 1-3)

b. The department of Health does not have a way of monitoring people after they have treated them for sicknesses related to poverty stricken conditions (HI6, Q5: 13-16)

5.2   Justification

Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:

The justifier argues that as bad as the situation seems, there are benefits in that:

a. The department of Health does contact families of malnourished children to find out more about the situation and give advice on what should be done to avoid this situation in future (HI6, Q5: 19-21)

b. Social workers also do visit homes of children that looked after by grandparents whose parents are not supporting them to see what they can do to help (HI6, Q5: 22-24)

1.   Language and style

1.1   Syntactic level:

a. Length of sentences:

The account is characterized by long to very long sentences. See i.a. Q1.1: 1-4, 4-8 and Q1.2:14-20. These sentences range from four lines to seven lines. However, the length of the sentences poses no problems because it is a general phenomenon in isiXhosa that the spoken language tends to have longer sentences than the written language.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences that have been used by the interviewee are quite complex because each sentence has more than one verb. See i.a. Q1.1: 1-4, the sentence has four verbs: *ufuna (funa), ukuqwalasela (qwalasela), ukuphathwa (phatha), nokulawulwa (lawula).*

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban or modern kind of isiXhosa. It is not a dialect though, but just a modern standard of the language mostly used by the urbanized people.

1.2   Lexical level:

a. Lexical diversity:

i.   *Technical terms:* The interviewee has used such technical terms as: *uZwelonke, amaPhondo, unyaka-mali, uMphathiswa, umgaqo-siseko, isixa-mali, uNdlunkulu, umceli-mngeni, ulwabiwo-mali*, etc. He uses these terms because as the legislator he should be teaching the public about government policies and programs which entail these terms.

ii. *English terms:* the accounter has also used a lot of English terms probably because parliament deliberations are mostly conducted in English and that it is sometimes difficult to find Xhosa equivalence of such terms. Examples of these terms are: *we-infrastructure, noCFO, itender, structures, overdraft, eOPP, nguResolution 7, edepot, nepublic-private partnership, neestandard normal clinics,* etc.

iii. *Innovative Xhosa words:* the interviewee uses such innovative words as: *iifamasi,*

b. Language imagery:

i.   Metaphor

The account-giver uses metaphors in his speech repertoire such as: *"…silungisa imoto ehambayo…"* (Q.2.2: 1-2), *"…silungisa ibhasi ehambayo…"* (Q2.2: 19 and Q4: 17-18). This literally means "we are going with the flow".

ii.   Simile

The account-giver uses simile in his speech repertoire. Examples are as follows: "*…ulilizwe elifana nelethu…"* (Q2.3:15)

1.3   Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used some equivocation in his account such as: Q2.3: 1, "*…andiqondi ukuba singathelekiswa…*" (…I do not think we can be compared…). This equivocation of language use threatens the source credibility and that of the perceived quality of arguments. Most of the information provided by the accounter is unequivocal though as it is directly stated.

2.   Language use

2.1 Politeness:

The interviewee has tried to avoid the FTAs by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat. The account-giver has also chosen to perform the FTA, which he did both on-record and off-record. On-record is expressed unambiguously through the use of justifications in his account especially through the minimization of the failure to reframe the consequences. This he did by appealing to present and future benefits that somehow outweighs the negativity of the sad situation. The off-record strategy is performed or expressed ambiguously so that the accounter cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent. The conclusion of the expression is thus left to the reproacher to make.

2.2 Effectiveness:

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the interviewee has chosen to use mostly justifications and excuses. Among justifications that have been used are those that appeal to higher authorities and those that appeal to future benefits which outweighs the present negative aspects. There are 13 justifications in total.

Present benefits	4
Future benefits	7
Higher values, transcendence	1
Derogation of victim: Reciprocity	1

There are 23 excuses that have been employed in this account. Excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances and the interviewee has employed 14 such excuses.

Causal excuses: Null cause	5
Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	13
Mitigation: Past adverse conditions	1
Diffusion of responsibility	1
Plea of ignorance	3

The interviewee has chosen strategies that have the potential of success. He decided to employ justifications especially those that appeal to additional benefits and excuses that mitigate the blame and its circumstances because they are among strategies that are considered effective, and there are fourteen (14) of them .

2.3 Power of speech style:

The interviewee has decided to use strategies that avoid blame and that claim credit for the department. Such a strategy is excuse through the claims of mitigating circumstances, which somehow reflect people's understanding that political decisions are constrained by external circumstances. The interviewee has also employed those excuses that are considered "poor" accounts such as the pleas of ignorance and diffusion of responsibility.

Interview no: 6

ISebe lezeMpilo

Intetho yoMgomo (2005/2006) yoMphathiswa Obekekileyo wezeMpilo waseMpuma Koloni igxininise kwimiba ethile yezempilo ekukudala ifumaniseka iyingxaki.

Department of Health

The Policy Speech (2005/2006) of the Hon. MEC for Health in the Eastern Cape focused on certain specific health issues which have been problem areas for a long time.

First reproach: p. 8

1.   Inkqubo yokuphuhliswa ngokutsha kweZibhedlele (p. 7-9)

Reproach 1.1

iSebe lezeMpilo linenkqubo yokuphuhliswa kwamaziko akhoyo malunga umz. nezi njongo zilandelayo: "Ukuqoqosha nokuphuhliswa kwemeeko nenkangeleko kwizakhiwo zesibhedlele ndawonye nezixhobo zokusebenza kwizibhedlele" (p. 8).

Izakhiwo nezixhobo zizebhedlele eMpuma Koloni aziqwalaselwa ngendlela ekumgangatho ophezulu. Nangona amaziko nezakhiwo ezikhoyo ephuhliswa ngoku kwaye nezibhedlele zinyusa umgangatho wazo, ingxaki engundoqo isemi, leyo ke yile yokuqwalaselwa nokugcinwa kakuhle kwezibhedlele. Izakhiwo ndawonye nezixhobo zifuna ukunonotshelwa rhoqo, kodwa kukhangeleka le nkathalo

ingaqwalaselwa kakuhle kangangokuba nophuhliso olusanda kwenziwa luphele lupatyalaka okanye luchaphazeleka ngephanyazo.

Wena yinyani emsulwa into yokuba urhulumente ufuna ukuqwalasela ukuphathwa nokulawulwa kwezibhedlele ingakumbi ngokuphathelele kumcimbi we 'infrastructure', kuba ayincedi into yokuba ne'infrastucture' ephuhlileyo uze ungabi nalulawulo luluqilima. Omnye umbuzo oye uvele ke ngowokuba lo mcimbi ungawuphalaza njani na ebantwini, akukho lula ukuziphalaza iimeko ezinjengezi ebantwini kuba ubukhulu becala kusezilalini apha, nto leyo ethetha ukuthi olu nxibelelwano noluntu lungenziwa kuphela ngokungena kumzi nomzi okanye ke kubizwe umhlangano woluntu. Nale ke iba nobunzinyana apha eMpuma Koloni kuba kaloku eli phondo likhulu kwaye lithe saa, alifani nakumaphondo anjengeRhawuti anobude bomgama weendawo obuqikelelwa kumashumi asixhenxe eemitha, nto leyo ke ebangela kubelula ukujikeleza uqukumbele umsebenzi ngosuku olunye, ukanti apha eMpuma Koloni kunzima ukwenza oko. Lilonke ke ngokulinganiswa kwezibhedlele asinakujonga kuphela ubume bazo 'infrastructure' njengoko sele nditshilo, kumele siqwalasele nolawulo lwazo nendlela ezinxibelelana ngayo nabantu, ndawonye nendlela ezijongana ngayo nabasebenzi, izithuthi zesibhedlele, kwaye sikwaqwalasela nendlela abalawuli abazihlengahlengisa ngayo nabaziquka ngayo izibhedlele. Umzekelo, masithi izibhedlele ezibini okanye ezithathu zibe nomlawuli owongameleyo omnye, oza kuthi ajonge ulawulo lwesibhedlele, iinkonzo zokucoca, izixhobo, kwaye aqwalasele ukuba isibhedlele sibonakala sinjani na kwisithuba seminyaka elishumi. "Andazi nokuba ke ndiyawuphendula kusini na umbuzo wakho".

1. *Hospital revitalization programme* (p. 7-9)

The Department of Health has a programme for infrastructure development with i.e. the following aim: "The rationalising and improving of the condition and quality of hospital buildings as well as the condition of hospital equipment" (p. 8).

The hospital buildings and hospital equipment in the Eastern Cape are not maintained to a very good standard. Although infrastructure is now being developed and hospitals being upgraded, the central problem remains, and this is concerned with the maintenance. Both buildings and equipment need continuous care but such care is not properly catered for so that any new development will also fall into disrepair.

It is true that government wants to focus more on the management of hospitals especially when it comes to infrastructure because it really doesn't help to have a well established infrastructure when you do not have effective management. Another question that normally crops up relates to how this can be delivered to the public as it not easy to talk publicly about such issues because we are mainly rural in this province and therefore such interaction can be effectively done when you target each households separately or maybe through an 'imbizo'. That has also its own problems because our province is huge and scattered unlike provinces such as Gauteng which have a radius of about seventy meters something which makes it easier to access all the areas within a day whereas it is difficult to do that here in the Eastern Cape. In all then, when it comes to the rationalization of hospitals we cannot focus only on infrastructure as I have already mentioned, we have to consider their management and the way in which they relate with the public, the way they interact with workers, hospital transportation and the way in which hospital managers integrate those hospitals. For example, to say that two or three hospitals will have one CEO who will be responsible for managing those hospitals, cleaning services and resources or equipment and also have a ten-year strategic planning for those hospitals. I do not know if I do answer your question.

Follow-up reproach: p. 9

Reproach 1.2

"Ewe tata uyawuphendula; ukanti ke ikhona nale ngxaki ibisandul'ukuvela kutshanje kwiphephandaba iSunday Times ka-Apreli umhla we-16 ku-2006, apho bekusithiwa iingxaki zokunikezelwa kweenkonzo zikhona kweli Sebe, kangangokuba kukhona imali ebibekelwe bucala ukujongana nophuhliso lwezibhedlele engakhange isetyenziswe".

Ewe, injalo nyhani loo nto ntombazana kangangokuba loo mali ide yathathwa yasiwa kuZwelonke. Eh! Le nto ikumanqanaba ahluka-hlukeneyo. Inqanaba lokuqala, nanjengoko ndikhe ndaphawula ngolawulo nje, kuye kwafumaniseka ukuba kukho ukusilela kwicandelo lolawulo lwemali eSebeni oluthe lwenzeka emva kokuba siphulukene noCFO, phofu asimswelanga kuba eswelekile, intokunayo usuke wabeka iintambo phantsi wemka. Phambi koko sisebenzise imali kakhulu kangangokuba sifumene imali kumanye amaphondo, imali efana nale '10 million' kuthathwe kuyo, kodwa ke emva kokuba ebeke iintambo phantsi siye sehla kancinci, imali ayaphathwa kakuhle (kweli nqanaba).

Inqanaba lesibini lelokuba izixhobo ebezithengwa ngale mali zizixhobo ebezithengwa kumazwe aphesheya, kwaye ke xa usenza 'itender' kule nto, ithatha ixesha elide phambi kokuba ufumane isiza, mhlawumbi ibe sele ingomnye unyaka-mali.

Okwesithathu inxalenye yala mali siyisebenzisa kulwakhiwo lwezibhedlele okanye ekuphuhlisweni kwezakhiwo zazo, kodwa sifumanise ukuba abona bantu bakhupha 'itender' liSebe leMisebenzi yezoLuntu, ayiloSebe lezeMpilo, ngoko ke zithatha ixesha, kodwa ke koku kulibaziseka kwazo into ibisenzeka yeyokuba niza kunika umntu isivumelwano aze asilele ekwenzeni umsebenzi ngexesha alinikiweyo, size sithi xa sikhalaza ngokungawenzi kwakhe umsebenzi ngexesha, suka asise enkundleni yamatyala. Xa ifikelela apho ke ingaphaya kwamandla enu, kangangokuba inxenye yemali kunyanzeleke ukuba masiphinde siyicele ukuba siyinikwe kuba ayikhange isebenziseke kulo nyaka uphelileyo, ngenxa yokuba besilibele kukuhamba ematyaleni eTinarha nasesibhedlele eAll Saints.

Yes you do Sir, but there is also another problem that appeared lately on Sunday Times of April 16 pertaining to service delivery in this department and that the money that has been budgeted for has not been spent.

Yes, that is true as a result that money was returned back to the national department. Eh! This money is two-fold. The first level is that which I referred to earlier about the departmental financial management which was discovered not to be strong enough which happened after our CFO (chief financial officer) resigned. Before that we worked very well and we utilized all the funds that were allocated to us as result we had to be given funds from other provinces including this R10m, but after the CFO resigned our standard of delivery also dropped because of the mismanagement of funds.

The second point is that the equipment that was bought with this money was equipment that imported from overseas, and again when you issue a tender it takes time to have it approved including getting a site and it sometimes gets to be finalized in the next financial year.

Thirdly, we used a portion of that money for building and revitalizing hospital buildings, but we have also discovered that it is the department of Public Works that is responsible for the issuing of tenders and not the department of Health and that takes time which results in these delays because you enter into a contract with

someone and once you complain about the services rendered and the delays then that person runs to the courts of law. When it gets there then it becomes overwhelming for us as a result we sometimes have to ask for some of that money as it has not been utilized in the previous financial year because we were in and out of courts in Uitenhage and All Saints.

Second reproach: p. 9

2. Oovimba abajolise ebantwini (p. 10-11)

Reproach 2.1

iSebe lezeMpilo linakana ”ukushokoxeka okuqgubayo kwabasebenzi kwiindawo ezinongcipheko” (p. 10).

Abaphathi besibhedlele bona baqwalasela ukusebenza kwesibhedlele imihla ngemihla, umsebenzi wabo ujolise ekuphuhliseni isibhedlele nabasebenzi kuphela. Abaphathi abanalawulo luthe nqqo kulwabiwo-mali lwesibhedlele nto leyo ebangela ukuba bangabi nathuba laneleyo lokuqesha abasebenzi abaninzi, ingakumbi abongikazi nooqgirha abasemthethweni nabafanelekileyo. Aba basebenzi bezempilo bajongene nemimandla ethile baye babe mathidala ukusebenza phantsi kwezi meko zingaginyisi mathe ezinamawadi ambalwa onyango kunye nezikrweqe ezinqongopheleyo. Abasebenzi bayachaphazeleka zezi meko zimbi kwaye maxa wambi kufuneka basebenze iiyure ezili-12 ngemini babe abanye abongikazi kunyazeleka ukuba bakhathelele izigulane ezingama-20 ukuya kuma-30. Le ngxaki inefuthe elibi kwimveliso kwaye ibangela ukuba abasebenzi bangabi namdla wakusebenzela eli Phondo. Ingxaki evamise ukwenzeka malunga naba mongikazi kukukhalazela kwabo imivuzo: Umvuzo womongikazi awunakumkhuthaza umongikazi omtsha ukuba eze kolu hlobo lomsebenzi.

Enyanisweni siye sehlelwa yile ngxaki kangangokuba ukuba uyakhumbula iMpuma Koloni yayikusection 100, kangangokuba yonke into yethu engezimali bekufuneka sinike ingxelo ngayo kuba saye sabane 'overdraft' sagqiba ekubeni abathunywa babe kwiindawo enye apha ephondweni ukwenzel'ukuba nayiphi into ethe yenzeka kumaziko yaziwe, kuba kaloku kuye kwakho izinto ezingaqondakaliyo, nto leyo ibangele ukuba abathunywa abo bangabinamagunya okwenza okanye okuqgiba izinto ezithile. Kodwa ke ndimke kunikezelwa iinkcazelo zemisebenzi kuba enye into ethe yenzeka echaphazele izinto kukusilela kwabalawuli ekohluleni phakathi kweenkonzo eziphathelele kwezempilo nezo zezimali, nokulawulwa kwazo, kwaye besikade sijolise kwiinkonzo zoshishino silibele shici ukuba eli liSebe elimele kukugxininisa kwimicimbi yezempilo. Lilonke besifanele ukuba sijonga abantu abazi banzi okokuba xa kushokoxeka abongikazi, izixhobo, iifamasi, baza kuthini na.

Ngoku besiqala ukutshintsha sisuka kolwa gxininiso loshishino, kungoku nje sigxile kundoqo womsebenzi weSebe lezeMpilo. Iphelile ngoku laa nto yokube uqwalasela ukuba oomabhalane bangaphi, abalawuli bemali bangaphi, ube ulibele ukuba eyona nto usebenza ngayo yephathelele kwezempilo. Kona-kona izinto ezingatshongo khona bezisenzeka, yiyo loo nto aba bathunywa bengawanikwa onke amagunya, kuba ngelinye ixesha ubungazi ukuba umntu uza kuqasha ootshomi bakhe kusini na, kufuneka umazi kakuhle umntu ukuba uza kukwazi ukuyisebenzisa kakuhle na into.

2. Human resources (p. 10-11)

The Department of Health recognizes "the current acute shortage of staff in critical positions" (p. 10).

The hospital management, who oversees the day-to-day running of the hospitals, is limited in developing the hospital and its staff. The management has no direct access

to its budget and thus they have limited means to employ more staff, especially qualified nurses and specialist doctors. Such specialized health care workers are also reluctant to work in poor conditions with few specialized wards and equipment. The nursing staff also suffers with these abnormal conditions and sometimes has to work for 12 hours a day with some nurses having to look after 20 to 30 patients. This problem has an impact on their productivity and it makes them reluctant to work for the province. A recurring problem with these nurses is their complaint about salaries: the salary for a nurse does not encourage new nurses to enter the profession.

We really did experience this problem and if you remember the Eastern Cape was still under Section 100 which insisted that anything that has do with finances has to be reported as we had an overdraft. Because of this we also decided that the inspectors should be in one place so that everything that is taking place should be known due to a number of things that were not clear enough and as a result of that the inspectors had no powers to decide or say on things that were happening. When I left they were busy finalizing the distribution of duties because one other thing that affected the whole system was the failure on the part of administrators in differentiating between clinical and corporate services as we've been focused more on the business side of the department forgetting that it is this department that is responsible for health services. In all, we were supposed to recruit people who know more about to do when there are shortages of nurses, resources or equipment and pharmacists.

We were now beginning to shift from business and concentrating more on the core business of the health department. We have moved away now from worrying about the number of clerks that you have, how many financial managers you have and forgetting that the core of the department is health services. Indeed mismanagement and unlikely things were taking place in the department and this is why these inspectors were not given powers because you wouldn't if that person will employ his or her friends, what is important is to be sure that the person employed is capable and has all the necessary skills.

Follow-up reproach: p. 10

Reproach 2.2

Ingxelo yakutshanje yeWorld Health Organization (WHO) ichaza izizathu ezininzi ezingunobangela wokuba abasebenzi bezonyango abonelisekanga eMzantsi Afrika: ulawulo olungancumisiyo; ukushokoxeka kwamathuba okonyuselwa; ukushokoxeka kwezixhobo zokusebenza; ukwanda kolwaphulo-mthetho kunye nokungancumisi kweemeko zokuphila kwaba bantu.

Uyabona ke ezinye zezi zinto ziyinyani, kodwa ke masikhumbule ukuba silungisa imoto ehambayo, iingxaki zona sifike zikhona, ibuyela kulaa nto yokugxininisa kundoqo womsebenzi wethu kuba uyakufumanisa into yokuba abona bantu bakhawuleza banyuselwe imivuzo okanye banyukele kwinqanaba eliphezulu emsebenzini ngoomabhalane, kuba ke bona besenza umsebenzi wabo ngolawulo olusecaleni phaya, yile nto kanye siyilungisayo yokuba sazi ukuba apha sijongene nezempilo, ukutsho oko sijongene noonesi noogqirha.

A recent report of the World Health Organization (WHO) gives many reasons why health workers are not satisfied in S.A: there is poor management; poor opportunities for promotion; poor facilities; high level of crime and poor circumstances of life for these people.

You see, some of these things are true, but we should remember that we are fixing a bus that is in motion and that problems were already here by the time we arrived and

this goes back to that point of focusing more on the core of the department which is clinical services because you will find that those who get promotions are mainly are clerks more than health workers, both nurses and doctors; this is being dealt with now.

Yiyo loo nto ke apha eMpuma Koloni sele siqale ngophuhliso lwamaphandle kuba ke iqaqobane lezibhedlele zamaphandle lithwaxwa luququzelelo olufe amanqe, umzekelo xa sithetha ngempilo kukho inqanaba elisisiseko lempilo, elisembindini, kunye nelikwinqanaba eliphezulu. Cinga ke ukuba kuthathwe umntu afakwe eFrere eliliziko elikwinqanaba eliphezulu kuba ukuze uye eFrere kufuneka ube uthunyelwe sisibhedlele sesithili, naso isibhedlele sesithili kufuneka sithathe isigulane esivela eklinikhi, umntu angathi eguliswa yinto ebi nokunyangwa eklinikhi asuke aye esibhedlele.

This is why we have started with rural development in this province because most rural hospitals have been affected by poor organization. For example, when we talk about health there is primary health, secondary health and tertiary health, then imagine if a person is taken to Frere hospital which is a tertiary health institution only to find that the sickness could have been dealt with in the clinic because for a person to go to Frere hospital he or she has to be referred by the district hospital after being referred to the district hospital by her or his local clinic.

Abantu baya ezibhedlele kuba besazi ukuba baza kuvela babone ugqirha, banyangwe ngokukhawuleza kwaye eziklinikhi bengenakufumana mayeza ngokukhawuleza. Ngoku into esiyenzayo siliSebe, nanjengoko sele ndithe silungisa ibhasi ehambayo, silungisa zonke ezi zinto nangona nje singena kuzilungisa ngosuku olunye. Lilonke ke sizama ukuthi masizohluleni iiklinikhi kwizibhedlele, siqinisekise ukuba senza luqilima iinkonzo zaseklinikhi, kubekho amayeza nezixhobo ezaneleyo kwiiklinikhi, size ke emva koko sinyanzelise umthetho wokuba ukuba umntu uze esibhedlele engakhange adlule eklinikhi, aqale ahlawule iimfuneko zeklinikhi, okanye ajike aye kuqala eklinikhi, nto leyo iza kuphungula umthwalo waphaya esibhedlele, kuza kutsho kuphele nokuxhatshazwa koonesi ngomsebenzi onzima kangangokuba nokuba ezinye zazo zingaya eMonti, uya kufumanisa ukuba abantu abaninzi abagcwele eOPP eliliSebe leziGulane zangaPhandle, iipesenti ezingama-70 yabo ngoku sele ikwazi nokuncedisa kumsebenzi wamanye amacandelo.

People go to hospital because they know that they will be seen by the doctor and be treated quickly whereas they will not get medication from their clinics. The department is now trying to fix all that even though they cannot be fixed in one day. What I am trying to say is that we should be able to differentiate clinics from hospitals and that the clinics are more capacitated and beef them up with all the necessary resources and drugs and thereafter make sure that people who go to hospitals without being referred by their local clinics they pay or are returned back to their clinics. We believe that this approach will address this question of overload on those nurses and doctors in hospitals because hospitals are indeed overcrowded to an extent that even if you go to those hospitals in East London you will that about 70% of the patients there are out-patients.

Lolu hlenga-hlengiso ke olu ndithi sizama ukululungisa, ukuze xa umntu egula, angasuki aleqe esibhedlele, makayazi ukuba indawo yokuqala yiklinikhi ukuze ke ukuba iklinikhi ibona imeko ifunisa isibhedlele, kwenzeke njalo. Ngolu hlobo angaphunguka kakhulu amanani abantu abazalisa izibhedlele. Umzekelo, kungaphela kuncedwa abantu abangama-50 eklinikhi, kuze kuye mhlawumbi abane kuphela kubo esibhedlele. Loo nto ingathetha ukuthi noko uyaphunguka kakhulu umsebenzi wabongikazi ezibhedlele. Ewe amanani abongikazi ndiyavuma ukuba

ashokoxekile, kodwa ndizama ukuthi xa umsebenzi nohleng-hlengiso zinokwenziwa kakuhle, noko iimeko zingaphucuka zitsho zibe ngcono.

It is this adjustment that we are busy with so that when a person is sick he or she will have to start in the local and not just rush to hospital without a referral. If things are done this way then numbers will drop in hospitals and for an example, the clinics might end up seeing about fifty patients a day and only refer about four to hospital something which will all also result in less overcrowded hospitals and overworked nurses. Yes I do agree that we have a shortage of nurses, but I am also trying to say that when the workload and restructuring have been dealt with effectively then the conditions will also improve.

Follow-up reproach:

*Kube kanti kuthekani ngalo mba wobundlobongela kumaziko ezonyango?"

Umba wobundlobongela wona ungaphaya kweSebe lezeMpilo, kuba kakade xa usakha iklinikhi uze ubeke umongikazi okanye ugqirha kuyo, laa mntu umbeka phaya asingokaGoqwana, ngowoluntu, ngabo ekufuneka bejonge loo ntu naloo klinikhi kuba nokuba kunokwenzeka ukuba kudlwengule loo nesi, uze ubize amapolisa, ukuba abantu abafuni kukuxelela ukuba ngubani owenze oko, okanye obe izixhobo zeklinikhi, akukho nto iyakutshintsha, kodwa ukuba uluntu lona kuqala luyayibona laa nto, lwenze into ngayo, kuyakuqinisekiswa ukuba abukho ubundlobongela kwaye ukuba kunjalo akunakuze kubekho sidingo sokuya kwamapolisa kwiiklinikhi ngeeklinikhi. Into esizama ukuyenza ngoku kukusebenzisa iinkonzo zeenkampani zoonogada kuzo zonke iiklinikhi nakuzo zonke izibhedlele ukuzama ukuqinisekisa ukuba kuwo onke la maziko akukho nto yenzekayo, into enzima ke kukujongana nabasebenzi bala maziko xa sele bengaphandle kwawo.

What about this issue of crime within the health centers?

The issue of crime is beyond the department of health because when you build a clinic and allocate a nurse or doctor there, that person is not Goqwana's but the communities' and it is the community that should be looking after that person and the clinic because even if that nurse can be raped there and the police are called no one will be arrested if the community is not willing to come forward with the name of the perpetrator or the one who has stolen from the clinic, nothing will change. But, if the community is willing to do something then there will never be criminal offences in those clinics and there won't even be a need for police to patrol there. What we are trying to do now is to use services of the private security companies in all the clinics and hospitals to ensure that those centers are secured, but the problem is that we are unable to protect these health workers beyond the health premises.

Follow-up reproach: p. 10

Reproach 2.3

Ingxelo yephephandaba iFinancial Mail ikwabalule neengxaki ooggirha abathi bahlangabezane nazo: ukunqongophala kwabasebenzi njengabachwethezi, abantu ababizwa ngokuba ziiphotha ukuncendisa ukududula izigulani endaweni yokuba ooggirha bazidudulele ngokwabo; imivuzo engancumisiyo: ooggirha barholiswa iR139 000 ngonyaka ekubeni befumana iR480 000 ngonyaka eLondon; ukanti namathuba okonyuselwa amfiliba kakhulu.

Kuleyo ke imeko andiqonda ukuba singazithelekisa namazwe asele ephuhlile ngokwezimali; ngamanye amazwi ke le nto iphela isiya kwimeko yokuzinikezela komntu emsebenzini, kodwa ke ngaxeshanye ndiyavumelana nawe. Ndidla ngokwenza umzekelo onjengalo: "masithathe abantwana abaphumelela iMatriki,

omnye aqhubekeke nezifundo zobongikazi okanye ubugqirha, omnye aqhubekeke nezifundo zokuba ngumabhalane, xa ubajonga emva kweminyaka elishumi bephumelele ibanga leshumi, uyakufumanisa ukuba lo ungumongikazi ufumana umvuzo ophantsi kakhlu kunalo ungumabhalane, yena oya kube efumana umvuzo olingana noweselekela lomlawuli, abe lo ungumongikazi engasondelanga nakancinci kulo mgangatho". Lilonke ke le meko ibonisa ukuba nokuba sele ufunde kuyaphi, imeko ingenza ukuba uhlale ukhala ngomvuzo. Yiyo ke le nto sinesi sicwangciso semisebenzi nesixhaswa ngumphathiswa kazwelonke, sokuzama ukulungisa iimeko ezilolu hlobo, kuba ke ngenene imivuzo yoogqirha nabongikazi iphantsi kakhulu xa ithelekiswa neyomabhalane. Uyabona ke xa ulilizwe elifana nelethu elineminyaka nje eli-11 linorhulumente wesininzi, uye ufumanise wonke umsebenzi esilwela amalungelo akhe, nto leyo yenza kungabilula ukulungisa izinto, usuke ufumane maxa wambi umntu esombulula iingxaki zabasebenzi ngokujonga ukuba kwelinye iSebe kwenziwe njani na. Yonke ke le meko isukela kumgaqo-siseko welizwe lesininzi elitsha elisakhulayo.

I do not think that we can compare ourselves with economically developed countries; in other words this goes back to the question of one's commitment and dedication to his or her work, but then at the same time I do agree with you. I always make the following example: take two people who have just matriculated and one pursues nurses whilst the other pursues administration, in ten years time the administrator will be earning almost like an assistant director whereas the nurse is not even closer to that. This entire situation shows that it doesn't matter how qualified you are, at the end you will still be complaining about your salary. This is the reason why we have this human resources plan as supported by the Minister of health which is aimed at addressing such occurrences because health professional workers' salaries are still far below compared to those of administrators. You see when you are a country like ours which is only 11 years to its democracy you will find all workers fighting for their rights something which hampers transformation and t find one ends up trying to fix things in comparison to what is done by other departments. All this is the results of the new government of National unity's policies.

Kunento enzima ke ethe yenzeke kweli phondo laseMpuma Koloni, mhlawumbi yenzekile ke nakumanye amaphondo, apho besihlanganisa oorhulumente abathathu, owaseTranskei, eCiskei, noweRiphablikhi yoMzantsi Afrika endala. Xa zidityaniswa kubonakele ingumthamo ekunzima ukuwulawula, kwaza kwanyanzeleka kubekho into ekuthiwa nguResolution 7, egunyazisa ukuba phambi kokuba kwenziwe izibhengezo zomsebenzi, kuqale kuqeshwe bonke abo bantu sele besebenzela iSebe, nabo bebekade belinani elisisongezelelo. Le ke yenye yezinto elibazise ukuqeshwa kwabantu ingakumbi abo bangekabi nobuchule bomsebenzi, kuba abona basebenzi basisongezo baninzi kweli Sebe ngabo bebengekabi nabuchule. Umzekelo, ufumanise ukuba eZolimo zinabasebenzi abamalunga newaka, babe abo bongezelekileyo bengenandawo, ngoku ke phambi kokuba wenze isibhengezo kweli Sebe lezeMpilo, kufuneka uthathe abo bantu bongezelekileyo kwiSebe lezoLimo ubafake kwezi ndawo, nto leyo ibangela ubucukubhede obuza nokulibaziseka ezintweni nasekuqasheni abantu ukuba basebenze, bacoce isibhedlele, okanye babe ngabalindi, kodwa ke yonke loo nto sele igqityiwe ngoku kuba izibhengezo zemisebenzi ziyenziwa, nangona kukho ulibaziseko kuba kufuneka kubekho isixa-mali esiza kubekwa ecaleni, kuba kaloku naba basuka kwelabo iSebe beza nesixa-mali sabo.

Eyona nto ingundoqo ke yeyokuba asimanga ndaweni nye, silungisa imoto ehambayo ngoko ke asinakuma kuba umceli-mngeni kukuba siyilungise ngoku ihambayo.

There is another difficult situation that happened in this province maybe it has happened in other provinces that of integrating three governments, the Transkei, Ciskei and the former republic of South Africa. This proved to be a very difficult and impossible load to manage and for that reason Resolution 7 was introduced maintaining that before you advertise vacancies on an open bulletin you have to employ first those people who were working for the department of health in those governments, a number which was already more than the required number. This resulted to the delays of the hiring of additional staff as it was also discovered that the additional staff in the department constituted more of the under qualified people. For example, you will find that the department of agriculture had more than thousand additional staff which did not fit in that department and now before you advertise for additional staff in your department you had to absorb that staff from agriculture, and this also resulted in delays in employing people such as porters, cleaning staff. All this has now since been finished because vacancies are advertised regularly even though it is not as regular as we would like because there should be a budget first to cater for that. The most important thing is that we are fixing a bus that is already in motion and we cannot stop because our challenge is to fix it while it is in motion.

Third reproach: p. 11

3.   Ukushokoxeka kwamachiza

iSebe lezeMpilo linakana ingxaki yokuhanjiswa kwamachiza kwaye enye yeenjongo zalo ezingundoqo kukuphuhlisa oku kuhanjiswa kwamachiza: "imeko ephuhlileyo nobukho bamayeza namachiza ukuze kunciphe okanye kutshatyalaliswe ngokupheleleyo ukushokoxeka kwamachiza obebukade buqguba" (p. 5).

Ingxaki yamachiza amiselweyo ezibhedlele nakwiiklinikhi yingxaki enamajingxeba. Iimeko eziphathelele kumachiza zicace gca: okokuqala, ingxaki engonikezelo: nangona izibhedlele zisenza kangangoko zinakho ukuzuza umlinganiselo onguwo wamachiza, zisoloko zifumanisa ukuba ukuba la machiza awahanjiswanga. Okwesibini, izibhedlele neeklinikhi zinabasebenzi abasemthethweni abambalwa abanokunikezela la machiza. Ekupheleni kwalo mjelo wokunikezelwa kwamachiza ubani uye afumane isigulane singenawo amachiza okanye isigulane kufuneke isigulane silinde ixesha elide phambi kokuba sifumane amachiza angawo.

Okokuqala isixa-mali esikhulu siya emayezeni, kuze abasebenzi, kulandele ushishino. Into endinokuyikhankanya yeyokuba ayabiwa kakhulu amayeza, abiwa eDepot, endleleni, nakule ndawo asiwa kuyo. Into esifikelele kuyo nePublic Private Partnership kukuba kubekho abantu abaza kulawula iiDepot zethu apho amayeza ethu afikelela khona, balawule ukuthuthwa nokuhanjiswa kwawo, baqinisekise nokuba amayeza enzelwe iklinikhi ethile afakwe iphepha elinombalo walo klinikhi.

Ngelishwa ke nale into ithathe ixesha kuba sithe sele siyifakile kwitender kwabakho abantu abayifunela kubo. Ndicinga ukuba sele igqityiwe ngoku kodwa andiqinisekanga ukuba sele iqalisile ukusebenza, yona yayijoliswe ekubeni amayeza akwazi ukuya kufikelela kuloo klinikhi enzelwe yona, angayi kwizibhedlele kuphela. Le nto yenzelwa ukuba kungabikho kushokoxeka kwamayeza. Kukwakho ke neengcinga zabantu zokuba xa uthetha ngonyango lokuqala, akuthethi kuphela ngamayeza, koko sibafundisa ukuba mabangaguli. Bona ke bacinga ukuba xa besiya eklinikhi kufuneka bafumane amayeza, kulapho ke sifundisa khona. Umzekelo ubaxelele ukuba wenza ntoni xa umntwana wakho enorhudo, utsho ugxininisa ukuba eyona ndawo kufuneka inamayeza sisibhedlele.

Ngelinye ixesha uyakwazi ukuya esibhedlele ngesigulo esingephi, usuke unikwe kwa eli yeza ubunokulifumana eklinikhi, kuba kakade kusekliniki apho unokufumana

amayeza ezigulo ezingephi. Ngamanye amaxesha abantu baphazamisa amayeza asesibhedlele namayeza aseklinikhi kuba amayeza ezi ndawo ohluka ngobunjani okanye ubungakanani besigulo umntu anaso. Lilonke ke asikuba amayeza ashokoxekile kwezinye iindawo, yimpazamo nje ebantwini yokufuna amayeza asesibhedlele eklinikhi.

3. *Shortage of medicine*

The department of Health recognizes problems with delivery of medicine and one of its primary aims is to improve this delivery of medicine: "improved systems and availability of drugs and medicines in order to minimize if not eradicate completely shortages as in the past" (p. 5).

The problem of prescribed medicines in hospitals and clinics is a very old problem. The issues about medicine are clear: firstly, the supply problem: although hospitals make an effort to obtain the correct amount of medicine, they frequently find that these medicines are not delivered. Secondly, the hospitals and clinics have a shortage of qualified staff to dispense this medicine. At the end of this supply line one finds the patient with no medicine or a patient who has to wait a long time for the correct medicine.

Firstly, the major portion of our budget goes to buying drugs then salaries and corporate. What I can mention then is that drugs are stolen, in depots, on the way and in clinics and hospitals. What we have agreed on as the public-private partnership is that there should people to manage these depots, the distribution and transportation of these drugs to various destinations and also to ensure that drugs that are meant for a particular clinic are registered and labeled in that clinic's name.

Unfortunately this also had some problems even though we were already through with the tender because there were people who wanted that for themselves. I think that has been finalized now although I am not sure if it has been implemented yet, but the approach was meant for hassle free distribution of drugs to those clinics that they are meant for and not to focus only on hospitals. This is intended to address the question the question of shortages of drugs in the health centers. There are also beliefs that when you talk about primary health care you are not just talking about drugs, but also educating people on how to keep from getting sick. People always assume that when you go to the clinic then you must be given drugs and this is where we chip in and educate them such as what is it that you have to do when your child has diarrhea and thereby stressing that the place has to have drugs is the hospital.

Sometimes people go to hospital with minor ailments and they are given the same medicine that they could have received from the local clinic because that is where you get medication for minor ailments. Sometimes people have a tendency of confusing hospital medication with that of clinics the medication provided in these two centers differs according to the sickness. It is then not there is a shortage of medicine instead it is this tendency of people to request or demand from the clinics medication that is only provided and available in hospitals.

Fourth reproach: p. 12

4.   Iinkonzo zonyango

iSebe lezeMpilo linemeko ephuhlileyo yokusebenza kweeklinikhi kwaye ezi klinikhi zivuzwa ngephesenti efanelekileyo yolwabiwo-mali olupheleleyo lonyango (45.9%): jonga kwiphepha 25 olunenkcukacha zolwabiwo-mali luka 2005/2006). Ezi klinikhi zijongene nenyambalala yezigulane kwaye zikwaqwalaselel kwimimandla ethile

yezeMpilo efana nentsholongwane kaGawulayo (iHIV), iSifo sephepha, ulwaluko, isondlo, nezinye izifo.

Imeko yeeklinikhi sele iphuhliswe ithuba elide kakhulu ukuzama ukunceda izigulane kufutshane nendawo ezihlala kuzo. Ingqwalasela kwezi klinikhi ibonisa ukuhla jikelele kwizakhiwo nakwizixhobo xa kuthelekiswa neengxaki kwizibhedlele. Ngaphezulu kunoko, ezi klinikhi ziinengxaki ezinkulu zabasebenzi kuba abasebenzi bazo kufuneka bejongene namanani aphezulu ezigulane.

Ukuba uyajonga kulo 49,5% wemali ayijongani ngqo neeklinikhi kangangokuba kulo nyaka ufumanise apho ukuba urhulumente akanalo ulwabiwo-mali lweeklinikhi, kuloko yimali eya kwii-ofisi zesithili, ifike ke ingancedisi kakhulu ngokweeklinikhi le, kangangokuba ke bendithe kufuneka sibe nolwabiwo-mali lweeklinikhi. Besisayisebenza ke loo nto kuba isixa-mali seeklinikhi kufuneka sabiwe ngokwenani labantu abaya kuloo klinikhi, nangokwenani labongikazi abakhoyo kuyo.

Kufanele sibe neestandard normal clinic. Umzekelo, ukuba umthetho sithi kufanele sibe nabongikazi abasemthethweni abane, loo nto iza kwenza into yokuba loo klinikhi yabelwe ngokwabongikazi abane, nto leyo ezakwenza ukuba siqashe abongikazi abathathu ukongeza kulo umnye ukhoyo, kuba ikhona imali yabongikazi abane, ukuze neenkonzo ziphucuke bakwazi ukubona abantu abaninzi abasuka kwezi lali, ukanti sijonge nenani labantu abaya kule klinikhi besuka kwezi lali, loo nto iza kwenza ukuba laa klinikhi inikwe imali eyaneleyo ukuze kuqeshwe abongikazi abongezelelekileyo ukuphucula iinkonzo zonyango, ukongeza amachiza kunye nezixhobo ezifanelekileyo, nabantu batsho babone ukuba uncedo luyafumaneka kule klinikhi. Nanjengoko besele nditshilo ukuba silungisa ibhasi ehambayo, ezi ke zizinto ebesisazama ukuzilungisa ukuqinisekisa ukuba iiklinikhi zisemgangathweni, kwaye sizisasaze nasebantwini.

4.   *Clinical services*

The department of Health has a well developed system of clinics and these clinics are rewarded with a considerable percentage of the total budget for health care (45.9%): see p. 25 for budget details for 2005/2006). These clinics deal with a multitude of patients and also concentrate on specific areas such as HIV, TB, circumcision, nutrition and others.

The system of clinics has been developed over a considerable long time to help patients near the areas where they live. A close look at these clinics shows a general decline in the building and equipment comparable to the problem in hospitals. Furthermore, these clinics have huge staff problems and the existing staff has to cope with immense numbers of patients.

If you look at this 49,5% of the budget you will find that it does not deal directly with clinics as a result you will find that in this financial-year the government does not an allocation for clinics instead the budget goes to the district offices and that does not assist as far as clinics are concerned and it is for this reason that I said we should have a budget set aside specifically for clinics. We were still busy with that because such budget should be allocated according to the number of people that are attended in that clinic and the number of nurses in that clinic.

We supposed to have standard normal clinics. If the according to the standard we are supposed to have four professional nurses then that clinic will be allocated according to those four nurses something which will make us employ three more nurses to add on the one that we already have in order to improve service delivery and to make it possible to attend to the people from the surrounding areas who are using this clinic. And, we should also consider the number of people coming to the

clinic from the surrounding areas because that will result into this clinic being allocated sufficient funds to cater for the employment of additional staff, buying drugs and other resources so that the public can also see that there is service delivery in that clinic. As I have said that we are fixing a bus that is in motion and these are some of the things that we are busy with in ensuring and maintaining an acceptable standard for our clinics and to spread the services as much as we can to the public.

Fifth reproach: p. 13

5.   Iintsana nabantwana

Isebe lineenkqubo ezikhoyo eziggwesileyo zokujongana nokubhubha kweentsana (p. 20) kunye nababtwana abangondlekanga (p. 21). Isebe likwanakana ingxaki engundoqo ngokuphathelele kwezi nkqubo: "ukugqwesa kwenkqubo kuthityazwa yindlala egqubayo" (p. 21).

Nangona kunjalo asikho nje kwaphela isizathu sokubhubha kweentsana nokungondleki kwabantwana. Ifuthe lezi ngxaki lichaphazela kakubi uphuhliso lwePhondo kuba abasebenzi abakhoyo bayancipha. Ubukho beenkqubo ezikhethekileyo ukuzama ukujongana nezi ngxaki ayisosisombululo kuba umlinganiselo wengxaki mkhulu kakhulu. Sisityholo kuluNtu nakuRhulumente ukuvumela ukuba iingxaki ezilolu hlobo ziqhubeke kwilizwe ledemokhrasi eliphuhle kangakanana.

Enye yezinto endikhe ndazibalalula ukuba ndiyiva kakuhle ke le nto, yeyokuba siliSebe akufanelekanga ukuba sifumane imali eninzi, koko kufanele iye kwiSebe leZentlalo-ntle neleZolimo. Umzekelo, ukuba imali eninzi isiwe kwiSebe leZolimo, bazakubanakho ukuba balime ukuze abantu batye, ukuba abantu bayatya baza kubasempilweni bangaguli. Lilonke ke ndiyavuma ukuba imiphumela yale nto kukunqongophala kwabantu abasebenzayo itsho ke loo nto ichaphazele nezoqoqosho.

Thina ke siliSebe lezeMpilo sisengcupheni ngenxa yokuba kungekho kutya ekhaya, nomntu engafumani nesibonelelo kwiSebe lezeNtlalo-ntle kuba thina siza kumbona xa sele elapha esibhedlele ukuba unesifo sepunayi (kwashiyoka), ibe sele incinci kakhulu into esinokuyenza xa sele kukubi ngolo hlobo, nangenxa yokuba sele inde kakhulu indlela ehanjwe ngulo mntu phambi kokuba aze kufika apha esibhedlele. Naxa sele simnyangile kuye kunyanzeleke ukuba abuyiselwe amva ekhaya kuba kaloku asinakumgcina apha esibhedlele okokoko ukuzama ukunqanda imeko yokuhlala kujongenwe nomntu onesigulo esinye esinganyengekiyo. Le nto ke ifuna kubekho intsebenziswano phakathi kwala masebe, kananjalo kubekho nemali efakwayo ukwenzel`ukuba amasebe akwazi ukubancedisa abantu abakwezi meko ndizikhankanyileyo.

Nathi ke siliSebe lezeMpilo sithi xa kufike umntwana onesi sifo singentla siye sihambe siye kwintsapho emva siyokufumanisa unobangela wale meko ukuze sikwazi ukunika ingcebiso.

Kumanye amaSebe ukuba kukho umntwana ojongwe ngumakhulu, abe umama wakhe eseRhawutini engathumeli mali, kuye kuthunyelwe mhlawumbi oonontlalo-ntle baye kujonga ukuba ingaba kwenzeka ntoni na. Le ke yindlela ebekufanel`ukuba ilandelwe kodwa ke thina siliSebe lezeMpilo siyibona sele kukudala into yokuba kukho ingxaki, kodwa ke nalapho singurhulumente waseMpuma Koloni sinento ekufanele siyilwe kakhulu, indlala.

5.   *Babies and children*

The department has effective programs in place to cope with infant mortality (p. 20) and malnourished children (p. 21). The department also recognizes the basic problem with these programs: "the effectiveness of the programme is compromised by abject poverty" (p. 21).

There is however no excuse for infant mortality and malnourished children. The effect of these problems is devastating to the development of the province because the eventual workforce will be depleted. The existence of special programmes to cope with these issues is not a final answer because the extent of the problems is too big. It is an accusation to the community and the government to allow such problems in a democratic well-developed country.

One of the things that I have mentioned if I hear you correctly is that as the department we are not supposed to get a big budget instead a big budget should be allocated to the departments of Social Development and Agriculture. For instance, if the department of Agriculture is allocated more funds then it can be able to plant more so that people can eat, and if eat then they can be healthy and not get sick. I do agree that the consequence of this is the shortage of the workforce and thereby end up affecting the economy.

As the department of Health we are at the receiving end of this whole situation if a person does not have food at home and is not even receiving a grant from Social Development we will see that person when admitted in hospital that he or she has kwashiorkor and when there is little that we can do, and especially because a lot has happened before this person ended up in hospital. Even after we have cured the person we have to discharge him or her because we cannot keep that person in hospital forever to avoid having to look after one patient who is suffering from an incurable disease or sickness. This requires some cooperation between these departments and that there should be funds allocated so that these departments can be in a better position of assisting people in situations such as I have mentioned.

As the department we should also be able to go back to the families when a child suffering from malnutrition has been admitted to our hospitals and find out more about what has led to that so to offer advice as to what should be done to avoid that.

In other departments if there is a child that is looked after by the grandmother without any assistance fro the mother who is maybe in Gauteng, social workers they go there to find out more about the situation. This is the way that should be implemented and as the department of health we only know about such situations when it is very serious, but s the Eastern Cape government we have to focus more on poverty alleviation.

4.5   ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS IN DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

4.5.1   Interview no. 1

4.5.1.1   Social assistance grants

4.5.1.1.1   Child support grant:

1.1 A Reproach: This grant is seen as encouraging young girls to fall pregnant so they can have access to this fund:

1.1.1. <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Derogation of victim: Attacking the accuser</u>.

The justifier is attacking the reproacher with the hope of reducing the credibility of the source of the accusations and lessening the unpleasantness of the action. This he does also to divert attention away from the accusation and to reduce damage to his department, committee and self. He does this by claiming that:

- The information provided by the accuser is not scientific and that research has not been conducted to prove these allegations (SDI1, Q1.1: 1-4, 4-13)

1.1 B *Reproach on children who are still suffering even though they are beneficiaries of the grant:*

1.1.2. <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

The justifier wants to minimize the failure and reframe the consequences by appealing to future benefits of the situation, that:

- The cooperation of parents by reporting these incidents, the department will then be able to intervene and thereby rectify this misdemeanor (SDI1, Q1.1: 11-16)

4.5.1.1.2. Disability grant:

1.2 A Reproach: There are disabled people who are denied access to the disability grant:

<u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver has provided a null cause as an excuse to disconnect self away from the reproach by presenting another source that should bear causality for the failure event:

- People who are not really disabled and yet benefiting from the disability grant are the actual cause for the failure. (SDI1, Q1.2.1: 1-6, 7-20 and 20-28)

1.2 B Reproach: There are people who are not disabled, but they receive the disability grant:

Excuse:

Volition: Ignorance of others:

The excuse-giver argues that the ignorance of others and failure to acknowledge the guidelines and regulations as far as the issuing of disability grant is concerned is to blame for this failure:

- There are guidelines and regulations as a result a person who has a monthly salary is not supposed to benefit from the disability grant (SDI1, Q1.2.2: 1-3, 6-7)

1.2 C Reproach: There are disabled people that have full-time jobs and still benefit from the disability grant:

This reproach has been largely dealt with in 1.2.2 above.

Excuse:

Defeasibility: Ignorance:

The excuse-giver argues that in an attempt to put an end to the fraudulent management of the disability grant, innocent and deserving people ended up suffering and the department did not foresee that (SDI1, Q1.2.3: 1-3)

4.5.1.1.3   Old age grant:

1.3 A Reproach: Elderly are treated in a rather inhumane manner in pay-points:

1.3.1 Excuse:

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The justifier wants to mitigate the failure aspects of her department by appealing to the present adverse conditions within the department that:

- Elderly people do not get their pensions in respect and dignity (SDI1, Q1.3A: 1-3; Q1.3B: 19-23; Q1.3C: 1-3)

1.3 B Reproach: Some pensioners find that they have been removed from the beneficiaries list without even being informed about such a decision:

1.3.2. <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver has relied on the issue of null cause in her excuse in order to disconnect self and her committee from the reproach. She wants to put the causality of the act on some other source, which is external to her. She identified two such external sources:

a. Service providers such as All-Pay and CPS who are responsible for the pay-points facilities (SDI1, Q1.3A: 4-9)
b. It is the department of Home Affairs that has a provision for dealing with cases pertaining to Identity Document problems (SDI1, Q1.3B:23-31)

1.3 C Reproach: There are ghost beneficiaries in the list and their pensions are still paid out by the department:

1.3.3. <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects or the negative affects of the reproach by reframing the consequences of the failure event. She does this by concentrating on the plans that the department has set in place to address the situation. The purpose for employing this reframing of consequences is to convince the reproacher that the implementation of these plans will lead to future benefits. These plans are as follows:

a. The MEC's "Operation Isidima" which will provide proper facilities and centers for pensioners (SDI1, Q1.3A: 18-27)
b. The introduction of help desks in all the pay-points (SDI1, Q1.3B: 1-12)
c. Formation of links between the databases of the departments of Social Development and Home Affairs (SDI1, Q1.3C: 3-10)

1.3.4. <u>Denial:</u>

The denier is denying the reproach and that the event occurred (SDI1, Q1.3B: 13-19)

4.5.1.1.4. Care of older people

1.4 A Reproach: There are very few centers and they are mostly dilapidated. People living in these centers are expected to pay for their stay using their pensions:

1.4.1 <u>Justification</u>:

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

The justifier wants to minimize the negative affects of the reproach by reframing the consequences of the failure event. She does this by appealing to the plans that the department has for addressing the current situation. She is trying to convince the reproacher that once these plans are implemented they will lead to future benefits and that people will eventually experience those positive consequences. These following plans will eventually minimize the failure:

a. Taking care of elderly people in their own homes instead of the centers (SDI1, Q1.4: 2-13)
b. Setting up community forums to protect the elderly (SDI1, Q1.4: 13-23)

1.4 B *Reproach on the issue of payments:*

1.4.2 <u>Justification</u>:

<u>Higher values: Transcendence:</u>

The justifier is trying to reframe principles by putting these issues on a broader context. She argues that without the residents' pensions, these centers will not be able to operate (SDI1, Q1.4:

4.5.1.2. Poverty alleviation

Reproach: Many communities are not aware of the financial assistance from the Department of Social Development's community development program, and the funding procedures are not user-friendly:

2.1. <u>Justification</u>:

<u>Minimization: Reframe principles: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to minimize the failure aspects of the department by reframing the consequences of the failure through appealing to present benefits:

a. Social grants are now handled by the an independent agent, SASSA (SDI1, Q3: 1-3)
b. The department of Social Development will now focus more on social development issues and programs (SDI1, Q3: 3-10)
c. The departmental officials are now embarked on awareness campaigns about this departmental transformation (SDI1, Q3: 22-33)

2.2 <u>Justification</u>:

<u>Minimization: Reframe principles: Future benefits</u>

The justifier is also focusing more on the future benefits with the intention of convincing the reproacher that once these plans are eventually implemented, people will experience such positive outcomes:

a. This transformation will return human dignity (SDI1, Q3: 11-21)
b. Cluster approach will be used to ensure the success of these proposed projects together with proper training and monitoring (SDI1, Q3: 40-41; 41-47; 47-60)

2.3 <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Mitigating circumstances: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the blame and the circumstances by pointing out the challenges that the department is faced with irrespective of all the plans it has in place as means of addressing and minimizing the departmental failures:

- The challenge facing the department now is changing people's mindsets (SDI1, Q3: 34-39)

1. <u>Language and style</u>

1.1 Syntactic level

a. *Length of sentences:*

The account is characterized by long sentences. See *i.a.* Q1.1A: 1-4, 4-8 and 8-13. These sentences range from four to six lines. The length of the sentences is no an issue because isiXhosa has longer sentences in the spoken word than the written one.

b. *Complexity of sentences:*

The sentences that have been used are quite complex because they have more than one verb. See *i.a.* Q1.1C: 1-8, the sentence has eleven verbs: *abayifumanayo, bengahlali, behlala, salixelela, sithetha, ethethwa, sijikeleza, sisenza, siza, sithi bathi.*

c. *Standard of isiXhosa:*

The interview has used modern standard of the language which is mostly used in urban areas and it is not a dialect.

1.2 Lexical level

a. *Lexical diversity:*

i.   *Technical terms:* the accounter has used some technical terms such as: *i-constituency, ikomiti, eMpuma Koloni, uNdlunkulu, ucelo-mngeni, etc.*

ii. *English terms:* the interviewee has used a lot of English terms maybe because it was difficult for her to find equivalent Xhosa terms as their deliberations are mostly conducted in English. These are the examples of such terms: *kwii-constituencies, teenage pregnancy, i-oversight function, u-disability, igrant, zii-service providers, i-first-aid kit, i-pay-poit, i-finding, ii-projects, i-fraud, etc.*

ii. *Innovative Xhosa words:* the interviewee has not used innovative words.

b. *Language imagery:*

i. metaphor:

"…bayibona ilithuba lomsebenzi…" (Q1.1A: 3). This means that people view this grant as a job opportunity, their way of earning a monthly salary.

ii. Simile:

Examples of similes that have been used by the accounter are the following:
"…njengekomiti…" (Q1.3A: 16)

1.3 Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used some equivocal language in her account such as:
"…andazi ukuba kwenzeka ntoni …" (Q1.3B: 17). This is translated as: I do not know what is happening.

The accounter has tried to use mostly unequivocal language and to be as clear as possible. This has not been employed only to enhance the credibility of the accounter, but also to enhance the perceived quality of arguments.

2. Language use

2.1 Politeness:

The interviewee has tried to avoid face-threatening acts by using accounts that minimize the level of face threat against the accuser such as excuses.

2.2 Effectiveness:

The accounter has used mostly two of the perceived effective accounts; justifications and excuses. There are basically two types of the effective justifications she has used in an attempt to persuade the reproacher: justifications that appeal to higher values (SDI1, Q2: 3-8) and those that appeal to future benefits of the perceived negative situations (SDI1, Q1.1: 11-16; Q1.3A: 18-27; Q1.3B: 1-12; Q1.3C: 3-10 and Q2: 13-22)

There are seven justifications that have been employed:

Derogation of victim: attack accuser	1
Minimization: future benefits	4
Minimization: present benefits	1
Higher values: transcendence	1

Excuses that have been employed are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances by pointing out that the accounter and her committee is actually constrained by external circumstances (SDI1, Q1.3A: 4-9; Q1.3B: 23-31)

The accounter is working so hard to save her face to the disadvantage of the reproacher because using justification is actually playing down the importance of the negative act and the legitimacy of the reproach. Unintentional as that might be perceived, this strategy has actually threatened the reproacher's positive face and the accounter's negative face.

There is a total of five excuses that have been used:

Causal excuse: null cause	2
Volition: impairment	1
Mitigation: present adverse conditions	2

2.3 *Power of speech style:*

The interviewee has decided to use strategies that mitigate the blame and those in which he tries to disconnect himself away from the failure event by presenting another source that should bear the causality for the reproach. She has also used justification with focus on the minimization of the undesirable consequences by appealing to present and future benefits associated with the reproaches.

Interview no: 1

iSebe lezeNtlalo-ntle

Isinikezelo sentetho yomthetho neyokuzinikela koMphathiswa weSebe loPhuhliso lwezeNtlalo (2004-2007), ludandalazisa oku: "Injongo…ukuthatha inxaxheba kuphuhliso lobomi banantu abasokolayo, ababuthathaka, abasweleyo nabo bajongelwe phantsi beli Phondo ngokumisela inkonzo yezentlalo eluqilima, ebandakanyayo nephuhlileyo" (p.2).

Department of Social Welfare

The statement of policy and commitment by the Hon. MEC for the Department of Social Development (2004-2007), states: "The aim is to contribute to the

improvement of quality of life of the poor, the vulnerable, the needy and the marginalized citizens of this province through a comprehensive, integrated and developmental social service system" (p.2).

First reproach: p. 15

Iingxaki ezimalunga nezibonelelo zeNtlalo

Yinjongo yeSebe loPhuhliso lweNtlalo "ukuphuhlisa ulawulo lwezibonelelo ngokuthathat izicelo zesibonelelo, iintlawulo, ukugcinwa kweenkcukacha zabo bahlawulwayo kunye nohlenga-hlengiso lweenkqubo".

Isebe loPhuhliso lweNtlalo luneenkqubo zesibonelelo sabantwana ezinenjongo: "Yokulawual nokunikezela izibonelelo zeNtlalo *kubongi/abagcini* babantwana abaminyaka ingaphantsi kwesixhenxe… abaphuma kwiintsapho ezinemivuzo engaphantsi kwama- R800 ukya kuma- R1100" (p.28).

First part of reproach no: 1, p. 16

1.1 A

1. Ingxaki ngesi sibonelelo kukuba sibonwa njengesikhuthaza amantombazanana ukuba akhulelwe ukuze azuze kule mali yesibonelelo, xa sijonga izinga eliphezulu lokukhulelwa kwamantombazana afikisayo kule mihla.

iSebe malunga nalento lithi le information ayikho scientific le information yokuba aba bantwana into ebenza bakhulelwe sesi sibonelelo kuba bebekhulelwa abantwana, nangaphambi kokuba sibe khona esi sibonelelo besibayo le ngxaki yeteenage pregnancy. Le nto ke ifuna kwenziwe uphando ukujonga ukuba ingaba emva kwesi sibonelelo onyukile na amanani okukhulelwa kwabantwana ukwenzela into yokuba xa sijongana nayo le nto sijongane nento esiqinisekileyo ngayo kuba ukukhulela kwabantwana abaselula ibiyingxaki nangaphambi kwale nto yale grant. Loo nto ke ifuna ukuba kwenziwe uphando oluzakuqonda ukuba ingaba onyukile na amanani emva kokuba kuziswe esi sibonelelo sabantwana okanye hayi, ukuba onyukile kujongwe izizathu zoko kufunwe neendlela ezinokwenziwa ukwenzel'into yokuba baqondiswe aba bantwana into yokuba le R180.00 noko asiyonto umntu anokude aphume ayokukhulelelwa yona kuba ke eneneni incinci kakhulu.

1.   Problems with Social assistance Grants

It is one of the objectives of the Department of Social Development "to improve administration of grants in terms of taking applications, payments, capturing, filing and diversion programmes" (p.28).

The Department of Social Development has a programme of Child Support Grant with the aim: "To administer and manage Social grants to care-givers of children under the age of 7…whose families in household income is below R800 and R1100" (p.28).

1. *A problem with this grant is that it is seen as encouraging young girls to fall pregnant so they get access to this fund, considering the rapid increase in teenage pregnancy nowadays.*

Concerning this issue the department says this information is not scientific; the information that this grant encourages young girls to fall pregnant because teenage pregnancy has been a problem even before this grant was introduced. This requires a thorough research to ascertain whether the rate of teenage pregnancy has increased after the introduction of this grant or not so that when we deal with this issue we deal with something of which we are sure because as I said this has been a problem long before this grant came into being. Then if the numbers have increased

after the introduction of this grant then we should look the reasons behind that and come up with ways in which these girls can be made to understand that this R180.00 is not somethinf for which one can go out there to get pregnant.

Second part of reproach no: 1, p. 16

1.1 B

2. <u>Kukho abantwana abasasokolayo nangona bezuza isibonelelo. Ingxaki kukuba kukho abantu abamkela isibonelelo sokuxhasa abantwana babe bengahlali nokuhlala nabo bantwana. Ngoko ke esi sibonelelo asiwenzi lo msebenzi simiselwe ukuba siwenze.</u>

Iyinyaniso emsulwa loo nto yokuba bakhona abantwana abangamantombazana abayifumanayo le mali yabantwana kodwa babe bengahlali nabo, abantwana babe behlala noomakhulu babo; yiyo loo nto thina siyikomiti siye salixelela isebe kuba kaloku thina "singoobathi abantu", sithetha into ethethwa ngabantu njengoko sijikeleza sisenza le-oversight function kwisebe, siza nento evela ebantwini sithi bathi abantu ngale nto. Salixelela ke isebe ukuba kwiiconstituencies zethu kukho ezo zikhalazo ukuba le mali amxesha amaninzi ayenzi le nto isekelwe yona, ewe uyabona. Ewe iyinyani into yokuba abantwana abangamantombazana bayayenza loo nto, umntu ayothenga iijeans kwaJet nge- R99.00 ayokwenza neenwele zakhe iphele imali aze ashiyeke ke yena umntu ogcine umntwana esokola. Kwaye ke nabazali satsho sathi yizani ngaphambili bazali abanale ngxaki ukwenzel'ukuba kuzokubonwa ukuba isakwenziwa njani na into yokuba le mali ingaphumi ngalo mntu kuba engumama womntwana kuloko iphume ngalo mntu ugcine umntwana kuba kaloku le mali yenzelwe into yokuba umntwna atye, umntwana anxibe, umntwana akwazi ukuya esikolweni ohamba isikolo, kubhatalwe iimali zesikolo kuba ke noko zincinci iifees zasezilalini.

2. *There are children who are still suffering even though they are grant-holders. The problem is that the people receiving child support grants are not even staying with the said grant-holders. This grant then does not serve the purpose that it is meant for.*

It is absolutely true that there are girls who receive this grant when they are not even staying with their children, children are staying with their grandmothers and this is the reason why we as the committee had told the department because we are "people say", we say what has been said by the people in the visits that make when doing this oversight function in the department; we bring information from the people and say this is what the public say. We then informed the department that here are such complaints from the people that this money does not serve the purpose for which it was intended, yes, you see. Yes it is true that girls do that, thye buy jeans from Jet for R99.00, do their hair and the money is finished leaving the person looking after the child struggling. Moreover, we had requested parents with this problem to come forward so that an arrangement could made for this money to be issued in the name of the person looking after the child not the mother because it is intended for the benefit of the child; the child must eat, the child must get clothes and the child must be able to go to school and pay school fees as we know that school fees especially in the rural areas is very little.

Second reproach: p. 16

2. ***Isibonelelo sokukhubazeka*****:** uMphathiswa uvakalisa ukuba isibonelelo sijolise: "ekulawuleni nasekunikezeleni **ngokukuko** izibonelelo zeNtlalo kwabo bakhubazekileyo. Abo bangaphezulu kweminyaka engama- 18 nabagunyaziswe yingxelo kaggirha ukuba bakhubazekile ngabo abazuza isibonelelo sokukhubazeka" (p. 28).

2. ***Disability grant:*** *The Hon. MEC argues that this grant is intended: "To* ***effectively*** *manage and disburse Social grants to the disabled. Qualifying adults above the age of 18 who are medically diagnosed as disabled receive disability grant" (p. 28).*

First part of reproach no: 2, p. 17

1.2 A

1. <u>Kukho abantu ekungathandabuzekiyo ukuba bakhubazekile kodwa bangalifumani ithuba lokuzuza esi sibonelelo.</u>

Uyabona ke mntanasekhaya, yingxaki enkulu le. Uyabona idisability grant lucelo-mngeni olungummangaliso kuba abantu bayibona ilithuba lomsebenzi, nantso ingxaki ngayo. Abantu bayibona ilithuba lomsebenzi kuba abantu abaphangeli babe bengafumani mivuzo, aqonde umntu ukuba nali ithuba lokufumana umvuzo ibekhona imali endiyifumanayo ngenyanga ngenxa yentlupheko, ngenxa yentswela-misebenzi nangenxa yeemeko abantu abazibona bekuzo. Andiyithetheleli le nto ngokutsho njalo kodwa eh…h eyona nto ingundoqo endicinga ukuba mna ukuba isebe lifuna ukuyilwa into yesi sibonelelo sokukhubazeka, yinto yokuba njengokuba umntu asuke athi mna ndine-high blood pressure, ndenza umzekelo wakutshanje kwintlanganiso ebesinayo yasekuhlaleni eAlicedale, athi "ndinepressure mna" abe ucommittee coordinator wethu phofu enepressure kodwa uyaphangela, utya iipilisi zakhe zepressure. Uyabona umzekelo, izolo bendicel'iipilisi zentloko ku…, lo mntu ebemthumile wandiphathela iipilisi ezimhlophe, ndabuza ukuba zezantoni ezi pilisi kuba ke andizikutya iipilisi endingazaziyo kuba bendithe ndifuna i-Adco-dol, wathi ke yena zezepressure. Unepressure, uya kwaggirha ukwenzel'ukuba ithomalale ipressure yakhe, akakhubazekanga, uyayibona loo nto. Abantu ke ngoku umntu ubamba nje into athi ndine-arthritis, mna ndine-arthritis njengokuba ndithetha nawe nje kodwa andikhubazekanga ibuhlungu, iyaqaqamba, amathambo aqaqamb'uqond'ukuba… kodwa awukho-disabled. So, ndicinga ukuba eyonanto ibalulekileyo ebantwini kukuba abantu bacaciselwe ukuba u-disability lo uthetha ntoni; uthetha ukuba awukwazi kuzenzela nto. Bona ke bayakwazi ukwenza into kodwa eli lithuba nje yinyoba yokufumana imali, kwaye le leyo into ininzi kuba amanani aya esonyuka ngokoyikisayo abantu abafuna idisability grant. Lo nto ke ngoku yenza into yokuba isebe lithi xa lizama ukubajonga aba bangafanelanga kufumana, yenza laa nto kuthiwa kukubatha intake nomthi wayo. Uyabona ke ngokwenza njalo kuchaneke nabantu abakulungeleyo ukuyifumana le mali, aba bakhubazekileyo.

1. *<u>There are people who are visibly disabled but are denied access to this grant.</u>*

You see, this is a big problem. The disability grant is a great challenge because people view it as a job opportunity, that's where the problem is. People see this as a job opportunity because they are not working and they have no income, so they see thi s as an opportunity of earning something every month because of the high rate of unemployment and also under which people find themselves. I am not trying to justify thisby saying this but eh…h I think the main issue that the department is trying to curb within this disasbility grant is the claims made by people where one would say I have High-blood pressure, I am just making a recent example that came up in a

community meeting that we had in Alicedale with in which a member of the community calimed that she had high-blood pressure whereas our committee coordinator also has high-blood pressure but she is working and taking her treatment to get better. You yesterday for example I had a terrible headache and asked for pain talets from…, the person she asked to bring those tablets brought along white tablets and I asked what are they for because I am not going take tablets taha I do not know as I have asked Adco-dol, she said they are for high-blood pressure. She has high-blood pressure and she goes to the doctor toget better, she is not disabled- doyou see that. People will just hold on to anything and say I have arthritis, I have arthritis as I am talking to you right now but I am not disabled ; it is very painful, but you are not disabled. So, I think the most important thing is to make people aware that of what is meant by 'disability', it means you are incapable of doing things for yourself. These people can do thngs for themselves but this is just an opportunity for them to get their hands to this money and that is very rife as numbers of people who are after this frant are escalating day in and day out. This has now resulted to the suffering of many deserving people because when the department was trying to correct she suspended all the beneficiaries and they had to reapply.

Second part of reproach no: 2, p. 2

1.2 B

Le nto ke ngoku ibonisa ukuba ngokubhekiselele kumba wesibini kwakule nto yesi sibonelelo apho kufumaniseke ukuba bakho abantu abangakhubazekanga abaxhamlayo kwesi sibonelelo. Ndicinga ukuba uwuchaphazele loo mba xa usithi kule mpendulo ugqiba kundinika yona into yokuba kuloo nto yaba bantu bathatha amathuba kuphele kuchaneka nabo bakhubaz…

Ewe, kaloku xa bekuzany'ukulungiswa unikezelo lwesi sibonelelo kuphele kuchaphazeleka nabo bakhubazekileyo ngokwenene bona bantu bafanel'ukufumana.

So, this shows that as far as the second issue of disability grant is concerned there are people who are not disabled but are benefiting from this grant. I think you have addressed that issue in the response that you have just given me that because of the people who are fraudulently benefiting from this grant that has been to the detriment of those who are really disabled…

Yes, because when the department was trying to correct the issuing processes of this grant it ended up affecting even those who are truly deserving of the disability grant.

Third part of reproach no: 2, p. 17

1.2 C

Kuthiwani ngabantu abakhubazekileyo abafumana isibonelelo sokukhubazeka kodwa babe besebenza kwezinye iindawo, ukutsho oko aba ngabantu abakhubazekileyo babe abangaswelanga ncakasana?

Kaloku zonke ezi zibonelelo zinemiqathango, ubukhe wawufunda apha ndawuva into yokuba ukuba wamkela phakathi kwemali ethile nethile uyabona, so ophangelayo owamkela iR2500.00 akafanelanga ukufumana isibonelelo kuba kaloku kwabona bantu bakhubazekileyo bathi sifuna ukuphathwa ngendlela efanayo nabantu nje ngoko ke masinikwe amathuba omsebenzi sisebenze.

So ke ngoku, xa umntu ephangela enomvuzo ongenayo odlulileyo kwimali enga asikho isizathu sokuba asifumane esi sibonelelo.

What about disabled people who received disability grant and holding jobs at the same time, that is, disabled people who are not really needy.

All these grants have guidelines and regulations, you read one of those earlier that if you earn more than R2 500.00 you are not supposed to receive the grant because the very same disabled people demand to be treated equally as those who are not disabled and they demand to given same job opportrunities. So now, when a person is employed earning a salary above a certain scale, there is no reason for that person to receive this grant.

Third reproach: p. 17

3. ***Abolupheleyo***: iSebe lithi injongo yesi sibonelelo: "Kukulawula nokunikezela **ngokugqibeleleyo** isibonelelo seNtlalo kwabo bolupheleyo. Abo bafanele ukuzuza esi sibonelelo ngoomama amaneminyaka engama- 60 kunye nootata abaneminyaka engama- 65 nangphezulu ubudala bona bathi baphumelele uvavanyo lokufumana le mali nabathi bayifumane **ngethuba"** (p. 28).

3 ***Old age***: *The Department says the aim of this grant is:"To **effectively** manage and disburse Social grants to the aged. Qualifying women at age 60 and men at age 65 and older who meet the means test receive their grants **timeously"** (p. 28).*

First part of reproach no: 3, p.17

1.3 A

1. Indlela abathi abantu abadala baphathwe ngayo kwiindawo zokwamkela lisikizi. Kwezinye iindawo zokwamkela abantu abadala abazuza inkam-nkam kufuneka balinde ngaphandle kweevenkile iiyure ezininzi baze bathi xa befika abo bamkelisayo ekugqibeleni beme kwimigca emide kwakhona. Azikho izakhiwo ezifanelekileyo zokujongana ngokufanelekileyo nabantu abadala.

Yinyani emsulwa leyo uyithethayo. Mna oko ndafika apha eLegislature ngo-2003 yifinding yethu njengekomiti yezeNtlalo-ntle ukuba abantu abadala abawafumani amalungelo abo enkam-nkam ngesidima nesithozela kwaye sisitsho kwisebe ukuba malincede linqonqozise aba bantu kuthiwa zii-service providers, aba banika inkam-nkam, oo-CPS noo-All Pay bona ababecontract(iwe) ukuba banike ezi nkonzo ebantwini ukuba bayenze loo nto leyo. Siba nazo thina iivisits kwii-pay-points, le nto uyithethayo siyibona ngamehlo. Ukuba ilanga liyatshisa litshisa lephelele ebantwini abadala, ukuba imvula iyana inetha iphelele ebantwini abadala, babhudlwe nayimimoya. Akukho zindlu zangasese, akukho namazi kuba ngokwe-service level agreement karhulumente neservice providers kuthiwa makubekho uphahla phezu kwentloko yomntu omdala ozopeya, makubakho izindlu zangasese namanzi okusela, kubekho ii-wheelchair ukulungiselela abantu ekunzima ukuhamba kubo, uyabona. Kubekho ifacility ukwenzel'ukuba ukuba umntu uthe waquleka okanye akaziva mnandi kubekho ibhedi azakubekwa kuyo ngaloo mzuzu. Kubekho i-First-Aid kit, kodwa ke ezo zinto zizinto abangakhange bazithobele kwii-pay-points ezinzinzi esithe sazindwendwela njengekomiti kwaye ke besiyenza ifinding size sibe nerecommendation esiyenzayo.

1. *The way in which elderly people are treated in the pay points is inhumane. In some pay points old-age pensioners have to wait outside the local supermarkets for long hours and when the service providers finally arrive, they will stand in the long queues again. There are no proper facilities conducive enough for elderly people.*

What you are saying is an absolute truth. Ever since I have arrived here at the Legislature in 2003, this has always been our finding as the Social Development portfolio committee that elderly people do not receive their pensions in respect or dignity and we have been saying to the department that ensure that these people called service-providers, the ones that are responsible for the issuing of these grants such as CPS and All-Pay are doing their job as per agreement as they are contracted by the department. We do have visits to these pay-points and we witness what you are saying with our own eyes. People suffer a lot when the sun is too hot, when it is raining and windy. There are no sanitation facilities, no water because according to the service-level agreement between government and these service-providers, there must be a shelter above the old people's heads, toilet facilities, water to drink and wheelchairs for those who cannot walk, you see. There must facilities for those who might faint or be too exhausted and do not feel wellt, a bed must be provided for them to rest on. There must be First-Aid Kit, but all these are things that these service-providers did not take heed of as they were not provided in most of the pay-points that we visited as the committee, and in these processes we made findings and recommendations to the department.

Follow-up reproach:

Yintoni ke ngoku nina eniyenzayo ukuzama ukuhlangabezana nolu silelo?

Silisebe kaloku sihleli kuyo le nto okokoko into yokuba ayikho le nto kangangokuba uMEC lo omtsha wakwaSocial Development apha unento ebizwa ngokuba yi-Operation Isidima apho zakhiwayo ke andizikuthi iipay-points kuba kuzakwenziwa nezinye iiprojects kwezi zakhiwo, uyabona! So, zikhona iindawo apho ezi zakhiwo sezakhiwe khona, apho kuzakubakho iiprojects eziqhubekayo, kubekho into ebufana ne-multi-purpose centre, apho nabantu abadala xa bezopeya bezakuthi bahlale phantsi ezitulweni, kubekho izindlu zangasese, amanzi nayo yonke into abafanel'ukuyifumana. Ikhona ke loo Operation Isidima apha eMpuma Koloni ngokunje, ezama ukulandela ezo findings neerecommendations.

What is it then that you as public representatives are doing to address this shortcoming?

As the department we are busy dealing with that as a result the new MEC of the department of Social Development has introduced something called Operatrion Isidima in which these facilities or centres are being built; I would not say they are pay points because there will be other projects taking place in those centres, you see! So, in certain areas these facilities are already in place where other projects are in operation more like a multi-purpose centre and this will also be used for the issuing of old-age pensions and other grants with chairs to sit on, proper sanitation facilities, water and everything that is necessary or needed. We do have that Operation Isidima here in the Eastern Cape Province as a means of addressing these findings and recommendations.

Second part of reproach no: 3, p. 18

1.3 B

2. Abanye babantu abadala barhoxisiwe kuluhlu lwabo bazuza inkam-nkam kungekho sizathu sibambekayo nje kwaphela. Emva kokulinda iiyure ezininzi ukuze bazuze isibonelelo, abanye abantu bayajikwa kuba kusithiwa amagama abo awekho kuluhlu emva kokwamkela inkam-nkam iminyaka ngeminyaka. Barhoxiswa kolu luhlu ngaphandle kwesilumkiso okanye ukuqhakamshelana nabo ngokufanelekileyo. Kukho uvakalelo lokuba abantu abadala banxunguphaliswa nje ngamabom yile meko yesibonelelo.

Nakuloo mba kukho into ekuthiwa yihelp desk ekweziwa nayo ngenxa yaloo nto, into yokuba abantu njengokuba usitsho umntu ame kwiqueue xa efika pha kuthiwe hayi akukho gama lakho apha, akukho ali yakho. So, sathi ke ngoku kubantu ababefake izicelo zesi sibonelelo kwaze kwathiwa umntu abuye emva kweenyanga ezintathu, ndiyafika emva kwezo nyanga kuba kwakutsho ii-officials ndifike kusithiwa igama lam alikho; isebe malize nento ye-heldp desk ezakwenza into yokuba ndithi ndifika nje ndiye kula help desk bakhangele kwikhompyutha babone ukuba ndikhona na kwandisafika. Kodwa ke ingxaki apho ikhona kukuba kuthiwe mhlawumbi imali yomntu isuke yanqanyulwa ngendlela engaziwayo aze athi kukudala eyifumana afumanise sele ephaya ukuba ayikho, kodwa xa ingumntu osandul'ukufaka isicelo uyakwazi ukuya kula help desk ajongwe kufunyaniswe ukuba iphumile okanye hayi ayiphumanga.

2. *Some of the elderly people have been cancelled from the lists with no reason at all. Having waited hours for the grant, some people are turned away with the claim that they do not appear on the list after many years of receiving the grant. They are cancelled from the list without prior notification or the least consultation. There is a feeling that the elderly are deliberately being frustrated by the system.*

Even on that issue there is something called a help-desk which was introduced because of that, that as you say people will queue for long hours and when she or he arrives there she or he told that her or his name does not appear on the list, therefore her or his money is not available. So, we said to people who had just applied for the grant and were told to check in their pay-points in three months time, when the person arrives at the pay-point as per the officials' instructions the name is not on the list; the department should then make available hlp desks in each pay-point so that when that person arrives would just go to the help desk where there is a computer to check if his or her name appears or not. But, where the problem is when a beneficiary's money is said to have been cut-off without a reason after years of receiving the grant, but if it someone who has just applied for the grant she or he can go to the help desk to check if the grant has been issued or not.

Follow-up reproach:

Kuthekani ke ngoku ngaba barhoxiswayo abebekade besamkela?

Abantu abadala, eyabantu abadala inomohluko kuba into yomntu omdala ayimnambuzo kuba ukuba una-65 yeminyaka awunakujika ube na-63 ngomsomnye, ukuba una-60 awunakujika ubena-55. Imile into yomntu omdala kungoko ifanele ukuba ayisokolisi nokusokolisa, ukuba ndina-60 ndifumana inkam-nkam yam ingabi nambuzo loo nto. So, andazi ukuba kwenzeka ntoni ukuze athi umntu omdala, ayiqhelekanga into yokuba umntu omdala angayifumani ipeyi yakhe, ayiqhelekanga nje kwaphela. Kodwa into edla ngokwenzeka kulapho isicelo mhalwumbi ndithi ndizazi ukuba ndingowaloo nyaka kodwa xa ndisenza isicelo sesazisi siphume sinonyaka ongenguwo, ndize ndithi ke ngoku xa ndisenza isicelo senkam-nkam kuthiwe ngokwesazisi iminyaka yam ingaphantsi kwale minyaka ifunekayo. Nalapho ke isebe lenza isibonelelo sokuba ukuba ngaba apha unaleminyaka kwaye unabo bantu abayaziyo loo nto mahlawumbi malungu osapho, uyakwazi ukwenza i-affidavit emapoliseni nize niye kwa-Home Affairs kusayinwe kubekho nesitampu namngqina aza kungqina ukuba ndiyamazi lo mntu mhlawumbi ndiza emva kwakhe kodwa jonga mna ndifumana inkam-nkam. So, ke ayinakuze yenzeke into enjalo, eh…h uyayibona into enjalo! Kule yeminyaka inkam-nkam inqabile into yokuba kufane kubekho amagingxi-gingxi ngaphandle nje kwezi zinto ze-ID enika iingxaki.

What haoppens then to those who have been withdrawn from the beneficiaries list whenthey have been receiving the grant?

Elderly people, the grant for pensioners is different from others in that and it is unquestionable in that if you are 65 years old you are not going change and be 63 a day after tomorrow, if I am 60 years old you do not change and be 55 years old. The issue of elderly people is certain and that is why it is not supposed to cause any problems, if I am 60 I get my pension without any hussles. So, I do not know what is happening because it is not usual for an elderly person not to get his or her pension, it is not common at all. But, what normally happens when an application has been made is when say maybe I know that I was born in certain year but an ID reflects another year and now when I apply for the old-age grant to be told that according to my identity document I do not qualify for the pension. Even there the department has a provision for such cases that if you have witnesses who can confirm your such as family members you can go to the police station to do an affidavit and take that to the department of Home Affairs, append signatures, stamp together with the witnesses who will say I know this person she or he is my older sibling maybe and look at me now, I get my pension. Something like can never happen, eh…h you see such a thing! It is rare for the old-age grant to have hiccups except for problems that emanate from the identity documents.

Third part of reproach no: 3, p. 18

1.3 C

3. <u>Kukwakho nabantu ekudala basweleka kodwa amagama abo asavela kolu luhlu. Akukho mntu waziyo ukuba le mali iyaphi na okanye ngubani na lo uzuzayo.</u>

Uyabona ke yenye yeengxaki esijamelene nazo ke leyo. Into ye…besithetha ngantoni kanene?

Reproach is repeated:

<u>Besithetha ngalo mba wabantu abaswelekileyo kodwa amagama abo abe esavela kuluhlu lwabantu abafumana esi sibonelelo.</u>

Oh ewe yiloo nto. Uyabona ke ininzi i-fraud kuloo nto yale mali kuthiwa zizibonelelo zikarhulumente kangangokuba sikhe satsho kwisebe lezeNtlalo-ntle into yokuba kunganjani na ukuba babe noqhagamshelwano noHome Affairs. Umzekelo, umntu obhubhileyo aze ayokwenzelwa ideath certificate, uSocial Development akwazi ukulufumana olo lwazi ngokuthi athi xa ecofa nje iqhosha kwiikhompyutha zakhe kuvele into ethi "deceased", ukwenzel'into yokuba bakwazi ukuzifumana ezi nkcukacha kwangethuba, athi umntu ebhubha nje igama lakhe likwazi ukuvela kubo ukuba lo mntu ubhubhile ngokucofa nje iqhisha. Bebesitsho ke ukuba bayayizama loo nto yoloqhakamshelwano noHome Affairs kuba nakule yabantwana into kukho abantu abathenga ii-birth certificates, umntu ayokuthi nanku umntwana ntoni-ntoni kanti yinto ethengiweyo leyo; kuthengwe ikhadi laseklinikhi, kuthengwe ne-official kwenziwe ibirth certificate kunikwe imali umntwana ongazange azalwe nokuzalwa. So, abantu bangenza nantoni na ukufumana imali.

3. *<u>There are also people who are deceased but their names still appear on the lists. No one seems to know where this money goes or whom does it benefit.</u>*

You see that is another problem that we are faced with. This thing of… what were we talking about?

<u>We were talking about this issue of deceased people but whose names still appear on the beneficiaries' list.</u>

Oh yes that is it. You see there is a lot of fraudulent acts with these government grants to an extent that we suggested to the department that they should have a link with the deaprtemnt of Home Affairs. For example, if a person dies a death certificate

is issued by Home Affairs then the department of Social Development should be able to access that information by punching a button in their computers which will reflect the word "deceased" next to the person's name. We were told then that the formation of such links with the department of Home Affairs is in process becase even the child-support grant there are people who buy birth certificates to say here is the chid this and that whereas it is something that is bought; they buy the clinic immunisation cards and officials to issue birth certificates and the grant is issued for a child that was never born. So people who do anything to get to the money

Comment:

Inkohlakalo enjalo!

Ingaphaya ngokugqithisa ke kule nto yeegrant kuba abantu bafuna nje inyoba; basoloko bejonge ithuba bangene baphelele.

Such cruelty!

It is more that you can ever imagine because people are always looking for an opportunity; they are always a slight chance to manipulate the system.

Fourth reproach: p. 19

4. ***Ukunakekela abantu abadala***: uMphathiswa ukhankanya ukuba injongo yesi sibonelelo: "Kukunakekela ngokugqibeleleyo abantu abadala kwiindawo zabo zokuhlala kunye nakumakhaya/kwiindawo zaasekuhlaleni" (p. 30), nangona kunjalo:

4. ***Care of older persons***: *The Hon. MEC mentions that the aim of the grant is: "To provide quality care for the older persons within residential and home/community-based environment" (p. 30), but:*

First part of reproach no: 4, p. 19

1.4 A

1. Zimbalwa kakhulu iisenta ezifumanekayo kwaye zonke zineemeko ezingaginyisi mathe (umz: izakhiwo, amagumbi kuquka iibhedi, izinto zokulala kunye nezinga lokutya abakufumanayo).

Yiyo loo nto ke mntanasekhaya thina sikholelwa kwinto yokuba le nto yeesenta ayisosisombululo sokunakekela abantu abadala, abantu abadala mabanakekelwe kuloo ndawo bakuyo kwaye ke into emnandi yeyokuba lukhona ulungiselelo olukhoyo kwalapha kweli sebe lezeNtlalo-ntle. Ukuba ukhona umntu onakekele lo makhulu ungakwazi kuzenzela nto, ngelinye ixesha ongakwazi nokuthini, ikhona into ekuthiwa yi… ikhona igrant ekhoyo efunyanwayo nguloo mntu unakekela lo mntu mdala; kodwa ingxaki yinto yokuba abantu abayazi le grant into yokuba ikhona, abantu abadala nabo bantu babanakekelayo. Thina siyakholelwa kwinto yokuba abantu abadala mabanakekelwe kule ndawo bakuyo kuba uyakufumanisa ukuba imbi into ngoku kuquka nasemakhaya ezilalini ukuba kukho into entsha eyenzekayo yokudlwengulwa kwamaxhegwazana, kwaye ke ngoku amaxhegokazi azakuthini! Umzekelo, amaxhegokazi aseDikeni kwaGqumashe azakuyithathaphi isenta yokuba aye kuyo kuba akukho senta phaya! So, siyakhuthaza ke ukuba abantu abadala mabanakekelwe apha ekuhlaleni kubekho iiforum ezenziwayo ekuhlaleni kuba kaloku kukho le nto yokuba uhlala yedwa ebusuku lo mntu mdala, oonyana neentombi baseGoli, eKapa, eDurban, baphiphiphi. Icommunity mayibe yiyo ebonayo into yokuba yenza njani na into yokuba kuthiwe mhlawumbi ebusuku uzakuyolala kwabani kusasa ke uzawuvuka ayokwenza izinto zakhe phaya emzini wakhe; kodwa ukuqinisekisa ukhuseleko lwakhe alale endaweni enabantu abazakumnakekela

bamkhusele. Le, sesona sisombululo ngaphezu kwezi senta kuba ezi senta zijika zibe yimenace kwazona, abantu abadala bangaphatheki kakuhle babe nee-bed-sores bekwezi senta kuthiwa zezokukhathalela bona.

1. *There are very few centers available and all with very unsatisfying conditions (i.e. the buildings, rooms including beds, bedding, and even the quality of food provided).*

This is why we say these centres are not the best option of looking after elderly people, they must be taken care-off where they are and the nice thing about this is that the department of Social Development has a provision for that. If there is someone looking after this helpless granny, who is incapable of doing things for her or himself there is something called…, there is a grant awarded to care-givers; the problem is that most people are not aware of this grant, both the elderly people and the care-givers. We believe that elderly people should be cared for where they are because there are now terrible things that are happening out there even in the rural areas where you find that these grandmothers are being raped and what can they do! For example, where would elderly women of Gqumashe an area in Alice get an old-age centre because there are no centres there! So, we do encourage that elderly people should be cared for in their own communities and that there should be forums because these people stay alone at night in their homes, their children are in Gauteng, Cape town, Durban everywhere. The community should then see what to do about these citizens such as maybe sleeping in another household at night then go to her house in the morning to do her chores there, but ensure that at night they sleep in a is safe place where there are people to protect them. This is the best solution more than these centres because the very same centres become a menace to these elderly people where you find that the elderly are not well taken care of and they end up getting bed sores whilst they are in these centres.

Second part of reproach no: 4, p. 19

1.4 B

2. Kuye kwafumaniseka ukuba ayinguye wonke umntu omdala ofumana ithuba lokungena kwezi ndawo zokuhlala zokunakekelwa kwabo. Nelo gcuntswana lithi liye kwezo senta kufuneka lizihlawulele kungenjalo kuye kunyanzeleke ukuba baye kwiindawo zoshishino ukuya kucela amalizo.

Ewe kaloku kutshiwo ukuba ezi senta ziza kuqhutywa njani; ziqhutywa kwangale mali yabo abayinikwayo yokuba bazijonge ngayo.

2. *It has been discovered that not every elderly person has access to these centers. The few that go to those centers have to pay out of their own pockets and/or be taken to the shopping malls to ask for donations.*

Yes they pay because they argue that how will these centres operate; they operate with these old citizen's pensions.

Follow-up comment:

Kufumaniseke ukuba ezi senta zijike zaba ngamaziko ezoshishino ngokwendlela eziqhuba ngayo.
Ewe kaloku, injalo loo nto.

It has been discovered that these centres are now operating like business centres.
Yes, that is exactly like that.

Fifth reproach: p. 19

2. <u>***Ukulwa nendlala***</u>*:* <u>Injongo etsolileyo yale nkqubo: "Kukulwa amazinga endlala ngokuveza iinkqubo zokhuseleko lokutya nenzuzo ezinxamnye neenkqubo kwakunye nemimiselo yophuhliso loluNtu" (p. 31).</u>

   ▪ <u>Kuthiwa inkxaso ngokwezimali yophuhliso loluntu sele ikho: "isikhokelo sokuzuza inkxaso-mali kwiSebe lezeNtlalo-ntle nenkqubo yophuhliso loluntu…" (p. 31), nangani kunjalo iindawo ezininzi zoluntu azinolwazi malunga nale nkxaso-mali, kwaye azifikeleleki eluntwini ezi nkqubo zenkxaso-mali ngokuphathelele ekwenzeni isicelo sokuzuza le mali. (Ngokuqwalasela imeko yezinga leMfundo egqubayo emaphandleni).</u>

Eyona nto ibalulekileyo njengokuba sithethanje sobabini sihlel'apha, yinto yokuba inkam-nkam iphumile ephondweni, inkam-nkam iye kwa-SASSS i-agent ekuNdlunkulu ezakuphathwa nguNdlunkulu ngokwakhe. So, isebe ngoku liyatshintsha, liyasuka tu kwizinto zeenkam-nkam nezibonelelo lizakujongana nophuhliso apho kuza kujongwa uphuhliso lomntu ngamnye, olosapho kunye necommunity. Isebe ke lizakunik'ingqwalasela ke ngoku kuphuhliso kwaye siyiqhwabel'izandla loo nto kuba sicinga ukuba yeyona nto ibalulekileyo leyo yokuba abantu ukususela elusatsheni bafunde into yokuba izinto ziyasetyenzelwa, uyasebenza phambi kokuba ufumane nayo nantoni na kunokuba usuke ufumane inkam-nkam ube ungakhange uyisebenzele. So, thina ke sicinga ukuba olu tshintsho luqhubekayo kwisebe lubaluleke kakhulu nakwisidima sethu bantu nasekuphuhleni kwethu singabantu; ukanti nalaa nto ye-pride yethu uyabona, sibone ukuba singabantu abasebenzayo. Sowubona abantwana abaninzi ezitratweni, ubona abantwana abaninzi ezitrongweni babancinci sikholelwa ukuba loo nto ibangelwa luqhekeko kwiintsapho kuba azisenziwa ezaa zinto zazisenziwa zokuqeqeshwa komntu; uqeqesha njani ungenawo nomvuzo kuba akazi kukumamela nokukumamela lo mntwana kuba akukhonto ayifumanayo kuwe, uyifumana phaya esitalatweni bhethele kunakuwe. So ke, ukuba sinokuqala ngokuqinisa ifamily line kwaye siqinisekise ukuba ziyasebenza ukuze sifumane ingeniso, lo nto ingasincedisa kakhulu ekubuyiseni isidima sethu sakuqala.

Likwelo phulo ngoku isebe lokuchazela uluntu. Babanazo ke ii-slots kwirediyo kwaye kungokunje bajongene nokuvelisa iibrochures neencwadana. Siye sabacela ke ukuba bancede bazibhale ngesiXhosa kuba kaloku si-rural thina apha eMpuma Koloni ikakhulu kwaye bazame ukuzenza zibe lula ukuzifunda kangangoko kunokwenzeka ukwenzel'ukuba mhlawumbi ndingumama mna andikwazi kufunda umzukulwana wam ofunda ku-6 akwazi ukundifundela andicacisele. Nawo amagosa kwii-district offices ayaphuma aye ebantwini ayokubachazela ngolu tshintsho lukhoyo ukuba 'uyabona ke ngoku ukuba ufuna inkam-nkam ayisekho apha kweli sebe, izakubakho i-ofisi yakwaSouth African Social Security Services (SASSS) apha ecaleni apho kuzakuthethwa khona ngezinto zenkam-nkam; thina apha kwaSocial development sijongene nophuhliso ikakhulu'. So, sitsho ke ukuba kufuneka bayisasaze kangangoko kodwa ingqingetye apho mna ndicinga ukuba izakubakho, lutshintsho lwe-mindset yabantu kuba kaloku abant sebeqhele ukufumana la mali yenkam-nkam mahala bengakhange bayisebenzele. Ngoko ke, ukujika ke ngoku uthi yisebenzele kaloku ukuze uyifumane le mali kuza kuthath'ixesha kwaye ke asiyondlwan'iyanetha ukutshintsha ingqondo yomntu; ingqondo yinto enzima kakhulu ukutshintsheka.

5. <u>***Poverty Alleviation***</u>*: <u>The main focus of this programme is: "To alleviate levels of poverty through food security and income generation programmes in line with community development principles and practices" (p. 31).</u>*

- *It is said that financial assistance for community development has been made available: "Guide on how to access financial assistance from department of Social development community development programme…" (p. 31), but then many communities are not aware about such funding, and the funding procedures in terms of applying for the fund is not very user-friendly. (Considering the literacy levels mostly prevalent in rural areas).*

What is important now as we speak is that grants have been removed from the Provovince to be handled by SASSS, which is a National agent and they will be monitored and supervised by the National office. So, the department is now in a process of transformation, it is totally moving away from grants to development issues; a development of an individual, of a family and that of the community. The department will now focus on development and we applaud that because we think that that is the most important thing to do in that from a family circle people we learn to be self-sufficient, that you work for something and shy away from expecting to get grant that you did not even work for. So, we thin that the transformation that is taking place within the department is more important for our dignity and our development as human beings; it is also important even for our pride you see, to see that we are a working or moving nation. The reason you see many children on the streets today, as you see young children in prisons today we believe that the cause of that is the family breakdown because some of the things that used to be practiced to build a strong family have been neglected nowadays; how do you begin to discipline a child when you do not have an income because the child will not listen to you as there is absolutely nothing that he or she gets from you, he or she gets things better on the street than from you. So, if we can begin by strengthening the family line and make sure that they are functioning well to get an income then that can really helping revitalizing our human dignity which we had at the beginning.

The department is now on that crusade of informing people about this transformation. They do have some slots on the radios and they are now busy compiling and/or producingbrochures and booklets. We asked them to to write these in isiXhosa because we are mostly rural here in the Eastern Cape and that they must also try to make them as simple to read as possible so that maybe a child of an illiterate mother can be able to read and explain this to his or her mother. The district officers are also embarked on community visits to inform and explain about this change that ' if you want a grant, is no longer available in the department instead there will a South Africa Social Security Services (SASSS) office where all issues regarding grants will be dealt with; we as the department of Social Development we are focusing more on development'. So, we maintain that they should spread this information as much as they possible, but I think that greater challenge will be changing people's mindsets because I believe that people are now used to receiving grant money without sweating. Therefore, to change the rules now and say you have to work first before you anything will take time and changing a person's mindset is no child's play; a person's mind is a very difficult thing to change.

Follow-up comment:

Ewe kaloku abantu bethu sebeqhele laa nto yokuxhomekeka.

Ewe kaloku, so olu lucelo-mngeni olungummangaliso kakhulu kodwa ke zikhona iiprojects eseziqaliwe nathi sazibona. Isebe ke siyalixhesha ukuba mali-monitor(ishe) kuba kaloku kuyenzeka- iiprojects kudala zikhona aziqali ngoku, iqale iproject namhlanje kwiminyaka nje emibini kuphelile ngayo, kutyiwe imali kuba abantu abakwazanga kuzilawula ngandlela eyiyo. Kwaye ke noqeqesho sithi yeyonanto ibalulekileyo, abantu mabaqeqeshwe kwaye ba-mentor(ishwe), kufuneka bahlale

nabo ixesha elivakalayo kude kuqinisekwe ukuba bamile aba bantu; baphinde badityaniswe neendawo ezizakwenza ukuba ingawi iproject yabo. Umzekelo, ukuba uthi aba mama bafuya iinkukhu, isibhedlele salapha sizithengaphi iinkukhu! Ukuba silima imifuno, isibhedlele salapha siyithengaphi imifuno! Isebe lezolimo ke lizimisele ukuncedisa ezi projects, lizenzise uyilo okanye iplani ezakwenza bakwazi ukuvelisa le mifuno inyanga nenyanga kungabikho luqhawuko lwenzekayo. So, sizakusebenzisa into ekuthiwa yi-Cluster approach ngoku singasebenzi sodwa singuSocial Development, uHealth aebenze yedwa nelinye isebe lisebenze lodwa. Iyakusinceda ke into yokuba sisebenze siyi-cluster kuba kukho imiba eyi-cross-cutting njenge-AIDS, ifumana wonke umntu nakweliphi na izinga kwaye isebe lakwaHealth, elakwaSocial Development nelinye nelinye ukanti elakwa-Agriculture lona lisincedisa ekubeni silime sitye ukutya okunezakhamzimba yonke loo nto. Le nto ke ifunise ukuba isebe lingabi lisebe elime ekoneni yalo, kuloko sidibane sonke sibonisane ukuba singazilwa njani ezi zinto zilucelo-mngeni kuthi. Ndicinga ukuba iya kusinceda loo nto.

Yes, because our people are used to that culture of dependency.

Exactly, so this is a great challenge, but there are projects that are already in operation or in place and we have also seen them. We are now pushing the department to monitor these projects because what happens is that as there have always been projects, it is not the first that ther are projects; a project will start today and two years down the line it has collapsed, the funds have been mismanaged because people couldn't appropriately manage them. Training is also the most important thing, people must be trained and mentored and the department should stick with them until such time that they are able to properly manage on their own; they should also be assisted in partnerships with other sectors that will ensure that their projects are viable. For example, if you say these women are into chicken farming then where does the local hospital buy its chicken meat! If we plant vegetables then where does the local hospital buy its vegetables! The department of Agriculture is keen and prepared to assist these projects in things such as business plans and strategic plans that will ensure that the farmers are able to produce every month without any break. So, we are now going to use something called Cluster-approach so that we do not work on our own as Social Development and Health operates there alone as well as other departments. Working as a cluster will help us a lot because there are other issues that are cross-cutting such as HIV/AIDS which affects everyone in all categories and now the departments of Health, Social Development and others as well as the department of Agriculture which helps to plant and eat nutritious food and all that stuff. This requires then that each department should not stand on its corner, instead we should work together and see how we can overcome all these challenges that we are faced with. I think that will help us a lot.

4.5.2 Interview no. 2

4.5.2.1 Social assistance grants

4.5.2.1.1 Child support grant:

1.1 A Reproach: This grant is seen as encouraging young girls to fall pregnant so they can have access to this fund:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the failure aspects of the reproach by appealing to present adverse conditions surrounding the situation such as:

a. Children from poor backgrounds are the ones getting pregnant more often (SDI2, Q1.1A: 4-7)
b. The child support grant is not used to cater for the needs of children (SDI2, Q1.1A: 21-22)

2 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to minimize the failure aspects of the reproach in order to reframe its consequences by appealing to present benefits associated with the situation. He agrees that there are problems, but argues that there are benefits which might lead to future benefits if they are implemented successfully. He mentions the program of "moral regeneration" as one such benefit which will help in instilling some morals in the youth and ultimately decrease the percentage of teenage pregnancy (SDI2, Q1.1A: 14-21)

4.5.2.1.2 Disability grant:

1.2 A. Reproach: There are disabled people who are denied access to the disability grant:

1 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the reproach and the right to reproach by agreeing with the reproacher (SDI2, Q1.2A: 1-2 and 18-26)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in his excuse in order to disconnect self away from the reproach by presenting another source, which is

external from him that should bear causality for the failure event and its consequences. He mentions the department of Social Development, doctors who serve as evaluators of the applicants and area/ district officers as sources that should take responsibility for the reproach (SDI2, Q1.2A: 3-18 and 27-39)

1.2 B. Reproach: There are people who are not disabled, but they receive the disability grant:

1 <u>Denial:</u>

The interviewee is silently denying the reproach and the right to reproach (SDI2, Q1.2B: 1-11)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Past adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate blame by appealing to past adverse conditions. The excuse-giver mentions the department's decision to suspend about 80 000 beneficiaries last year as a means of curbing corruption around the issue of social grants as one such condition (SDI2, Q1.2B: 16-21)

1.2 C. Reproach: There are disabled people that have full-time jobs and still benefit from the disability grant:

1 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Higher values: Reframe moral principles: Fairness:</u>

The justifier argues that in this particular case, different standards ought to be applied in evaluating this situation. The policy of evaluating peoples' cases according to the means test is warranted in the interests of greater societal fairness (SDI2, Q1.2C: 1-13 and 16-19))

4.5.2.1.3. Old age grant:

1.3. A Reproach: Elderly people are treated in a rather inhumane manner in pay-points:

1. <u>Concession</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the failure event and the right to reproach when he agrees that conditions in pay-points are not conducive for elderly people (SDI2, Q1.3A: 1-4)

2. <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The interviewee is trying to minimize the undesirable consequences by arguing that there are positive benefits associated with the situation:

a. Committee members do visit the pay-points to see if all the necessary resources are available and make recommendations to the department of Social Development (SDI2, Q1.2A: 4-8)
b. Social grants will now be the responsibility of an independent agency, SASSA (SDI2, Q1.3A:

3. <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way he wants to disconnect himself, his department or his committee away from the reproach. He wants to put the causality of the act on some other source, external to himself. He identified the source as the service providers, All Pay and CPS (SDI2, Q1.3A: 10-22)

4. <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the severity of the reproach by appealing to the adversity of the current situation as far as the pay-points are concerned. He mentioned the following as such situations:

a. The services that have been agreed to with the service providers are not available in the pay-points (SDI2, Q1.3A: 22-25)

b. Some pay-points do not even have basic needs such as toilets and water (SDI2, Q1.3A: 27-28)

c. Most pay-points are not within a walking distance as a result people have to travel long distances to get to the pay-points (SDI2, Q1.3A: 32-33)

1.3. B Reproach: Some pensioners find that they have been removed from the beneficiaries list without even being informed about such a decision:

1. <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: past adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver focused attention on one major past negative condition that has hampered the delivery of this grant. He mentions the delays in processing of the applications as such hindrance (SDI2, Q1.3B: 2-5)

2. <u>Denial:</u>

The interviewee denies that there is such a thing as the removal of beneficiaries from the database without any reason (SDI2, Q1.3B; 5-8)

1.3. C Reproach: There are ghost beneficiaries in the list and their pensions are still paid out by the department:

1. <u>Excuse</u>

<u>Causal Excuse: null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver presents a null cause as an excuse as well as a means of disconnecting himself away from the failure event. He does this by presenting other sources that should take causality and responsibility for the failure. He mentions two such sources:

a. Negligence of the department in not detecting and addressing the continuous payment of grant to the deceased (SDI2, Q1.3C: 1, 3-18, 21-24)

b. Departmental officials that are corrupt (SDI2, Q1.3C: 2, 18-21)

4.5.2.1.4 Care of older people

1.4. A Reproach: There are very few centers and they are mostly dilapidated.

1. Excuse:

Defeasibility: Ignorance:

The interviewee used the excuse with focus on defeasibility by pleading ignorance on the issue of old-age homes. He argues that they have failed as the portfolio committee of Social Development to visit these centers to see if the funds transferred to these centers serve the purpose they are intended for (SDI2, Q1.4A: 2-6)

2. Justification:

Comparisons: Differentiation:

The justifier relies on the issue of social comparison by arguing that there are social group that are suffering even more losses than the issue of old-age homes:

- There are no old-age centers/ homes in the previously disadvantaged areas (SDI2, Q1.4A: 8-12)

3. Excuse:

Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:

The excuse-giver focused attention on a strategy in which he tried to mitigate the blame by concentrating on the adverse conditions that exist concerning the issue of old-age homes/centers. He mentions the following conditions:

a. These centers are only found in urban areas (SDI2, Q1.4A: 12-15)
b. They cater only for a very number of the citizens of the Province, about 10% (SDI2, Q1.4A: 16-18)
c. There are many people in rural areas who are being victimized and would have been protected through these centers (SDI2, Q1.4A: 19-25)

1.4. B Reproach: People living in these centers are expected to pay for their stay using their pensions:

1. <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Derogation of victim: attack the accuser:</u>

The justifier argues that people who are trying to legitimize the exploitation of the residents of these centers have no right because they are being subsidized by the government and the elderly people have been exempted from paying taxes (SDI2, Q1.4B: 2-7, 8-10)

4.5.2.2 Poverty alleviation

Reproach: Many communities are not aware of the financial assistance form the Department of Social Development's community development program, and the funding procedures are not user-friendly:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Agency: Joint production:</u>

The excuse-giver has employed an issue of joint production in his excuse to show that he is not the only one who should bear responsibility for the reproach; other sectors are also part of this challenge. He mentions that this issue cuts across all departments (SDI2, Q2: 1-4)

2 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

In an attempt to minimize blame and to reframe the consequences of the failure aspects of the reproach, the justifier appeals to present benefits associated with the situation. He mentions the following issues as such benefits:

a. There are people who are benefiting from the poverty alleviation programs (SDI2, Q2: 7-8)
b. There are awareness campaigns run by public representatives to inform people about these programs (SDI2, Q2: 9-11 and 61-62)

3 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate the blame and its consequences by appealing to present adverse conditions such as the following:

a. Allocations made by the department are insufficient and they are unable to cater for all the citizens of the Province (SDI2, Q2: 11-18, 19-22 and 68-77)
b. These programs are often monopolized by the few and end up not serving its purpose of alleviating poverty (SDI2, Q2: 24-33)
c. People are not yet well-informed about these programs and that which is due to them (SDI2, Q2: 34)
d. These projects are not monitored (SDI2, Q2: 42-50)
e. The department fails to account for the projects that have been funded (SDI2, Q2: 50-56)
f. Public representatives are not doing their job as efficiently as expected (SDI2, Q2: 63-64)

4. <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the failure event and the right to reproach when he agrees that most people are not aware of these programs and that there is a lot that still needs to be done concerning these programs on poverty alleviation (SDI2, Q2: 65-68)

1. <u>Language and style</u>

1.1 Syntactic level

a.   Length of sentences:

The account is characterized by long sentences. See *i.a.* Q1.1A: 1-7, 7- 10 and 14-19. These sentences range from four to seven lines. The length of the sentences is no an issue because isiXhosa has longer sentences in the spoken word than the written one.

b.   Complexity of sentences:

The sentences that have been used are quite complex because they have more than one verb. See *i.a.* Q1.1A: 1-10, the sentence has seven verbs: *sinokuyibamba, sithi, masipheliswe, sicingela, sizakubakhuthaza, wenze, ngokuthatha.*

c.   Standard of isiXhosa:

The interview has used a modern standard of the language which is mostly used in urban areas and it is not a dialect.

1.2 Lexical level

a.   Lexical diversity:

i.   Technical terms: the accounter has used some technical terms such as: *uNdlunkulu, ucelo-mngeni, i-constituency, i-public representatives, etc.*

ii.   English terms: the interviewee has used a lot of English terms maybe because it was difficult for her to find equivalent Xhosa terms as their deliberations are mostly conducted in English. These are the examples of such terms: *yi-moral regeneration program, i-disability grant, nee-area officers, ii-criteria, process, ikwi-service-level agreement, ine-negligence, ii-pay-points, ii-service providers, etc.*

iii.   Innovative Xhosa words: the interviewee has not used any innovative words.

 c. *Language imagery:*

i.   Simile:

Examples of similes that have been used by the accounter are the following:
"…njengesebe…" (Q1.2A: 35) that is "as the department".
 "…nanjengaphaya kwi-HIV/AIDS…" (Q2: 3) [just like the HIV/AIDS…]
"…njengamalungu…" (Q2: 35) [as members]

1.3 Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used a lot of equivocal language in her account such as:
"…andiqinisekanga ncam…" (Q1.2B: 28) which means "I am not very sure…"

"…andiqondi ukuba kungaba yinto elungileyo…" (Q1.4B: 8). this is translated as: I do not think that would be a right/ ethical thing to do…

"…mhlawumbi ke iphelele esithubeni." (Q1.3C: 20). This means that maybe the money disappears into thin air.

2. <u>Language use</u>

2.1 *Politeness:*

The interviewee has tried to avoid face-threatening acts by using accounts that minimize the level of face threat against the accuser such as excuses.

2.2 *Effectiveness:*

The accounter has used mostly two of the perceived effective accounts; justifications and excuses. There are basically two types of the effective justifications she has used in an attempt to persuade the reproacher: justifications that appeal to higher values (SDI1, Q2: 3-8) and those that appeal to future benefits of the perceived negative situations (SDI1, Q1.1: 11-16; Q1.3A: 18-27; Q1.3B: 1-12; Q1.3C: 3-10 and Q2: 13-22)

There are six justifications that have been employed:

Derogation of victim: attack accuser	1
Minimization: present benefits	3
Higher values: fairness	1
Comparisons: differentiation	1

Excuses that have been employed are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances by pointing out that the accounter and her committee is actually constrained by external circumstances (SDI1, Q1.3A: 4-9; Q1.3B: 23-31)

The accounter is working so hard to save her face to the disadvantage of the reproacher because using justification is actually undermining down the importance of the negative act and the legitimacy of the reproach. Unintentional as that might be perceived, this strategy has actually threatened the reproacher's positive face and the accounter's negative face.

There is a total of eleven excuses that have been used:

Causal excuse: null cause	3
Defeasibility: ignorance	1
Mitigation: present adverse conditions	5
Mitigation: past adverse conditions	1
Agency: joint production	1

2.3 *Power of speech style:*

The interviewee has decided to use strategies that mitigate the blame and those in which he tries to disconnect himself away from the failure event by presenting another source that should bear the causality for the reproach. She has also used justification with focus on the minimization of the undesirable consequences by appealing to present and future benefits associated with the reproaches.

Interview no: 2
iSebe lezeNtlalo-ntle

Isinikezelo sentetho yomthetho neyokuzinikela koMphathiswa weSebe loPhuhliso lwezeNtlalo (2004-2007), ludandalazisa oku: "Injongo…ukuthatha inxaxheba kuphuhliso lobomi banantu abasokolayo, ababuthathaka, abasweleyo nabo bajongelwe phantsi beli Phondo ngokumisela inkonzo yezentlalo eluqilima, ebandakanyayo nephuhlileyo" (p.2).

Department of Social Welfare
The statement of policy and commitment by the Hon. MEC for the Department of Social Development (2004-2007), states: "The aim is to contribute to the improvement of quality of life of the poor, the vulnerable, the needy and the marginalized citizens of this province through a comprehensive, integrated and developmental social service system" (p.2).

First reproach: p. 15

Iingxaki ezimalunga nezibonelelo zeNtlalo

Yinjongo yeSebe loPhuhliso lweNtlalo "ukuphuhlisa ulawulo lwezibonelelo ngokuthathat izicelo zesibonelelo, iintlawulo, ukugcinwa kweenkcukacha zabo bahlawulwayo kunye nohlenga-hlengiso lweenkqubo".

Isebe loPhuhliso lweNtlalo luneenkqubo zesibonelelo sabantwana ezinenjongo: "Yokulawula nokunikezela izibonelelo zeNtlalo *kubongi/abagcini* babantwana abaminyaka ingaphantsi kwesixhenxe… abaphuma kwiintsapho ezinemivuzo engaphantsi kwama- R800 ukya kuma- R1100" (p.28).

Reproach no: 1.1 A on p. 16

1. Ingxaki ngesi sibonelelo kukuba sibonwa njengesikhuthaza amantombazanana ukuba akhulelwe ukuze azuze kule mali yesibonelelo, xa sijonga izinga eliphezulu lokukhulelwa kwamantombazana afikisayo kule mihla.

Em…h. okokuqala mandiwuphendule lo mbuzo ngokuthi esi sibonelelo sabantwana sinazo izinto esinokuzigxeka kuso kodwa ke ngaxeshanye ayithethi loo nto into

yokuba masibe singapheliswa kuba njengokuba ubusele utshilo kukho iintsapho ezisweleyo ezingathathi ntweni; kwezi ntsapho zisweleyo ke zingathathi ntweni, bayakhulelwa abantwana bezo ntsapho, so ke xa sinokuthi masipheliswe esi sibonelelo kuba sikhuthaza ukuba aphinde abuye aphinde abuye aphinde kuzakwenzeka ntoni. Ukuba ke sinokuyibamba apho sithi masipheliswe ngenxa yokuba sicingela ukuba sizakubakhuthaza kuphela, andiqondi ukuba urhulumente uyakube wenze into elungileyo ngokuthatha loo position. Eh…h silungile isibonelelo sibekho kuba ke bayakusoloko bebakhona abantwana abasweleyo abazakukhulelwa babeleke abantwana. Umbuzo ke uthi: ukuba ngaba sithe masiphele esi sibonelelo bayakuncedwa ngantoni aba bantwana? Into endicinga ukuba yeyona ilungileyo, yinto yokuba sithi sikhona njalo esi sibonelelo kuqine ezinye iinkqubo zikarhulumente. Selukhona ke uhlelo olukhoyo lukarhulumente ekuthiwa yi-moral regeneration programme, makusuke kuqiniswe ke ezo ntlelo zemoral regeneration ukwenzel'ukuba abantwana aba bakhuthazwe indlela ethile yokuphila ezakwehlisa izinga eli lokukhulelwa kwabo kunokuba kuthiwe makugqitywe isibonelelo esi kuba kusithiwa sibakhuthaza ukuba bazale qho. Ndithi makuqiniswe iinkqubo ezi zizakubasusa kwimeko yokuba bazifumane bekhulelwa, ndicinga ngolo hlobo mna kunokuba kuthiwe masiphele. Ewe zona zikhona iingxaki zazo, enye yazo yeyokuba zikhona iintsolo zokuba bathi sele beyifumene le mali bangayisebenzisi kakuhle. Nalapho ke awunasigqibela loo nto, ukusukapho ungathi ungurhulumente wenze iindlela zokuqinisekisa ukuba bayisebenzisela oko isekelwe kona kuphela.

1. *Problems with Social assistance Grants*

It is one of the objectives of the Department of Social Development "to improve administration of grants in terms of taking applications, payments, capturing, filing and diversion programmes" (p.28).

The Department of Social Development has a programme of Child Support Grant with the aim: "To administer and manage Social grants to care-givers of children under the age of 7…whose families in household income is below R800 and R1100" (p.28).

1. *The problem with this grant is that it is seen as encouraging young girls to fall pregnant so they get access to this fund, considering the rapid increase in teenage pregnancy nowadays.*

Em…h let me answer this question by firstly that there are things that there are things that we can criticize about this grant but at the same time that does not mean that this grant must be eradicated because as you have mentioned there are families that are poor; teenagers continue getting pregenant within these poor families and so if we say this grant must be phased out because it encourages people to continue getting pregnant then what will happen. If we can conclude that it must be abolished based on the belief that it encourages young girls to fall pregnant, government would not being doing the right thing. Eh… h it is good to continue making the grant available because there will always be poor children who continue giving getting pregnant and give birth. Now the question is: if we say let us phase out this grant then how will these children be assisted? There is a programme in place called moral regeneration, let us then strengthen those structures of moral generation so that these teenagers can be encouraged in mora standards of living that will help to reduce the percentage of teenage pregnancy instead of phasing out the child support grant. I maintain that we should strengthen such structures to help them shy away from activities that will make them fall pregnant, that is my personal opinion instead of saying let us do waway with the grant. Yes there are problems with this grant because there are allegations that when they receive this money they do not use it

on the purpose for which it is meant. Even then, you are not going to phase it out because of that instead as the government you can come up with means of ensuring that these funds are used specifically for the purposes they were intended for.

Comment on second part of reproach no: 1.1 B on p. 16

Enkosi tata, usele wawubetha nalo wesibini umba kwakwesi sibonelelo sabantwana, lo wokungasetyenziswa kakuhle kwale mali apho ufumanisa into yokuba abantwana bayaqhubeka besokola kodwa imali yabo yenkxaso esuka kurhulumente iyaphuma inyanga nenyanga.

Thank you Sir, you have also answered the second question which relates to the proper use this money where you find that there are children who continue suffering even though there are beneficiaries of this grant.

Second reproach: p. 16

***Isibonelelo sokukhubazeka*:** uMphathiswa uvakalisa ukuba isibonelelo sijolise: "ekulawuleni nasekunikezeleni **ngokukuko** izibonelelo zeNtlalo kwabo bakhubazekileyo. Abo bangaphezulu kweminyaka engama- 18 nabagunyaziswe yingxelo kagqirha ukuba bakhubazekile ngabo abazuza isibonelelo sokukhubazeka" (p. 28).

Reproach no:1.2 A on p. 17

1. Kukho abantu ekungathandabuzekiyo ukuba bakhubazekile kodwa bangalifumani ithuba lokuzuza esi sibonelelo.

Ndi…ndiyakuvumela kakhulu kuloo nto, bakhona nyhani abantu abakhubazekileyo ofumanisa ukuba abaxhamli ekufanele ukuba baxhamle. Eh…h zezo cases ke nkosazana ezidla ngokubakho kuba ke eh…h kuba ke iprocess yalo nto yeyesebe likaSocial Development idibene noogqirha nee-area officers zeedistricts phaya ezantsi. Kodwa ke thina njengoonopolitika siyakwazi ukufumana izikhalazo ezingokokuthi umntu akasifumani isibonelelo ekubeni efanele ukuba uyasifumana isibonelelo. Xa esiza kuwe umntu akubonise into ethi isebe lithe labona into yokuba awufanelekanga ukuba uqhubeke usifumana esi sibonelelo kuba ngokwengxelo kagqirha ungumntu ongakwazi into yokuba usebenze, abe ke ngaloo ndlela uSocial Development uyakukhupha kwesi sibonelelo. Ndinecase apha mna yemeko elolo hlobo eyomntwana obefudula esifumana esi sibonelelo kodwa kungekudala nje wafumana into evela esebeni imkhupha kwesi sibonelelo ngelithi ingxelo kagqirha ithe angakwazi ukuba asebenze. Umbuzo esibe nawo ke thina zisipoliticians naxa besisenza utyelelo siye sifune ukuya kwisebe ukuya kujonga ukuba bekutheni na phofu malunga nomcimbi ololu hlobo. Le ke yicase yomntwana obefumana esi sibonelelo ngaphambili wasuka wafumana le nto ithi uyakhutshwa kwesi sibonelelo abe ebekade esifumana ngaphambili. Ngoku ke ezi ziicases ezilolu hlobo ezi ndithetha ngazo kuba lo mntwana wokuqala xa bendizama ukumncedisa ndisenza uphando nasemva ekhayeni lakhe ndafumanisa into yokuba koluya sapho lwakowabo ngabantwana ndicinga ukuba bathathu, ungomnye waba babini abasafundayo abanabazali bebesele bexhomekeke kule mali yokuba bafunde yena wenza u-Grade 11 udadewabo omncinci uku-Grade 6. So, lo mntwana ukwidilemma yokuba igrant abesoloko eyifumana idisability grant yalo mlenze wakhe iphelile ngoku akazi ukuba 1) makatye ntoni, 2) makanxibe njani, 3) abe esikolweni uzakuqhuba njani. Ziicases ezilolo hlobo ke ezi ndikunika nje umzekelo ocacileyo weemeko ezikhoyo. Eziswe kum ke ngoku njengokuba uyibona ilapha nje ndizakukhe ndiye pha kwaSocial Development kuba ndiza nezi-facts ke ngoku zokuba njengokuba lo mntwana eyinkedama nje kwaye uyafunda mhlawumbi isebe licinga into yokuba aqhubeke njani na nobomi bakhe nesikolo okwesibini. So,

unyanisile ke xa usithi zikhona iingxaki ezilolo hlobo kodwa ke indlela yokujongana nazo kukuba 1) siye kwisebe on a one-on-one basis, 2) to influence iLegislature le ukuba isebe izame ukuhlenga-hlengisa umgaqo-siseko walo kwezi zinto kuba nabo bathi bayenza le nto ngokulandela umgaqo-siseko wabo njengesebe. Kodwa ke thina bantu bazii-public representatives xa sifumana iingxaki ezilolu hlobo siqala ngokuzibuza ukuba ingaba umgaqo-siseko lo unik'ingqwalasela kweziphi kanye iingxaki kuba yicase yomntwana lo oyinkedama ofuna ukufunda kodwa ngoku uphucwa into abexhomekeke kuyo; zezi ngxaki sijamelene nazo ke ezi.

2. **_Disability grant:_** _The Hon. MEC argues that this grant is intended: "To_ **_effectively_** _manage and disburse Social grants to the disabled. Qualifying adults above the age of 18 who are medically diagnosed as disabled receive disability grant" (p. 28)._

There are people who are visibly disabled but are denied access to this grant.

I…I strongly agree with you on that because there are really disabled people who are supposed to benefit from this grant, but are not benefiting. Eh…h such are cases because eh…h because that is a departmental process including doctors and area managers or officers at the district level. But, as politicians we do get these complaints a person does not get the grant when he or she is supposed to get it. A person will come to you with something from the department saying that the department has realized that person cannot continue getting the grant because according to the doctor's report he or she is fit to work, and in the way the department of Social Development is deleting you from its system or beneficiaries' list. I have a similar case here with me of a child who has been receiving this grant and all of a sudden the department decided to strike off the system because the doctor's report says he is capable t work. The question that we had as politicians as we were making community visits, we went to the department to find out what happens with such cases. This is the case of a child who has been receiving the grant and out of the blue he received a notice that he is being removed from the beneficiaries' list whereas he has been getting it before. I am talking about such cases because when I ws trying to assist this child, making background check, I discovered that in that family they are children, I think they are three and he is the second and they are orphans. They have dependant on ths grant to survive as he is one of the two who are still at school; he is in Grade 11 and his younger sister in Grade 6. He is faced with that dilemma now because the grant he has been getting for his non-functioning leg has been cut-off, and he does not know 1) what are they going to eat, 2) what to wear and 3) how to continue with his studies. I am just giving a clear example of the cases that we are dealing concerning this grant. This is the case that has been brought to my attention as you see it here infront of me, now I still have to go to the department of social Development with these facts that I have just given you that now that this child is an orphan and he is still at school how does the department expect him to cope with his life and secondly his schooling or education. So, you are quite right when you say there are problems of that nature, but the way to deal with them is 1) to go the department on a one-to-one basis and 2) to influence the Legislature in ways of transforming or reorganizing the departmental policy as far as these issues are concerned because they claim that they are binded by their departmental policy. But, as public representatives when we such complaints are brought to our attention we ask which problems are these policies addressing, because this is a case of an orphan, a child who wants to get educated and now they are reaping him off the only one thing he was dependant on; these are the problems that we are faced with.

Reproach no: 1.2 B on p. 17

Kukwakho nabantu abangakhubazekanga kodwa abafumana isibonelelo sokukhubazeka.

Ndingathi ke kwelo cala zimbini izinto esinokuzijongwa; kuphakathi kokuba uyifumana fraudulently lo…lo…loo eso sibonelelo loo mntu into ke ngoku ezakusisa ekubeni ugqirha owayedlule kuye xa kwakusenziwa izicelo wayenyaniseke kangakanani na kuba ke zibekiwe iicriteria oogqirha abasebenzela phezu kwazo kwaye ke nomgaqo-siseko uyatsho uthi unikwa esi sibonelelo sedisability; kukho into yokukhubazeka kwexeshana noko kusisigxina nalapho imigaqo yezi ntlobo zokukhubazeka ibekiwe. Ngoko ke into yeentloko andiqondi ukuba iyangena nakwenye yala macandelo mabini kuba ukukhubazeka kwethutyana kumnika umntu isibonelelo kangangeenyanga ezintandathu aze aphinde ahlolwe umntu ukujonga ukuba imeko isavuma ukuba abe uyaqhubeka ukuyifumana na le mali. Andiqondi ukuba ukhona umntu onokugula yintloko kangangeenyanga ezintandathu mhlawumbi ngesele efile loo mntu xa enokugula yintloko ixesha elide kangako. Kufuneka sijonge ke kuloo mba wokufumaneka kwale mali ngondlela-mnyama. Andiqondi ke ukuba kufanele ukuba isenjalo loo nto, ifunise ke ngoku loonto ukuba isebe lithathe amanyathelo nalo kuba ndicinga ukuba yiyo loo nto eyenze into yokuba isebe kulo nyaka uphelileyo ibe ndicinga ukuba kufanel'ukuba neva emaphepheni ukuba an outcry apho kwanqunyaniswa ngaphezu kwama- 80 000 abantu abebexhamla abaye banqunyaniswa ukuze kuthiwe mazifake izicelo ngokutsha zonke kuba bebefuna ukukhangela kanye abantu abaxhamla ngokungekho mthethweni abasele belapha kwisystem ukuba bangene njani na. Le nto ke ndikubonisa yona yenye yemiphumela yalo nkqubo apho kuthiwe kwanqunyaniswa inani elikhulu kangangoko labantu abaxhamlayo kuba befuna ukuhluza ukuze kushiyeke abo bafanelekileyo kuphela. Ngoko ke, asingebagxeki ke abesebe kuloo process yokuba bahluze ukuze bakwazi ukushiyeka nabantu abafanel'ukuxhamla kwesi sibonelelo, babuyele ecaleni abantu abasixhaphazayo bengafanelakanga.

2   There are also people who are not disabled but receive the disability grant.

In that issue I would say there are two things that need to be considered; the case of getting this…this grant fraudulently something which brings us to whether how honest the doctor who issued the report was because there are standard criteria hich should be followed as guidelines, and there is also the policy clarifies that this grant is divided into temporal and permanent disability; both temporal and permanent disablility grant measures are there. Therefore, things such as headaches I do not think they fit in any of these categories because the temporal disability grant gives a person the grant for six months and after that the person should go for reevaluation to see if the situation permits the continuation or not. I do not think there is a person who can have a headache for a period of six months; maybe that person would have been long dead to suffer from a headache for such a long time. We should then focus on the fraudulent means of accessing this grant. I do not think that that problem still exist because I think this is one of the reasons why the department has decided to suspend more than 80 000 beneficiaries last year, I am sure you heard about that outcry on the media; these beneficiaries had to reapplybecause the department wanted to sift these fraudulent beneficiaries and see how they got on their system. So, what I am trying to show you are the consequences of that process where a huge number of beneficiaries was suspended because they wanted to make sure those they have in their system are the deserving ones only. We can blame the department for that process ecause they are merly trying to sift their beneficiaries to ensure that inly the deserving are benefing and fraudsters are kicked out permanently.

Follow-up reproach:

Kule meko yooggirha ke ngoku ingaba isebe alinabo ooggirha abajongana nezi meko okanye umntu usuke aziyele nakowuphi ugqirha afuna ukuya kuye?

Apho ke andizikukunika mpendulo echanekileyo ncam kuba andiqinisekanga ncam, ikwalisebe ebelinokukuncedisa. Kulwazi lwam oluncinane kwiconstituency endisebenza phantsi kwayo, bakhona ooggirha ekuthiwa ngabavunyiweyo lisebe lakwaSocial Development ukuba bajongane nezi meko, kodwa ekuqaleni ngaphambili kwakusithiwa ezi meko ziphathwa kuphela zii-district surgeons ngoko. Mhlawumbi ke isebe liye labona into yokuba idistrict surgeon inye ingangakwazii ukumelana nenani lezicelo; yakwazi ke ngoku ukuthi ivulele nabanye ooggirha. Kubonakala bekhona ooggirha abavunyiweyo lisebe ukujongana nezi meko. Andiqondi ukuba ke nguye nawuphi na ugqirha, ngokwazi kwam ingathi kukho ooggirha abathile abavunyiweyo lisebe kodwa ke oyena mntu unokukunika olona lwazi lungqalileyo ngalo mba ikwalisebe lakwaSocial Development.

In this issue of doctors, doesn't the department have its own approved doctors to deal with this process of evaluation or people are free to go to any doctor?

I wil not be able to give you a direct answer there because I am not sure about that, it is the department that can give you the correct answer. According to the little knowledge that I have concerning the constituency that I serve is that there are doctors which are approved by the department of Social Development to look at these cases, but it is said that before these cases were handled by the district surgeons. Maybe the department has realized that one district surgeon cannot handle all the applications and it then decided give this opportunity to other doctors. Apparently there are doctors approved by the department to look after these cases. I do not think that it is any doctor; what I know is that it should one of those approved doctors, but the department of Social Development can give you a direct answer and information to that issue.

Reproach 1.2 C: p. 17

Kuthiwani ngabantu abakhubazekileyo abafumana isibonelelo sokukhubazeka kodwa babe besebenza kwezinye iindawo, ukutsho oko aba ngabantu abakhubazekileyo babe abangaswelanga ncakasana?

Kuzakufuneka ke ngoku sibuyele ekuthini kakade kakade umgaqo-siseko wesebe uthini na kuloo nto. Umntu ophangelayo njengam nawe ekhubazekile akafanelanga kuxhamla kwesi sibonelelo. Eh…h isebe likaSocial Development ngokomgaqo-siseko walo, ezi zibonelelo lizikhuphela abantu ngokusebenzisa into ekuthiwa yi-means test. So, ngaphandle kokuba ugqirha ethe lo mntu ukhubazekile, asikuphe ngokwecriteria esetyenziswayo leyo ukujonga ukuba umntu makasifumane isibonelelo; yeyokuqala le yokuba ukhubazekile uze uyidibanise nento yokuba zithini na iimeans zakhe. Ukuba ngaba kuyacaca ukuba lo mntu unazo iimeans zokuba abe angaphila ekhubazekile olo hlobo ayiweli kwinantsingana i…i…i…net yeebeneficiaries. Awunakuze uthi uyititshala usebenza ukwazi ukufika eklasini ufundise ufumane imali efana neyam ndingakhubazekanga kuthiwe uzakufumana loo benefit. Isekelwe kuphela abo bantu bangathathi ntweni abangenawukwazi ukuzimela. Nalapho ke i…imeans test abantu abanokukunika iinkcukacha ezipheleleyo ukuba ziintoni na abazijongayo xa bekubeka kwimeans test ikwalisebe lona linokutsho ukuba xa sikubeka kwimeans test sijonga le nale nale nale. Usengakhubazeka kodwa imeans test ikulahle ngaphandle kuba mhlawumbi ekhubazekile nje uyisemkhulu wamshiya nevenkile kwaye ivenkile imnika imali engaphezulu nakule yakho ube usebenza, akazuxhamla ke ngenxa yeso sizathu.

What about disabled people who received disability grant and holding jobs at the same time, that is, disabled people who are not really needy.

We will then have to go back to the departmental policy and see what it says about about that. A disabled person who is working just like you and me is not supposed to get this grant. Eh…h according to the policy of the department of Social Development, these grants are issued according to what is called a 'means test'. So, without the doctor's report confirming that this person is indeed disabled, a eport issued according to the criteria that is used to evaluate if the persn should get the grant or not; the fact that the erson is disabled is the first one followed by what is stipulated by what is said by the means test. If it happens that the person has means of surviving even though he or she is disabled then she or he does not fall on the…the… what you call… the beneficiaries net. If you are a teacher, working and able to get to the classroom and teach, get a salary that is equivalent to that of a person who is not disabled and at the same time receive a disability grant; that does not happen. This grant is only meant for those who are incapable of earning a living; people who are incapable of doing things for themselves. Even there, people who can give more details as to what it that they consider whendoing the means test, is the department as they can tell you that we look at this and this and that. You can be disabled, only to be rejected or declined by the means test because even though he or she is disabled, his or her grandfather left him or her with supermarket which gives him or her an amount which is ar more than what a working person earns; he or she will not beneit from the grant because of that reason.

Reproach 1.3: p. 17

Abolupheleyo: iSebe lithi injongo yesi sibonelelo: "Kukulawula nokunikezela **ngokugqibeleleyo** isibonelelo seNtlalo kwabo bolupheleyo. Abo bafanele ukuzuza esi sibonelelo ngoomama amaneminyaka engama- 60 kunye nootata abaneminyaka engama- 65 nangphezulu ubudala bona bathi baphumelele uvavanyo lokufumana le mali nabathi bayifumane **ngethuba"** (p. 28).

Old age: The Department says the aim of this grant is:"To **effectively** *manage and disburse Social grants to the aged. Qualifying women at age 60 and men at age 65 and older who meet the means test receive their grants **timeously"** (p. 28).*

Reproach 1.3 A: p.17

Indlela abathi abantu abadala baphathwe ngayo kwiindawo zokwamkela lisikizi. Kwezinye iindawo zokwamkela abantu abadala abazuza inkam-nkam kufuneka balinde ngaphandle kweevenkile iiyure ezininzi baze bathi xa befika abo bamkelisayo ekugqibeleni beme kwimigca emide kwakhona. Azikho izakhiwo ezifanelekileyo zokujongana ngokufanelekileyo nabantu abadala.

Kunjalo nkosazana kwaye ke le yingxaki enkulu elucelo-mngeni isebe elijongene nayo ingakumbi kwezi ndawo sithi zii-previously disadvantaged communities ezi zethu zasezilalini wena osuka eSterkspruit nam endisuka eMzimkhulu. Olu lucelo-mngeni lukhulu kakhulu, kwaye ke unyaka nonyaka siyaphuma siye ebantwini siyiLegislature ikakhulu lekomiti yakwaSocial Development siye kutyelelo esilwenzayo to identify iipay-points ezi uthetha ngazo sikhe sizijonge size sibuye nengxelo sithi kwisebe ukuba khanike niyojonga le nale naleya. Ndingekadluli ke apho, ngokomgaqo-siseko karhulumente ezi zinto uzithethayo ndikholelwa kwelokuba azenzeki. Okokuqala njegokuba usazi ukuba urhulumente unecontract nezi service providers, ooCPS (Cash Paymaster Services) ikhona ke nale ingu-All-Paymaster yona esebenza ezidolophini; ngokweservice-level agreement yabo norhulumente ichaziwe into yokuba 1) kwiipay-points amanzi kufanele ukuba akhona,

yiservice provider efanele ukuqinisekisa ukuba amanzi akhona kuloo pay-point, 2) kufanele baqinisekise ukuba izindlu zangasese zikhona, ikwiservice-level agreement loo nto. 3) kufanele kubekho uphahla isheiter ukutsho oko njengokuba sewutshilo, 4) kufuneka kuqinisekiswe ngokhuseleko kuba kukho ezi zinto zokuba kusuke kungene abantu bephethe imipu, ngoko ke kufuneka kuqinisekisiwe ukuba aba bantu xa beyokwamkela phaya bakhuseleke ngokufanelekileyo ekubeni bangangenelwa bathathelwe iimali zabo. Zonke ezi zinto zihamba ngokwezivumelwano zala service-level agreement ekungenwe kuyo lisebe neeservice providers. Ngelishwa ke njengokuba ndisitsho nje olu lucelo-mngeni olukhulu kakhulu kuba kaloku siyaya phaya siyokujonga ezi zinto sisuke sifumanisa ukuba azikho altogether kwezinye iipay-points ezi zinto zonke, kwenye ufumanise ukuba ukhuseleko lukhona bakhona oonogada abaqeshwe yile nkampani kodwa ufumanise ukuba ikhona iholo abamkelela kuyo kodwa akukho zindlu zangasese akukho namanzi. Eh…h yimeko ke le esisazama-zamana nayo siyele komiti kaSocial Development ukuthi kwisebe yenzani iiservice providers zenu zihlangabezane nezivumelelwano ekufikelelwe kuzo ngokwezinto ekufuneka zibekhona kwezi pay-points. Okokugqibela enye irequirement yeyokuba aba bantu kufuneka benze into yokuba iipay-points zabo zibe kumgama ohambekayo, zisekho ke iindawo apho ufumanisa ukuba uthi umntu emdala abe esamkela kude; zezo zinto ke esithi isebe kusafuneka lizilwe kunye nezi service providers. Kodwa ke ngoku iyaphuma lento yokwamkelwa kwezinkam-nkam kwisebe iyakwinto apha ekuthiwa yiSouth African Social Security Agency, uSASSA. Le nto ke ithetha ukuba iya-outsourc(wa) nguNdlunkulu wesebe lezeNtlalo-ntle uyayikhupha emaphondweni ukuba iqhutywe yile-agency. Asazi ke ukuba yona le agency ukuba mhlawumbi izawukwazi na ukuzilandelela ezi zinto sithe ipay-point nganye ifanele ukuba ibenazo, sizawubona ngokuye ixesha lihamba ukuba uSASSA yena uzawukwazi na ukuzisombulula ezi zinto bezifudula ziyingxaki apha esebeni.

That is true and this is a major problem which is a challenge the department is faced especially in these places known as the previously disadvantaged communities such as Sterkspruit and Mzimkhulu. This is a major challenge and every year as the Legislature particularly the Social Development committee, we go around to identity these pay-points that you are mentioning and report back to the department and make recommendations. Before I continue, looking at the constitution I believe that the things you are mentioning do not take place. Firstly, as you know the government has a contract with these service providers such as CPS (Cash Paymaster Service) and All Paymaster which is focused in urban areas and according to their service-level agreement with the government it is stated that 1) water should be provided in all the pay-points and the service provider should ensure that that service is available, 2) there should be proper ablution systems and that is also in the service-level agreement, 3) there must be shelter as you have mentioned, 4) security has to be made available because sometimes armed criminals go to the pay-points and people must be protected from being robbed of their monies. All these things are in the service-level agreement which has been entered into by the department and the service providers. Unfortunately, this is a challenge because when we get to there we discover that all these things are not available in some pay-points. In some pay-points you will find that there is security in a form of security guards and that there is a hall where they are accommodated, but find that there are no toilets and there is no water. This is a situation with which we are still battling as the committee of Social Development, to persuade the department that is must ensure that their service providers stick to the contract that has been agreed on concerning the pay-points. Lastly, one of the requirements was to ensure that pensioners do not travel long distance to the pay-points and it is till one of the things that the department must address with the service providers. However, social grants are now being removed

from the department of Social Development and they will be handled by the South African Social Security Agency, SASSA. This means that social grants are being out-sourced by the National department of Social Development to this agency. We do not know whether this agency will be able to adhere to the desires that we have for the pay-points; we will see as time goes by if SASSA will be able to solve all these things that have since been a challenge in the department.

Reproach 1: 3 B: p. 18

Abanye babantu abadala barhoxisiwe kuluhlu lwabo bazuza inkam-nkam kungekho sizathu sibambekayo nje kwaphela. Emva kokulinda iiyure ezininzi ukuze bazuze isibonelelo, abanye abantu bayajikwa kuba kusithiwa amagama abo awekho kuluhlu emva kokwamkela inkam-nkam iminyaka ngeminyaka. Barhoxiswa kolu luhlu ngaphandle kwesilumkiso okanye ukuqhakamshelana nabo ngokufanelekileyo. Kukho uvakalelo lokuba abantu abadala banxunguphaliswa nje ngamabom yile meko yesibonelelo.

Andinalo ulwazi lwengxaki elolo hlobo ke kodwa ke andinakuthi ayikho. Ingxaki ebesifudula siba nayo ibikade iyile yeedelays phakathi kwexesha lokufaka izicelo zesibonelelo nexesha lokuzifumana, lolona celo-mngeni obelusoloko lukhona ke olu obelusongeza kwezi besikade sizilwa apha kwisebe. Eyokuba i…i…iphume phakathi andikaze ndidibane nayo ngoko ke ndingangakwazi ukuhlomla kakhulu ngayo into yokuba umntu athi sele engenile kwisystem kuphinde kuthiwe akavelanga, hayi andikho aware ngaleyo into.

I have no knowledge of such problems, but I am not going to deny it. The only problem that we have been experiencing is the delays with the processing of applications and this has been adding on some other challenges that we have since been trying to resolve within the department. I have never come across such a problem and as such I cannot be able to comment much on it.

Reproach 1.3 C: p. 18

Kukwakho nabantu ekudala basweleka kodwa amagama abo asavela kolu luhlu. Akukho mntu waziyo ukuba le mali iyaphi na okanye ngubani na lo uzuzayo.

Naleyo ke iphethe izinto ezimbini, inegligence yesebe eh..h mandiyibeke icace into yokuba iphethe inegligence okanye icorrupt intentions zabantu abathile kuba andiqondi into yokuba kule nyanga umntu eswelekile ingaphuma imali yakhe iphinde ijike kuba kaloku xa sele eswelekile ifanele ijike ibuye; iphinde iphinde kwinyanga yesibini ijike ibuye andiyiqondi into yokuba isebe kutheni ingabi nambuzo othi le mali emane ijika kude kube kabini ijikela ntoni na, kuba kaloku bekufanele ukuba yenza uphando kuba kakade bekufanele ukuba inazo iinkcukacha zeebeneficiaries in terms of inext of kin ukufumanisa. Sibe nazo ke ezi cases zaliqela eh…h kodwa ke asikho esebeni ukuphanda ukuba imeko elolo hlobo igqibela itheni na, kodwa ke le yimeko esiyibiza ngokuba yinegligence okanye imeko enokuxhamlisa abantu abathile ngokuthi imane iphuma imali sithi thina ijikile kanti ayijikanga. Kodwa ke nalowo ngumba ofanele uphandwe banzi ukuba iye ithi xa ibuye amatyeli ade abe maninzi isebe liye lithini na ngemeko elolo hlobo kuba kaloku ukuba iyabuya mhlawumbi iinyanga zide zibe ntandathu, loo nto ingatheth'into yokuba isebe linegligent kakhulu xa ingamane ithumela imali ibuye kwinyanga yokuqala iphinde iyithumele ibuya iinyanga zide zibentandathu ingazibuzi mbuzo. Eyona nto ke singakrokra ngayo ngaphaya kuthi eMzimkhulu sithi siyanuka kukuthi mhlawumbi inokuba iyaphuma kodwa mhlawumbi ke kuba ifika efile la mntu xa kufanele ukuba ibuye ingabuyeli apha mhlawumbi ke iphelele esithubeni, isenokuba yenye ingcaciso ke leyo kuba ke eneneni andiqondi ukuba isebe xa ngaba li-efficient ngokwaneleyo imali ingabuya

amatyeli angaphezu kwesibini ingabuzi mbuzo ukuba kanti le mali ijikayo umntu wayo wayaphi na.

That is also two-fold. I must make it clear that there is negligence within the department and corrupt intentions of certain individuals because I do not understand how a grant can be issued for someone who is deceased months in a row. I do not understand why the department is not probing that because when the money is returned it is supposed to find out from relatives as it is supposed information of the next-of-kin of its beneficiaries. We have had a lot of these cases, but we are not there in the department to investigate about what happens to such incidents. This is what we refer to as negligence or a situation that benefits certain individuals who snatch the money fraudulently. This situation needs to be investigated thoroughly as to what the department does about such a case because if it reversed several occasion then that is an indication that the department is indeed negligent. We might suspect that the money might be issued, but never returned to the department and in that case. This could be another explanation because I do not think an efficient department would allow such a situation without enquiring more about it.

Reproach: 1.4: p. 19

Ukunakekela abantu abadala: uMphathiswa ukhankanya ukuba injongo yesi sibonelelo: "Kukunakekela ngokugqibeleleyo abantu abadala kwiindawo zabo zokuhlala kunye nakumakhaya/kwiindawo zaasekuhlaleni" (p. 30), nangona kunjalo:

Care of older persons: *The Hon. MEC mentions that the aim of the grant is: "To provide quality care for the older persons within residential and home/community-based environment" (p. 30), but:*

Reproach no: 1.4 A: p. 19

Zimbalwa kakhulu iisenta ezifumanekayo kwaye zonke zineemeko ezingaginyisi mathe (umz: izakhiwo, amagumbi kuquka iibhedi, izinto zokulala kunye nezinga lokutya abakufumanayo).

Nalapha ke i-input yam izakuba mfutshane gqitha eh..h kuba ndibelapha ukususela ngo-2004, phambi koko bendiseKapa. Eh…h xa sisebenza ngolwabiwo-mali siyadlula kwinto zee-transfers, iimali ezi-transfer(wa) lisebe lizisa kwezi ndawo uthetha ngazo kodwa ke ngelishwa kuyo yonke le minyaka ndilapha ukusukela ku-2004 asikaze sibe nenkqubo siyikomiti kaSocial Development etyelela ezi senta zephondo. Ndiyacinga ke ukuba le yenye yosilelo olukhoyo mhlawumbi kusafuneka sikhe siphume ukuze sibuye siphethe iifacts ngalo mba, kodwa eyonanto siyaziyo thina siyikomiti kaSocial Development yinto yokuba ezi ndawo uthetha ngazo phaya kwii-previously disadvantages communities asazani naloo nto, ndisuka eMzimkulu ayikho loo nto eMzimkhulu idistrict yonke, nawe usuka eSterkspruit ndiqinisekile ayikho eSterkspruit. Ezi ndawo sithetha ngazo kufanel'ukuba sithetha ngeendawo ezisezidolophini ebezifudula zona zikho zisebenza, so ke ezi transfers nezigrants zenziwayo lisebe zifanel'ukuba ziya kwiindawo ezisezidolophini azikho kuthi ezi zinto. Nyhani ke le yenye yee-challenges ezijongene nathi zi-portfolio committees kuba ngoku uthetha ngento exhamlisa nje ugcuntswana lwabantu, apha ePhondweni inokuba sithetha ngabantu abangaphantsi kweshumi ekhulwini (10%) abaxhamlayo. So, ndingatsho ndithi le yenye yee-challenges isebe elisajongene nazo kuba ke eneneni le nto ayithethi into yokuba kwezandawo zethu abekho abantu abadala abangenabani ebekufanele ukuba bayaxhamla kwezi zinto. Ngaba bantu bakudala ke owawufumanisa ukuba bakulameko yokungahoyeki kuba uyakufumanisa ukuba behleli kula makhaya nje sekuxhatshazwa bona ngale mali abayifumanayo yenkam-

nkam ebekufanel'ukuba le mali yabo yenkam-nkam uyitya ekolwagcino uthetha ngalo kodwa ke olungekhoyo.

My input will also be very brief here because I have been here since 2004, before that I was in Cape Town. When we are dealing with budget, we include transfers of monies that are being transferred by the department to these places that you are mentioning, but ever since I have been here in 2004 as the Social Development committee we have never had a program of visiting the Provincial centres. I think this is one of the shortcomings which we need to address by visiting these places and come back with tangible facts about this issue. What we know as the committee of Social Development is that there are no such places in those previously disadvantaged communities; I am from Mzimkhulu and there are no such things and I am sure that in Sterkspruit where you come from there is no such thing. The places we are talking about are likely to be in urban areas where they have always been in existence, and that is where these transfers and grants from the department are going. These are challenges facing us as portfolio committees because this is something that is benefiting almost 10% of the Provincial population. I would say this is a major challenge facing the department because it is not as if we do not have lonesome elderly people who need to be taken in places such as old-age centres. Some of these elderly people are neglected and are being victimised in the sense that they do not get to enjoy their pensions because the people they are staying with misuse it.

Reproach no: 1.4 B: p. 19

Kuye kwafumaniseka ukuba ayinguye wonke umntu omdala ofumana ithuba lokungena kwezi ndawo zokuhlala zokunakekelwa kwabo. Nelo gcuntswana lithi liye kwezo senta kufuneka lizihlawulele kungenjalo kuye kunyanzeleke ukuba baye kwiindawo zoshishino ukuya kucela amalizo.

Um...h ngelishwa andikawujongi umgaqo-siseko wesebe ngalo mcimbi uwubekayo kodwa ke ndiza kukunika imbono yam. Andiqondi ukuba iyakuba bubulumko into yokuba urhulumente axhase isenta ephinda irhafise kwalo mntu mnye omdala isebe okanye urhulumente obesele emkhuphile kwasezirhafini kuba sele efikelele kwiminyaka ethile, sele emnika nje ngoku into yokumxhasa le nto siyibiza ngokuba yi-subsistence kodwa kufuneke aphinde abhatale. Eh…h ndingekawujongi ndinjalo umgaqo-siseko wesebe ngokuphathelele kulo mcimbi, hayi andiqondi ukuba kungaba yinto elungileyo leyo ukuba umntu ekufanel'ukuba selesiya ekupheleni kanti usayokurhafiswa andiqondi noko ukuba kufanel'ukuba ibe njalo.

Unfortunately, I have not looked at the departmental guidelines on this issue, but I will give you my opinion. I do not think that it will be wise of the government to subsidize a centre that extorts money from people who have already been exempted by the government from paying taxes; hence they are provided with what we call subsistence. I do not think that it will be a good thing that a person whose sun is setting should be made to pay tax; it should not be like that.

*Ngoko ke ungathi kukuxhatshazwa nje kuphela oku!
You would then say this is pure exploitation!
Ewe ndingayibiza ngolo hlobo nkosazana.
Yes, I would call it that.

2. ***Ukulwa nendlala***: Injongo etsolileyo yale nkqubo: "Kukulwa amazinga endlala ngokuveza iinkqubo zokhuseleko lokutya nenzuzo ezinxamnye neenkqubo kwakunye nemimiselo yophuhliso loluNtu" (p. 31).

<u>Reproach no. 2: p. 21</u>

- <u>Kuthiwa inkxaso ngokwezimali yophuhliso loluntu sele ikho: "isikhokelo sokuzuza inkxaso-mali kwiSebe lezeNtlalo-ntle nenkqubo yophuhliso loluntu…" (p. 31), nangani kunjalo iindawo ezininzi zoluntu azinolwazi malunga nale nkxaso-mali, kwaye azifikeleleki eluntwini ezi nkqubo zenkxaso-mali ngokuphathelele ekwenzeni isicelo sokuzuza le mali. (Ngokuqwalasela imeko yezinga leMfundo eggubayo emaphandleni).</u>

Eh…h nkosazana kule uthetha ngayo yokulwa nendlala yenye yeechallenges isebe likaSocial Development elisajongene nayo le kuquka zonke iidepartments kuba nanjengaphaya kwiHIV/AIDS nalo wendlala umba uwaquka phantse onke amasebe. Ucelo-mngeni lukhulu kakhulu ingakumbi phaya kwezi ndawo uthetha ngazo zabantu abangazinto. Okokuqala, thina iiexperiences zethu sizii-public representatives mna ke ikakhulu kuba ke eneneni andizukwazi ngezinye kuba mhlawumbi zingakunika enye imbono; eh…h bakhona abantu abancedakalayo apha kwezi zinto. Mandiqale ke kulo mbuzo wakho wokuba abantu sibazisa kangakanani na. I-public rep. nganye iyazi ngale nto kwaye ke kwiconstituency work yethu siyabazisa abantu ngeenantsikana e…e…e i-allocations ezenziwayo lisebe ngokuphathelele iinkqubo zokulwa nendlala kodwa ke ingxaki yokuqala yile yokuba ii-allocations ezenziwayo lisebe unyaka nonyaka azoneli nje kwaphela. Kuthi ke ngoku njengokuba iilali zihlupheka kangaka isebe libe nezinto elingakwaziyo ukuzanelisa, elingenawukuze lizanelise zonke iiprogrammes nokuba mhlawumbi besingathi iMpuma Koloni le yonke yenziwe yazazi ezi nkqubo kwaye izenze izicelo, kuyakuba nzima kakhulu ukuzanelisa zonke ezo zicelo zenziweyo ngabantu ngenxa yokungoneli kwe-allocation eyenziweyo kuloo nyaka lowo.

2. ***<u>Poverty Alleviation</u>***: *<u>The main focus of this programme is: "To alleviate levels of poverty through food security and income generation programmes in line with community development principles and practices" (p. 31).</u>*

- *<u>It is said that financial assistance for community development has been made available: "Guide on how to access financial assistance from department of Social development community development programme…" (p. 31), but then many communities are not aware about such funding, and the funding procedures in terms of applying for the fund is not very user-friendly. (Considering the literacy levels mostly prevalent in rural areas).</u>*

Eh…h this issue you are talking about of poverty alleviation is one of the challenges this department of Social Development is faced with including all the other departments as it is the case with the HIV/AIDS issue, it cuts across all departments. The challenge is massive especially in the remote areas where people are mostly not informed. Firstly, our experiences as public representatives myself in particular because I really wouldn't know what picture others will paint for you, eh...h there are people who get assisted through these things. Let me start with the question you raised that of informing people that is how much do people know about this. Each public rep. knows about this and in our constituency work we do inform people about what you call um…h allocations made by the department concerning these poverty alleviation programmes, but the first problem is that these allocations made by the department are never enough year after year. As we know that our rural communities mostly are poor then there are things that the department is unable to cater for, projects which will never be satisfied or fulfilled even if we could say the whole of the Eastern Cape has been made aware of these of these programmes and people have submitted their proposals, it would be difficult to address all of them because of the insufficient allocation that has been made in that particular year.

Ndifun'ukuthi ke nje okokuqala ifunding eyenziwayo ukujongana nale nkqubo incinane kakhulu, ayikwazi ukumelana nokuphumeza injongo esekelwe yona lisebe kwaye ke isekhona nje le nto ye-under-funding, isebe lisezakuqhubeka lingaziphumezi iinjongo zalo ngenxa yoku kungoneli kwemali eyabelwayo. Ndize kweyesibini imeko nanjengoko sele nditshilo ukuba abantu siyabenza bayazi le nto kodwa le nkqubo karhulumente yokulwa nendlala kwakhona iyaxhatshazwa phaya ebantwini; ixhatshazwa yinto yokuba abantu bengenalo ulwazi, ulwazi lubasebantwini abambalwa. Ndizakwenzela umzekelo wento ekhoyo ngaphaya kuthi eGugwini, kuneproject yeenkukhu ebekufanel'ukuba incedise iintsapho ezihlelelekileyo ingakumbi oomama; kodwa ke la project yeyetitshala ethile eyavele yasuka yadibanisaa abantu abathile kuba yayifuna ukwenza i-business plan, yayigqiba ibusiness plan yayo ngokuthi amalungu ngoobani noobani noobani yayifumana ifunding yalo project. Kodwa oyena mntu uxhamlayo kula project yile titshala aba abantu ibibadibanisile kule project basebenzela yona kunokuba ibe ngabo abanini bale project, so ke imeko elolo hlobo sisajongene nayo yenkulu ingxaki kuba abantu bethu abakafundiseki ngokwaneleyo.

Firstly, I want to say the funding provided to address these programmes is too little, it can never fulfill the purpose for which it is intended and so long as we have this problem of under-funding the department will continue falling short in fulfilling its targets before of the allocation. Coming to the second issue as I have mentioned that we do inform people about the department's programmes on poverty alleviation, it gets manipulated by few individuals to the disadvantage of the needy ones who are less informed. I will make you an example related to an incident that happened where I come from at Gugwini, there is a chicken-farming project that is supposed to assist the most needy families especially women but that project belongs to a certain teacher who organized certain people together because he needed to have a business plan; he received the funding by providing a business plan which stated the members of the project. The only person benefiting from that project is that teacher; all the other members are working for him instead of being equal beneficiaries to the project, so we are still working with this situation and this is a big problem around here because our people are not yet well-informed.

Into ekufuneka siyenze ke thina njengamalungu ekomiti kuba andiqondi ukuba isebe lingakwazi ukujongana nala meko ngokupheleleyo ifuna ke ngoku thina sibe ngathi siyaqina kwiconstituency work yethu ukwenza abantu bayazi into yokuba urhulumente uncedisa abantu abangenanto akancedisi abantu abavele benento, so ke ukuba ngaba abantu sithetha nabo loo nto kufuneka siqinisekise ukuba ibusiness plan yeyabo bantu abasweleyo hayi abantu abazakuqokelela abantu abasweleyo kanti bafuna ukuziphilela bona.

What we are supposed to do as members of the portfolio committee because I do not think the department can be able to handle that situation properly it then warrants us to work hard on our constituency work to inform people that the government is assisting people who have nothing at hand not those who already have, so if we talk to those people we must also make sure the business plans submitted are for the have-nots not haves who organize people for their own selfish gains.

Okwesithathu ingxaki ekhoyo yimonitoring nesupervision yamasebe, kwakweziproject ibikhuphe imali yayisa kuba kusithiwa kuyokwenziwa le nto yale-poverty alleviation besikhe saphuma siyikomiti kaSocial Development kunyaka ophelileyo besihamba naye usihlalo lo wekomiti umam'u… ngenxa yesikhalazo ebeyivelile kwenye ilali yase O. R. Tambo kuQumbu kwilali ekuthiwa kuseMbalisweni apho isebe lalikhuphe esi sixa-mali siyi-R12m kwiproject eyayidibanise umthungo, ukulima nenye into yesithathu andiyazi ke ukuba yayiyeyiphi na kodwa ke zazintathu;

kuye kwafumaniseka ke ukuba le nkqubo ize kuxhatshazwa ngumntu omnye wayigqiba yaphela tu loo mali. Sithe ke xa sele sibuzisa siyikomiti sabuza imibuzo mibuzo leyo isebe elingakhange likwazi ukuyiphendula apho xa besibuza ukuba isebe liyinike le nkqubo yasekuhlaleni imali enga, ide ibe ityiwe yaphela nje imali iphume kuni zithini ezenu iisystems eniyilandelele ngazo le mali niyigada ukujonga ukuba yenza lo msebenzi beniyikhuphele wona sasuke safumanisa ukuba isebe alizange lizikhathaze ngokuba lijonge into yokuba le mali ithi igcinakale kakuhle. So, sabanayo ke into esibuya siyikhalazele into ethi uyazikhupha urhulumente okanye isebe ezi mali, bekubalulekile ke ukuba bazilandelele ukuhlola nokuqinisekisa ukuba zenza la nto kodwa ke ngelishwa iisystems zabo zesupervision azanelanga into yokuba le mali ingaxhatshazwa ngabantu ebekungamelanga ukuba babe bayayifumana. So ke, xa ndizama ukushwankathela le nto ndifuna ukuthi zikho wena iiprogrammes kwaye siyabenza abantu bazi banzi ngazo kodwa ndiyatsho ke ukuba nathi sizii-public representatives asenzi ngokwaneleyo kuba zisekhona iindlela apho abantu bexhatshazwa ngabanye.

Thirdly, the department has a problem of monitoring and supervision and within these projects for which the department has allocated funds to address this issue of poverty alleviation, went out on visits last as the committee of Social Development together with the chairperson of the committee Mrs… because of an outcry from one of the areas in O. R. Tambo in Qumbu an area called Mbalisweni where the department had awarded R12m to a project that included sewing, agricultural section and the third I have just forgotten it but there were three of them; this project collapsed because of one person. When we asked as the committee from the department we asked questions that the department was unable to answer such as the fact that the department gave this community project so much money then what systems have they employed as the department to ensure that the money serves the purpose for which it was intended especially now that it has been mismanaged and the project has collapse; what we realized is that the department never bothered about following that project especially the money. So, we concluded with the complaint that the government and the department does fund these projects, it is imperative then to follow that to supervise to see if they do what they were requested for, but unfortunately their supervision systems are not equipped enough to guard against maladministration and that it does not benefit people who are not deserving. So in summary, I would like to say there are programmes and we do make people aware of them but I want to say that even us public representatives we are not doing enough because there are still ways in which our people are being victimized.

Kwakhona nakule yokuba abantu abaninzi abazi ngezi nkqubo unyanisile xa usitsho into ethetha ukuba norhulumente kuquka nathi sizii-public representatives kusafuneka senze ngakumbi ekubeni abantu bazi ukuba banganakho ukufak'izicelo zale mali; kodwa ke nalapho nanjengokuba besele nditshilo, nokuba abantu singabenza bazi usekhona laa mba we-under-funding apho bezakuthi bafake izicelo bagqibe bangafumani mali ukuba bayayifumana kuyakucukucezwa loo allocation ekhoyo igqibe ke ingakwazi ukuzifezekisa iinjongo zebusiness plan. Ndinomzekelo apha wenye iproject ebeyicele into engange-R30 000 kodwa banikwa iR5 000 nangona imbono yabo ibifuna imali engaphezulu ukwenzel'ukuba iproject yabo ibheke phambili ibe-sustainable, so ke xa sele uyinika iR5 000 ke ngoku loo nto itheth'ukuba kufuneka uyibulale la plan yakho uzame ukulungelelanisa ngokwale R5 000, yintoni ke ongayenza nge-R5 000! So le nto yenze ke ngoku into yokuba eza allocations zikarhulumente zokuthi silwa nendlala ezi kanye zokuncedisana neeprojects zingaphumeleli ncam kakhulu, ifane ke ibe zezo zokunikezelwa kweepasile zokutya nazo ezineengxaki zazo; mhlawumbi mandikhe ndime ke apho.

Again, in this notion that people are not aware of these programmes you are quite correct to say so which means the government including us as public representatives there is still a lot that we should do to ensure that people do submit proposals, but even then as I have said even if we inform people about this there is still that problem of under-funding where people will submit their proposals and they end up not getting the money they requested as the small allocation received by the department is going to be divided among all the applicants to the detriment of the vision of the business plan. I have an example here of one project which had requested R30 000 but were given R5 000 even though their vision required more than that in order to drive their plan and to make their project sustainable; so when you give this project R5 000 that means you have cut-off the initial plan and try to adjust to fit the allocated fund which is R5 000, what can you do with R5 000! So now this hampers with the government's allocations intended to alleviate poverty by assisting community projects, only the food parcels that help even though they also have their own problems; maybe I should stop here.

4.5.3   Interview no. 3

4.5.31   Social assistance grants

4.5.3.1.1   Child support grant:

1.1 A: Reproach: This grant is seen as encouraging young girls to fall pregnant so they can have access to this fund:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate the blame and its consequences by appealing to present adverse conditions facing the department of Social Development. The excuse-giver argues that:

a. People view social assistance grants as means of fighting poverty (SDI3, Q1.1.A: 1-3)

2 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Comparisons: Past negative circumstances:</u>

The justifier argues that the present might look bad, but it is a whole lot better than it has been in the past:

a. In the previous government this grant was known as the "maintenance grant" and was meant for Whites and coloreds only, (SDI3, Q1.1.A: 3- 6)

3 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier is appealing to the positive present benefits associated with the situation and he does that with the aim of reframing the negative consequences and to minimize the severity of the reproach. He mentions such benefits as:

a. The child support grant benefits everybody now irrespective of color and race (SDI3, Q1.1.A: 6-7)
b. Years of beneficiaries have been extended to 14 years instead 6 years (SDI3, Q1.1.A: 7-8)
c. This grant is made to ensure that children do not sleep on empty stomachs (SDI3, Q1.1.A: 8-10)

4 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the severity of the reproach by appealing to the adversity of the current situations within the department. These situations are:

a. There are people who are misusing the child support grant (SDI3, Q1.1.A: 11-13)
b. They plot with doctors so that they can get access to this grant (SDI3, Q1.1.A: 13-15)
c. Some people take others' children and register them as their own in order to get to the grant (SDI3, Q1.1.A: 19-21)
d. Some are believed that they are deliberately getting pregnant so that they can get access to this grant (SDI3, Q1.1.A: 21-23)

5 <u>Denial:</u>

The interviewee is denying the reproach by arguing that these are just rumors because there is no concrete evidence to prove these allegations: (SDI3, Q1.1.A: 27-28)

6 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Higher values: Fairness:</u>

The justifier argues that it is only fair for the interest of greater societal benefit that:

a. A thorough research through the commission of enquiry is conducted on these allegations to determine if the rate of teenage pregnancy is/has increased due to the availability of the child support grant or not (SDI3, Q1.1.A: 29- 31)

b. The grant cannot be terminated because of two or three corrupt individuals (SDI3, Q1.1.1A 37-39)

1.1 B: Reproach on children who are still suffering even though they are beneficiaries of the grant:

1 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the reproach and the right to reproach: (SDI3, Q1.1.B: 1- 4)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse is employed to mitigate blame by appealing to present adverse conditions. The excuse-giver mentions that:

a. The rate of fraud within this grant has increased (SDI3, Q1.1B: 4-7)

3 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Higher values: Fairness:</u>

The justifier is trying to reframe principles by arguing that different standards ought to be applied in evaluating this situation such as:

a. Social workers should investigate incidents of fraud in order to get reasons as why people are doing such things (SDI3, Q1.1B: 9-12)

b. A means test should be used to determine who should benefit from the grant and who should not (SDI3, Q1.1B: 12-13)

4 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way he wants to disconnect himself or his committee from the reproach as he intends to put the causality of the act on some other source, external to himself. He identified such external sources which are the cause of the reproach as follows:

a. The department of Social Department should find those people that are fraudulently benefiting from the child support grant (SDI3, Q1.1B: 13-15)
b. People should report fraud cases to the department (SDI3, Q1.1B: 15-16)

4.5.3.1.2 Disability grant:

1.2 A: Reproach: There are disabled people who are denied access to the disability grant:

1 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the reproach and the right to reproach. He agrees that there are people that are not benefiting from this disability that are supposed to benefit: (SDI3, Q1.2. A: 6-8)

2 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of the reproach by reframing the consequences of the failure. There are present benefits because:

a. The department is reviewing beneficiaries and this is done through the process of reapplication (SDI3, Q1.2A: 8-10, 14-18)
b. The temporal disability grant is reviewed regularly to avoid being misused (SDI3, Q1.2A: 27-32)
c. The department provides food parcels to those families that have been affected by this transformation (SDI3, Q1.2A: 32-37)

1.2 B: Reproach: There are people who are not disabled, but they receive the disability grant:

1 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the negative aspects of the reproach and the right to reproach: (SDI3, Q1.2A: 1-6)

2 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to mitigate the reproach and to reframe the negative consequences of the failure by appealing to the benefits such as the steps taken by the department in dealing with the situation:

a. Beneficiaries were requested to re-apply so that the department can be able to determine and remove from the beneficiaries' list those that are not supposed to benefit (SDI3, Q1.2A: 8-10)
b. People were given enough time to reapply and to appeal if their application are declined and this was done with the intention of putting an end to the fraud that exist concerning assistance grants (SDI3, Q1.2B: 1-3)

1.2 C: Reproach: There are disabled people that have full-time jobs and still benefit from the disability grant:

1 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Derogation of victim: Attacking the accuser;</u>

The justifier is trying to reduce the credibility of the source of accusations and to lessen the unpleasantness of the action by diverting attention away from the accusations to the perpetrator, which in this case are those disabled people who have jobs and yet still benefit from the disability grant (SDI3, Q1.2C: 1-5)

2 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Appeal to higher authorities:</u>

The justifier argues that the constitution stipulates that disabled people should be given equal opportunities in work places, that is they must not be discriminated against and if they are working then they should not benefit from the disability grant (SDI3, Q1.2C: 5-10)

4.5.3.1.3 Old age grant:

1.3 A: Reproach: Elderly people are treated in a rather inhumane manner in pay-points:

1 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the reproach and the right to reproach:

a. The department has discovered that the elderly are affected by poor conditions in the pay-points (SDI3, Q1.3A: 1-4)
b. There are still problems with the pay out of old age pension (SDI3, Q1.3A: 23-24)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to disconnect self away from reproach by presenting other sources that should take causality of the failure event. He mentions two such sources, which are actually external to him:

a. The department outsourced the services to private companies such as All-Pay and CPS (SDI3, Q1.3A: 4-7)
b. These private companies (All-Pay and CPS) are not providing services as per the service-level agreement which was entered into by the department of Social development (SDI3, Q1.3A: 12-20)

3 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the failure aspects of the situation by presenting adverse conditions facing the department at present, such as:

a. Machines are not in good condition, they break often (SDI3, Q1.3A: 24-26)
b. Insufficient funds to pay all the beneficiaries (SDI3, Q1.3A: 26-27)
c. Beneficiaries migrate to other centers (SDI3, Q1.3A: 27-29)

d. Old-age pensions are issued on the same day and time as the child support grant, and the elderly are often overtaken by the youth in those queues (SDI3, Q1.3A: 29-30)

e. Service providers always arrive very late in the pay-points (SDI3, Q1.3A: 36)

f. Beneficiaries do not adhere to the arrival times given by service providers, they will rather go and sit in those pay-points as early as possible so that they can be the first in the queue (SDI3, Q1.3A: 36-39)

g. The lack of security in the pay-points as a result the elderly are often robbed within the very same pay-points (SDI3, Q1.3A: 44-46)

4 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to minimize the failure event and to reframe the consequences of the reproach by mentioning that there are benefits involved and as such blame is not warranted. He mentions the following issues as such present benefits:

a. The department has decided to separate dates of pension pay out to those of child support grant by giving preference to the elderly (SDI3, Q1.3A: 30-32)

b. To avoid migration, the department has decided to force people to go to those centers where they are registered (SDI3, Q1.3A: 32-34)

c. Social assistance grants will now be the responsibility of SASSA (SDI3, Q1.3A: 47-49)

1.3 B: Reproach: Some pensioners find that they have been removed from the beneficiaries list without even being informed about such a decision:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

An excuse has been employed with the intention to disconnect the excuse-giver away from the reproach by presenting another source external to the excuse-giver as the one that should bear causality for the failure event. He argues that:

a. This situation should be dealt with by the beneficiary and the service provider (SDI3, Q1.3B: 1-2)

2 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee agrees that there are instances where you find that a beneficiary has been removed from the beneficiaries' list (SDI3, Q1.3B: 2-3)

3 <u>Denial:</u>

The interviewee denies that people only find out that they are no longer beneficiaries when they get to the pay-points on pay days (SDI3, Q1.3B: 3-4)

4 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier mentions that help desks have been provided for each pay-point so that people can be able to find out if they are in the list or not (SDI3, Q1.3B: 10-12)

5 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver mentions that these help desks are not always available in the pay-points because they sometimes move around with service providers (tellers) (SDI3, Q1.3B: 13-15)

1.3 C: Reproach: There are ghost beneficiaries in the list and their pensions are still paid out by the department:

1 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Comparison: Differentiation:</u>

The justifier is trying to distinguish this act from others that are more offensive with the intention of lessening the negative feelings towards the act:

a. There have been no communication between the departments of Social Development and Home Affairs in the past and as a result it was difficult for the department of Social Development to update their beneficiaries' lists as far as births and deaths are concerned (SDI3, Q1.3C: 1-4)

2 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

Minimization of the reproach has been employed to reframe the consequences of the failure event by mentioning that there are present benefits associated with the situation:

a. Communication and interaction has been effected between the departments of Home Affairs and Social Development so that the latter can be able to remove the deceased from the beneficiaries' list as soon as a death certificate is issued for that person by the department of Home Affairs (SDI3, Q1.3C: 5-8)

4.5.3.1.4 Care of older people

1.4 A: Reproach: There are very few centers and they are mostly dilapidated.

1 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier argues that there are some benefits to this situation such as:

a. The department has allocated a budget of R6,7m towards the care of elderly people (SDI3, Q1.4A:1-4)

2 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. He argues that there should be future benefits because:

a. The old age homes will be revitalized and developed using some of the reserved budget of R6,7m (SDi3, Q1.4A: 5 and 11)
b. The department will interact with private companies to encourage them to sponsor these homes because they are mostly run by non-governmental organizations (SDI3, Q1.4:A: 6-9)

3 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Appeal to higher authorities:</u>

The justifier claims that there are specific institutional rules that need to be followed. He mentions that government's support to these homes is only centered on the issue of subsidies and not the salaries (SDI3, Q1.4A: 9-10)

1.4 B: Reproach: People living in these centers are expected to pay for their stay using their pensions:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way he wants to disconnect himself, his committee or his department from the reproach as he intends to put the causality of the act on some other source, external to himself. He identified such external source which is the cause of the reproach as:

a. The department of Social Development does not monitor these old-age homes to see if the budget allocated to them is serving the purpose for which it was intended (SDI3, Q1.4B: 1-5)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse is employed to mitigate the blame and its consequences by presenting the present adverse conditions affecting the situation:

a. Payments to the NGOs are not made in time as a result pensioners are requested to pay for their stay using their pensions (SDI3, Q1.4B: 6-8)
b. The department is not in a good shape as a result it has no powers to monitor these centers (SDI3, Q1.4B: 8-11)

4.5.3.2 Poverty alleviation

Reproach: Many communities are not aware of the financial assistance form the Department of Social Development's community development program, and the funding procedures are not user-friendly:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver has appealed to present adverse conditions to mitigate the blame and the negative consequences of the reproach. He identifies the following as such problems:

a. The lack of communication between the department and the communities (SDI3, Q2: 2-4)
b. The National office of the department of Social Development runs projects within the Province, but the provincial office is not part of those projects (SDI3, Q2: 17-22)
c. There is very little that is done to train people (SDI3, Q2: 26-27)

2 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of his department by reframing the consequences of the failure. He argues that there are benefits regarding this situation such as the following:

a. There are farming and agricultural projects that are operating such as in Bedford and Middledrift (SDI3, Q2: 6)
b. The department is encouraging seed production and nurseries (SDI3, Q2: 7-9)
c. To strengthen cooperatives in order for social development purposes (SDI3, Q2: 10-12)
d. To align community trainings with the cooperatives (SDI3, Q2: 12)
e. There are trainings and assistance provided on business plans (SDI3, Q2: 13-14)
f. The department is building relations with the National department concerning poverty alleviation programs that they have to avoid redundancy (SDI3, Q2: 22-24)

g. The government has outreach programs run by different departments throughout the Province to sensitize people about government's poverty alleviation programs (SDI3, Q2: 28-35)

1. <u>Language and style</u>

1.1 *Syntactic level:*

a. Length of sentences:

The account has very long sentences. See *i.a.* Q1.1: 1-3, 3-8, 8-19 and 19-26. These sentences range from three to ten lines. However, the length of the sentences is not a problem because in the spoken isiXhosa language there are generally longer sentences than the written version.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences that have been used are quite complex in that each sentence has more than one verb. See *i.a.* Q1.1: 3-8, the sentence has six verbs: *ibizwa, iphethwe, icalula, yayifunyanwa, iye yanatyiselwa, kolulwa.*

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban or modern version of the language. It is just a modern standard of the language mostly used by the urbanized Xhosa speakers and not a dialect.

1.2   *Lexical level:*

a. Lexical diversity:

i.   *Technical terms:* The interviewee has used such technical terms as: *u-Zwelonke, SASSA, CSG, isixa-mali, ii-NGOs, uNdlunkulu, iphondo, uMphathiswa, amagosa,* etc. He uses these terms on daily basis and as the legislator he should be teaching the public about government policies and programs which entail these terms.

ii.   *English terms:* the interviewee has also used a lot of English terms probably because parliament deliberations are mostly conducted in English and that it is sometimes difficult to find Xhosa equivalence of such terms. Examples of these

terms are: *ye-CSG, ii-pay-points, i-means test, le-exercise, ya-outsourc (wa), kwi-service-level agreement, ii-outreach programs, etc*.

iii. *Innovative Xhosa words:* the interviewee has not used innovative Xhosa words.

b. Language imagery:

i.   Metaphor

The account-giver has used such metaphors as: *"…iyingxaki endala…"* (Q1.3A: 1) *"…yindlela abathembise ukuba…"* (Q1.3C: 7) *"…thina kuqala <u>singurhulumente</u>…"* (Q 1.4B: 9)

ii.   Simile

The account-giver uses simile in his speech repertoire. Examples are as follows: *"…njengesixhobo…"* (Q1.1A: 3) *"…ezinjengezi…"* (Q1.3B: 2) *"…njengoqhagamshelwano…"* (Q1.3C: 3) *"…njengakoomaBedford…"* (Q2: 5)

1.3   Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used mostly unequivocal language in his account because the information provided is directly stated. This use of unequivocal language benefits the interviewee in terms of source credibility as well as the perceived quality of arguments.

2. <u>Language use</u>

<u>*2.1 Politeness:*</u>

The interviewee has tried to avoid the face-threatening acts (FTAs) by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat such as excuses. However, the account-giver has chosen to perform the FTA through on-record and off-record performance of the justifications. The account is most face-threatening though because of the large number of the highly mitigating accounts that have been used, i.e. sixteen justifications.

2.2 Effectiveness:

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the accounter has chosen to use mostly excuses and justifications. Among justifications that have been used are those that appeal to future benefits which outweigh the present negative aspects and those that appeal to higher authorities. There are 16 justifications in total.

Minimization: Present benefits	8
Minimization: Future benefits	1
Comparisons: Past negative circumstances	1
Comparisons: Differentiation	1
Higher values: Fairness	2
Higher authorities: Higher authorities	2
Derogation of victim: Attack the accuser	1

The excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances as they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are actually constrained by external circumstances. The interviewee has employed eleven excuses in his account:

Causal excuses: Null cause	4
Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	7

2.3 Power of speech style:

The interviewee has decided to employ excuses that mitigate the blame because they are among strategies that are regarded as effective, and also justifications that appeal to future in the sense that if the mentioned strategies are successfully implemented then there is no need for reproach.

Interview no: 3

iSebe lezeNtlalo-ntle

Isinikezelo sentetho yomthetho neyokuzinikela koMphathiswa weSebe loPhuhliso lwezeNtlalo (2004-2007), ludandalazisa oku: "Injongo…ukuthatha inxaxheba kuphuhliso lobomi banantu abasokolayo, ababuthathaka, abasweleyo nabo bajongelwe phantsi beli Phondo ngokumisela inkonzo yezentlalo eluqilima, ebandakanyayo nephuhlileyo" (p.2).

First reproach: p. 15

Iingxaki ezimalunga nezibonelelo zeNtlalo

Yinjongo yeSebe loPhuhliso lweNtlalo "ukuphuhlisa ulawulo lwezibonelelo ngokuthathat izicelo zesibonelelo, iintlawulo, ukugcinwa kweenkcukacha zabo bahlawulwayo kunye nohlenga-hlengiso lweenkqubo".

Isebe loPhuhliso lweNtlalo luneenkqubo zesibonelelo sabantwana ezinenjongo: "Yokulawual nokunikezela izibonelelo zeNtlalo *kubongi/abagcini* babantwana abaminyaka ingaphantsi kwesixhenxe… abaphuma kwiintsapho ezinemivuzo engaphantsi kwama- R800 ukya kuma- R1100" (p.28).

First part of reproach no: 1, p. 16

1. Ingxaki ngesi sibonelelo kukuba sibonwa njengesikhuthaza amantombazanana ukuba akhulelwe ukuze azuze kule mali yesibonelelo, xa sijonga izinga eliphezulu lokukhulelwa kwamantombazana afikisayo kule mihla.

Uyabona ke ngokwalento yezi zibonelelo kukuba sivume kuqala ukuba eli sebe lezeNtlalontle phantsi kwemeko yendlala apha eMzantsi Afrika libonwe njengesixhobo sokuhlangabezana nale ngxaki yendlala. Le yesibonelelo sabantwana yayikhona kwangaphambili ibizwa ngokuba yi-maintenance grant kodwa inemiqathango iphethwe ngabamhlophe kwaye icalula ngokwebala kuba yayifunyanwa ngabamhlophe nabebala kuphela, kodwa iye yanatyiselwa nakwezinye iintlanga kwaze kolulwa neminyaka kuba kuqala yayisithi 0-6 iminyaka ngokunje iphela kubantwana abaneminyaka engama-14. Le nto yesi sibonelelo yenye yezixhobo ezisetyenziswayo ukuqinisekisa into yokuba abantwana abalali bengatyanga. Masize nakulento yeengxaki, eh…h enyanisweni ziyathetheka izinto zokuba bakhona abantu abaxhamlayo kwezi zibonelelo ngendlela ngeendlela ezingezizo kuba ke eneneni wonke umntu uyafuna ukuxhamla ngenxa yokuswel'imisebenzi; abanye bade babenamayelenqe noogqirha ukuba oogqirha banikezele ngolwazi olungelulo ukuze bakwazi ukubhaqa kwezi zibonelelo. Kukho nezityholo ezithi kulento yeAIDS xa sithetha nje gabalala ukuba abanye kuba besiva kusithiwa isebe liyakwazi ukubabonelela abantu abaneAIDS, kubenezozinto zokuba bayazosulela kuba umntu efuna ukufikelela kwisibonelelo kuba ke eneneni indlala inamanyala. Xa sisiza kwesi sibonelelo sabantwana ikhe yavela into yokuba abanye abantu bathatha abantwana abangengobabo bahambe bayokubabhalisa babe ngalo ndlela bexhaphaza isibonelelo; abanye babo ikhe yavela kutshanje into yokuba bazimithisa ngabom kuba umntu efuna ukuxhamla ibe incinci ke nale mali kodwa umntu abe nesosibindi sokumitha. Ikhona into evakalayo ngalonto kodwa isengamarhe nje kuba akukho meko apho kubonakalayo ukuba le nto yokuba kukho lo mkhwa wokuzimithisa iyinto eyenzekayo kuba abantu befuna ukufikelela kwesi sibonelelo yinto ebambekayo. Le nto ixoxiwe ke kuZwelonke kuxoxwa nefuthe layo kwaze kwafumaniseka ukuba akukho bungqina bubambekayo bokuba lento iyenzeka ngokwenene, kwagqitywa ekubeni kubekho ikomishoni yophando ezakuthi iphande nzulu ngobunyani malunga nale meko ukuba injalo nyhani na into yokuba izinga lokumitha lonyukile ngenxa yeCSG. Okokuqala asikholelwa ukuba ingaba yinto entle kwintlalo yethu kuba loo nto ingatheth'ukuba abantu bazenzela uxanduva ibe lonto ingasokuze iyiphumeze injongo ebifanel'ukuphunyezwa yile mali ntoleyo etheth'ukuba kufuneka siyinik'ingqwalasela ngokuphathelele kuphando olunesihlahla kuba yinto abaluleke kakhulu ube ngaxeshanye ungasokuze wenze nje nantoni na ukuze kungachaphazeleki abo basidinga ngokwenene esi sibonelelo. Ngamanye amagama, esi sibonelelo asinakuze sipheliswe ngenxa yabantu ababini nabathathu abafunyaniswe ukuba benza ubuqhophololo ukuze bafikelela kwesi sibonelelo.

1.   *Problems with Social assistance Grants*

It is one of the objectives of the Department of Social Development "to improve administration of grants in terms of taking applications, payments, capturing, filing and diversion programmes" (p.28).

The Department of Social Development has a programme of Child Support Grant with the aim: "To administer and manage Social grants to care-givers of children under the age of 7…whose families in household income is below R800 and R1100" (p.28).

1. *A problem with this grant is that it is seen as encouraging young girls to fall pregnant so they get access to this fund, considering the rapid increase in teenage pregnancy nowadays.*

You see we have to agree first that these grants have been considered as a means to fighting poverty by many because of poverty that is rife in South Africa. Child support grant has always been around even in the previous system although it was referred to as the maintenance grant and it benefited only the few because of racial discrimination, the whites and coloureds as it was managed by the white people, but now it has been extended to all races and the years have also been extended from 0-14years whereas previously it was meant for children from the age of 0-6years. The child support grant is then one of the measures taken by the government to ensure that children do not sleep on an empty stomach. Let us come now to the problems concerning this grant; it is true that there are rumours that people are misusing this grant and that there are also those who are fraudulently benefiting from this grant because in reality people are driven by poverty and unemployment, and some even go to an extent of buying doctors to provide incorrect information so that they can benefit from this grant. Now talking generally, there are also allegations that with this HIV/AIDS issue there are people who deliberately infect themselves with the virus so to get an access to the grant as they heard that the governemetn provides for those who are infected and affected with HIV/AIDS. With the child support grant it has also been alleged that there are people who others' children and register them as their own in order to benefit from this grant; some of them are said to be going to an extent of deliberately getting pregnant so that they can get access to this grant even though this money is really next to nothing. There is something like that even though it is still a rumour because there is no concrete eveidence that there people who are doing such a thing. This has also been discussed nationally but still there was no evidence that this was realy happening and it was then decided that there should be a commission of enquiry to investigate about this matter to see the rate of teenage pregnancy has increased because of this CSG. Firstly, we do not believe that this would be a good thing to our society as it would mean that people are just creating a burden for themselves that this grant will not serve the purpose for which it is intended and that would mean we have to take this into consideration when conducting this scientific research because in reality you cannot just decide to stop the grant because of the few who fraudsters as there might be people who really need it. In other words, this grant will not just be phased out because of two or three people who have been found engaged in fraudulent means of getting their hands into the child support grant.

Second part of reproach no: 2, p. 16

2. Kukho abantwana abasasokolayo nangona bezuza isibonelelo. Ingxaki kukuba kukho abantu abamkela isibonelelo sokuxhasa abantwana babe bengahlali nokuhlala nabo bantwana. Ngoko ke esi sibonelelo asiwenzi lo msebenzi simiselwe ukuba siwenze.

Enyanisweni izinto ezilolo hlobo zikhona, umzekelo besikhe sayondwendwela iipay-points eGcuwa saxelelwa ngeemeko ezithile zakuCentane zokuba kukho abantu pha abaxhaphaza ezi zibonelelo, phofu nakwezinye iipay-points babe bencediswa ngamagosa karhulumente. Izinga lokuxhatshazwa kwezi zibonelelo likwaphenjelelwa nangabantu abaxhamlayo ingengawo amagosa odwa kangangokuba nanjengokuba bendisitho bade bathathe nabantwana abangengobabo. Kwiimeko ezinjalo ke bakubhaqwa kufanel'ukuba kuchazelwe abasemagunyeni baze basohluthwe isibonelelo kuba akufanelekanga ukuba babe bayasifumana lize isebe lithathe amanyathel afanelekileyo. Ngokomthetho ke oonontlalontle xa kufumaniseke iimeko ezinjalo kumele ukuba bayilandelele loonto kwezo ntsapho de kuphandwe nokuba ngubani na ofanelekileyo ingubani ongafanelekanga ukufumana isibonelelo, kuze kujongwe kwisikhokelo ngokwe-means test ukuba olo sapho lumele lufumane isibonelelo esithini. Lilonke ke isebe kufanel'ukuthath'amanyathelo ukufumanisa abo bantu basixhaphazayo isibonelelo nangani kungekho lula ukubafumana ngaphandle kokuba abantu beze ngaphambili bazokuchaza ngeemeko ezinjalo.

2. _There are children who are still suffering even though they are grant-holders. The problem is that the people receiving child support grants are not even staying with the said grant-holders. This grant then does not serve the purpose that it is meant for._

In reality things like that do happen, for example when we were visiting these pay-points in Butterworth we were told of incidents in Centane where it has been found that there are people who are abusing these grants even in othere pay-points to an extent that there were government officials who are involved. The rate of fraud with these grants is also perpetuated by the beneficiaries themselves because I said before that there are those who even go to an extent of taking other people's children and register them as their own so to get access to this grant. In such cases if they are found or noticed they should be reported to the department so that they can be taken out of the system and then legal steps be taken against them by the department. Normally social workers should take steps about such incidents and investigate the reasons behind such behaviour and investigate whether that person is entitled to benefit or not and also consider which grant that family is entitled to. In all, the department should follow required measures into finding those people whoare fraudulently benefiting from these grants even though it is not easy to find them unless people report such cases.

Second reproach: p. 16

Isibonelelo sokukhubazeka: uMphathiswa uvakalisa ukuba isibonelelo sijolise: "ekulawuleni nasekunikezeleni **ngokukuko** izibonelelo zeNtlalo kwabo bakhubazekileyo. Abo bangaphezulu kweminyaka engama- 18 nabagunyaziswe yingxelo kaggirha ukuba bakhubazekile ngabo abazuza isibonelelo sokukhubazeka" (p. 28).

2. Disability grant: _The Hon. MEC argues that this grant is intended: "To **effectively** manage and disburse Social grants to the disabled. Qualifying adults above the age of 18 who are medically diagnosed as disabled receive disability grant" (p. 28)._

First part of reproach no: 2, p. 17

1. Kukho abantu ekungathandabuzekiyo ukuba bakhubazekile kodwa bangalifumani ithuba lokuzuza esi sibonelelo.

Le ingxaki sithetha ngayo ixananazile kakhulu. Bakhona abo bafak'izicelo zesibonelelo sokukhubazeka babe bengafanelekanga yaye abanye sele besifumana, ndicinga ukuba isebe likufumanisile oko ukuba bukhona ubuqhophololo malunga nesi

sibonelelo sokukhubazeka kwiphondo lonke kuba uninzi lwabantu abaxhamlayo akufanelanga ukuba lube luyasifumana esi sibonelelo. Kuphinde kwafumaniseka ndicinga ukuba bekungo-2003 okanye 2002 ukuba kukho uninzi lwabantu ekufanel'ukuba luyaxhamla kwesi sibonelelo kodwa abasifumani, laze isebe lathatha isigqibo sokuphononga izibonelelo ngokuthi abantu bafake izicelo ngokutsha. Zikhona ke ezo nkqubo zokuba wonke umntu kuquka nabo bebekade bezifumana ukuba bafake izicelo ngokutsha. Lo ngumsebenzi odl'imali kakhulu kuba ngaphezu kwento yokutshintshwa kwenkqubo kuye kwakho neemeko ezifun'ukuthathelw'amanyathelo ngokwasemthethweni nanjengoko abanye abantu bathi bagqiba kwelokuba balise emthethweni isebe. Nangani kunjalo ke uye wenziwa lo msebenzi ukuqinisekisa ukuba wonke umntu obefanel'ukuba uyasifumana esi sibonelelo uyasifumana, kwaze kwagqithelwa nakwesi sibonelelo sokukhubazeka nalapho kwaqinisekiswa ukuba wonke umntu ubhalisa ngokutsha ukwenzel'ukuba kukhutshwe bonke abo baxhamla ngobuqhophololo. Nale imeko idle imali kuba abanye abantu bebesele beqhele ukuphila ngesi sibonelelo kwaye neentsapho zabo zixhomekeke kule mali. Yiyo loo nto ndisithi le exercise ibebuhlungu kakhulu kwezinye imeko kuba abantu bebesele bephila ngesi sibonelelo, kodwa ke nangani kunjalo isebe bekunyanzelekile ukuba lilungise iziphene ebezikhona ukuqinisekisa ukuba abantu abaxhamlayo ngabo bafanelekileyo ngenene. Kuye kwanyanzeleka ukuba abantu bonke bafake izicelo ngokutsha, abanye babo bakwenzile oko kuba kaloku kukho izibonelelo zexeshana kuze kubekho nezo zisisigxina; ayikho ke ingxaki kweli cala lesibonelelo sokukhubazeka esisigxina eyona ngxaki ibifumaneka kwesi sethutyana kuba umntu xa efumana esi sibonelelo kufanel'ukuba amane esiya kuvavanyo lwemeko yakhe mhlawumbi emva kweenyanga ezintandathu ukujonga ukuba usafanelekile na ukuba asifumane esi sibonelelo kuba mhlawumbi okokukhubazeka kwakhe yinto enokunyangeka umntu akwazi ukuyoziphangelela. Yiyo loo nto sivavanywa rhoqo ngoku nto leyo ebikade ingenziwa. Ukongeza nje, kwezo ntsapho zabantu abakhubazekileyo ezithe zachaphazeleka kabuhlungu ngenxa yale meko, isebe liye lagqiba kwelokuba ezo ntsapho zincediswe nangezinto ezifana neepasile zokutya kuba ke aba bantu bebesele beqhele ukufumana esi sibonelelo nokuba bebesifumana ngokungekho mthethweni bebesenziwa yindlala kuba ke umntu angenza nantoni na ukuze aphile.

1. _There are people who are visibly disabled but are denied access to this grant._

This is a very broad problem. There are those who are applying for the disability grant even though they do not qualify and some of them do succeed; I think the department has discovered that there are such incidents of people who are fraudulently benefiting from this in the whole province. It has also been discovered that there are many qualifying disabled people who do not benefit from this grant and for that reason the department I think in 2003 or 2002 decided to review their beneficiaries through re-application for the grant including those who have long been benefiting. This is a very costly exercise because beside the process of transformation there were also legal implications as some people decided to take the department to court. Irrespective of such things this was done to ensure that those who are benefiting are the deserving ones and this exercise was also extended to the disability in order to root out all those fraudulent beneficiaries and also to ensure that those benefing really deserve. This also had its complications and was costly because most people were depending on this grant to survive. This is why I am saying this exercise was really painful in some cases, but it had to be done to ensure that those who are in the system deserve and qualify as beneficiaries. All beneficiaries had to reapplyand some did that because there is a temporal and permanent disability grant; there are no problems with the permanent disability grant,

but the main problem has been found within the temporal disability grant because with this grant the beneficiary has to be evaluated maybe every six months to ascertain if she or he still qualifies for the grant as it might happen that the disability is something that might be healed or cured to enable the person to work again. This is the reason why continuous evaluation is warranted for this grant. To add on this, in those families that have been massively affected by this adjustment or transformation, the department decided to make a provision through food parcels to assist those families because they are used to the support even if they were benefiting from it fraudulently, they were driven by poverty as we know that people will do anything to survive.

Comment on the second part of reproach no: 2, p. 17

Impendulo ondinike yona isele yawubandakanya nalo wesibini umba ngokuphathelele abantu abangakhubazekanga kodwa babe bexhamla kwesi sibonelelo. Ndicinga ukuba olu phononongo nilwenzileyo nilisebe liye lakwazi ukuyisombulula naleyo ingxaki.

Ngokuqinisekileyo kuba kaloku bekukho amanani amakhulu abantu ababenikwe ithuba lokufak'izicelo ngokutsha bade banikwa nethuba lokwenz'izibheno xa izicelo zabo zikhatywa futhi futhi.

Your response has also covered the second issue concerning people who are benefiting fraudulently from the grant. I think that the review that has been undertaken by the department has been able to address that problem.

Most certainly so because there were huge numbers of people who have been given the opportunity to reapply and also the ooportunity to appeal when their application are being declined.

Third part of reproach no: 2, p. 17

2. Kuthiwani ngabantu abakhubazekileyo abafumana isibonelelo sokukhubazeka kodwa babe besebenza kwezinye iindawo, ukutsho oko aba ngabantu abakhubazekileyo babe abangaswelanga ncakasana?

Leyo into ayivumelekanga kuba ke akukho mntu uvumelekileyo kwezi zibonelelo nditsho nakwesi sabantwana ngoko ke kuthi kusetyenziswe i-means test phambi kokuba usifumane kungajongwa nje into yokuba unomntana okanye abantwana benu banga, xa ninayo inzuzo akuvumelekanga ukuba nixhamle kwesi sibonelelo. Yiyo ke loonto urhulumente esithi kwiindawo zokuphangela mabangacalulwa abantu abakhubazekileyo nto leyo etheth'ukuba mabavunyelwe ukuba basebenze kuba ke umqathango wesi sibonelelo ngowokujonga ukuba unayo na inzuzo oyifumanayo okanye awunayo ngokomlinganiselo wesixa-mali esingama-R1500, umntu ofumana ngaphezulu koko akanako ukusifumana esi sibonelelo. Ngoko ke abo bafumana imali ebonakalayo abavumelekanga ukuba baxhamle.

3. *What about disabled people who received disability grant and holding jobs at the same time, that is, disabled people who are not really needy?*

That is not allowed and in all the grants including the child support granteverything is odne according to the means test before being awarded the grant and not only relying on the fact that you have a child or a certain number of children that you have, if you have an income you are not allowed to benefit from this grant. This is the reason why the government is campaigning against discrimination of physically challenged people in workplaces which means then that they must be given opportunities to work and the condition of this grant is that if you have an income

over R1500.00 you are not supposed to benefit from the disability grant. Therefore, those with a substantial income are not allowed or supposed to benefit.

Third reproach: p. 17

3. ***Abolupheleyo***: iSebe lithi injongo yesi sibonelelo: "Kukulawula nokunikezela **ngokuqgqibeleleyo** isibonelelo seNtlalo kwabo bolupheleyo. Abo bafanele ukuzuza esi sibonelelo ngoomama amaneminyaka engama- 60 kunye nootata abaneminyaka engama- 65 nangphezulu ubudala bona bathi baphumelele uvavanyo lokufumana le mali nabathi bayifumane **ngethuba**" (p. 28).

3. ***Old age***: *The Department says the aim of this grant is:"To **effectively** manage and disburse Social grants to the aged. Qualifying women at age 60 and men at age 65 and older who meet the means test receive their grants **timeously**" (p. 28).*

First part of reproach no: 3, p. 17

1. Indlela abathi abantu abadala baphathwe ngayo kwiindawo zokwamkela lisikizi. Kwezinye iindawo zokwamkela abantu abadala abazuza inkam-nkam kufuneka balinde ngaphandle kweevenkile iiyure ezininzi baze bathi xa befika abo bamkelisayo ekugqibeleni beme kwimigca emide kwakhona. Azikho izakhiwo ezifanelekileyo zokujongana ngokufanelekileyo nabantu abadala.

Le ngxaki yokwamkeliswa kwabantu abadala enyaniseni iyingxaki endala kakhulu nesebe liye lafumanisa nento yokuba kubekho ukulibaziseka ekubabhaliseni kwabo nokuchaphazeleka kwabo ngenxa yeemeko ezimbi, abanye bade bachaphazeleke ngenxa yemozulu embi. Ngoxa isebe lalihlawulisa ngokwalo lalisebenzisa iiposi neebhanki ngoku yatshintsha indlela yokuhlawulisa ukuzam'ukukhawulelana nezi ngxaki ya-outsource le nto kwiinkampani zabucala ezifana noo-All-Pay nooCPS ukwenza lo msebenzi wokuhlawulisa. Emva kokuba uphando lwenziwe nakwamanye amaphondo ngomsebenzi wokuhlawulisa wezi nkampani kwafumaniseka ukuba le yooCPS nooAll-Pay yeyona meko ingcono yokuhlawulisa ezi zibonelelo nangona zazikhona ezinye iinkampani ezazisenza kwalo msebenzi, sithelekisa eMpumalanga naseKapa indlela ezisebenza ngayo. Isebe latshintshela kule nkqubo ke ukuzama ukukhawulelana neengxaki ebezikhona kwaze kwabakho iservice-level agreement phakathi kwezi nkampani nesebe kwaye kwizinto ekwavunyelwana ngazo kukuba kukhawuleziswe indlela yokubhatala, okwesibini abo baxhamlayo bangabingamaxhoba engqele. Eso sesinye sezigqibo ekwavunyelwana ngazo kangangokuba kulaservice-level agreement kubekho nebinzana eligunyazisa indawo ekhuselekileyo yokwamkela kuba isebe libhatala kwezi nkampani kangange-30c umntu ngamnye oxhamlayo kwizibonelelo. Nangani ingekho ninzi kangako nje le mali kodwa bavuma ukunik'inkxaso-mali ekwakhiweni kweendawo zokusithela zokwamkelela inkam-nkam.

Andifun'ukungayikhankanyi into yokuba xa ezi nkampani zaziwuthathela kuwo lo msebenzi sasinethemba lokuba iimeko zizakutshintsha nenkam-nkam ikhawuleze, kodwa ke iingxaki zaye zavela njengokuba usitsho kwaye zisekhona nangoku. Enye yezinto ezibenegalelo kule meko yokulibaziseka yinto yoomatshini aba babhatalisa ngabo kuba kufumaniseke into yokuba ubukhulu becala abasebenzi kakuhle bayophuka neengxelo zokungabikho kwemali eyaneleyo kunye nofuduko lwabaxhamli apho abantu bathi bangakwazi ukulinda inkam-nkam ifike kule ndawo bahlala kuyo basuke bayikhawulele kule ndawo izakufika kuyo kuqala. Enye yeengxaki eziye zavela kukuba abantu abaselula bema emigceni nabantu abakhulile kwaze kwagqitywa ke ukuba kwahlulwe iintsuku ukunqanda olu gxalathelwano ngokuthi abantu bezibonelelo zabantwana babe nosuku lwabo njl-njl kodwa kuqalwe

ngabo benkam-nkam. Kulo mcimbi wokuteleka ke kuye kwagqitywa kwelokuba umntu anyanzeliswe ukuba ayokwamkela kula ndawo ebebhalise kuyo hayi kwesinye isitishi. Eyona ngxaki ke esinokuthi siyikhankanye malunga nooCPS yile yokophuka koomatshini babo nokuba abantu abamkelisayo abafiki ngexesha. Enye ingxaki ibeyile yokuba abantu bayakuze bathi ngoku bexelelwe mhlawumbi ukuba inqwelo eyamkelisayo izakufika ngentsimbi yesibini emalanga bona bafike ngeyethoba kusasa kuba umntu efuna ukuba ngowokuqala emgceni kwaye ke ngelishwa le yinto ekunzima kakhulu ukuyisombulula. Kubekho nengxaki yeesenta apho kuzakuthi kwakhiwe amaholo ophuhliso jikelele, iimulti-purpose centers ukwenzel'ukuba xa kungamkeliswa iholo libe lisetyenziselwa ezinye iinkqubo zophuhliso zasekuhlaleni. Nam ndilapha nje andazi ukuba iphelelephi na loo nkqubo; lolunye ucelomngeni ke olo. Xa ndiqukumbela ke enye ingxaki ekhoyo yile yokhuseleko apho kuthi kufike izikrelemnqa pha kwezindawo zokwamkelisa zizokuba le mali yenkam-nkam. Ezi zezinye zeengxaki ezisekhoyo kule nkqubo. Ikhona ke eny'indlela yokuphucula le meko, le yeSouth African Social Security Agency apho isebe liphathisana nale arhente kulo mcimbi wenkam-nkam, kodwa amagunya anikezelwe apha kuSASSA. Le meko ke iphandiwe kumazwe angaphandle ukujonga ukuba isebenza ngokukuko na kwaye ke silisebe sibonakala sikholiwe ziziphumo zolo phando sikholelwa kananjalo ukuba le yeyona ndlela ibonakala izakuba ngcono. Le nkqubo yamkelwe kwaye ikwisigaba sokuqala apho izakuthi ijongwe isithuba seminyaka emithathu ngethemba lokuba kuyakuthi kubekho utshintsho.

1. *The way in which elderly people are treated in the pay points is inhumane. In some pay points old-age pensioners have to wait outside the local supermarkets for long hours and when the service providers finally arrive, they will stand in the long queues again. There are no proper facilities conducive enough for elderly people.*

The problem of the pay-points for elderly people has been an issue for a long time and the department has discovered that have also been delay problems with registration and some elderly people have been affected by poor conditions in those pay-points including bad weather. The department used to issue out the old-age pension through post offices and banks and it outsourced those services to private companies such as All-Pay and CPS to counter these problems. Research was conducted as far as the services of these companies are concerned and it was concluded that All-Pay and CPS have better means of issuing out these grants even though there were other companies doing the same job, but these two companies' service was commended looking at the Mpumalanga and Western Cape provinces. The department then switched to this programme as a means of trying to address the existing problems concerning the issuing of the grants and there was a service-level agreement signed between these companies and the department and among the things that were agreed on was to speed up the payment of grants, and secondly that beneficiaries must never be the victims of cold weather. This was agreed on and in that service-level agreement there was a clause stressing on a shelter over the beneficiaries' heads and to that the department was to contribute 30c for each beneficiary. Even though this is indeed a very small amount of money the service providers agreed on financially contributing to the proper pay-point infrastructure.

I also want to mention that when these companies took over we had hope that the situation will improve and that people will get their grants timeously but there were problems even today those problems are still there as you say. One contributing factor to this issue of delays is that it was discovered that their machines are not in good conditions and are broken most of the time, sometimes there will be shortage of money something that leads to migration of beneficiaries from their pay-points to

those that are earlier in pay-out dates. Another problem that came up is that the youth stand on the same queues as elderly people, but to address that the department decided to have separate dates for old-age pensioners and those of child support grants giving first preference to elderly people. In this issue of migration it was decided that people should be forced to use the pay-points in areas where they are registered. The main proclem with these services providers is that of their broken machines and their late arrival in the pay-points. Another problem is that even though people are sometimes made aware that service providers will arrive at 14H: 00 they will go to the pay-points as early as 09H: 00 because they want to be the first in the queue and unfortunately this is quite a difficult habit to change. There has also been a problem of the intended multi-purpose centres to be used as pay-points and for community development. I do not know what happened to that programme and that is another challenge. In conclusion, another problem that we have is that of crime in these pay-points. These are some of the problems that we have in these programmes.

There is another way of addressing this situation that of the South African Social Security Agency and even though it will be working with the department as far as grants are concerned, but the powers are vested on this agency. This mechanism has been researched in outside countries and as the department we are satisfied with the outcomes of that research, and we also believe that this is the best option. This programme has been accepted and it is in the first phase where it will be monitored for a period of three years with the hope that there will be change.

Second part of reproach no: 3, p. 18

2. <u>Abanye babantu abadala barhoxisiwe kuluhlu lwabo bazuza inkam-nkam kungekho sizathu sibambekayo nje kwaphela. Emva kokulinda iiyure ezininzi ukuze bazuze isibonelelo, abanye abantu bayajikwa kuba kusithiwa amagama abo awekho kuluhlu emva kokwamkela inkam-nkam iminyaka ngeminyaka. Barhoxiswa kolu luhlu ngaphandle kwesilumkiso okanye ukuqhakamshelana nabo ngokufanelekileyo. Kukho uvakalelo lokuba abantu abadala banxunguphaliswa nje ngamabom yile meko yesibonelelo.</u>

Umba wothethwano kule meko uphakathi kwalowo uxhamlayo kunye nenkampani leyo yamkelisayo, kodwa ke iimeko ezinjengezi uzibalulayo ziyenzeka nangona ingaxhaphakanga into yokuba umntu ayokothuka phaya ukuba ucinyiwe kuluhlu lwabantu abaxhamlayo. Ngoko ke kukho ukuba umntu abe ucinyiwe ngempazamo okanye kukho ingxaki kwinkqubo abasebenza ngayo, unelungelo ke umntu apho afumanise ukuba ucinywe ngokungekho mthethweni kube bekufanel'ukuba akacinywanga okanye ucinywe ngempazamo unelungelo lokuya kwisebe ayofak'isibheno. Kukho into engenakungalungiseka mhlawumbi sithi ngumama omdala ongaphezu kwama-60 eminyaka kufumaniseke ukuba yimpazamo nje engothusiyo le, iyalungiswa ke loo nto. Kwisitishi ngasinye sokwamkela kukho into ebizwa ngokuba yihelp desk emiselwe ukusombulula ingxaki zabantu apho zithi iimeko ezinje zikhawuleze zilungiswe.

2. *Some of the elderly people have been cancelled from the lists with no reason at all. Having waited hours for the grant, some people are turned away with the claim that they do not appear on the list after many years of receiving the grant. They are cancelled from the list without prior notification or the least consultation. There is a feeling that the elderly are deliberately being frustrated by the system.*

The communication as far as this issue is concerned is between the beneficiary and the service provider, but then problems such as those you mention do happen even though it is not common for a person learn about being scratched-out from the

beneficiaries' list at the pay-point on pay day. It might then happen that the person has been removed from the list or that there is a problem with their system, one has a right to appeal if she or he discovered that she or he has been unlawfully removed from the list or by mistake when she or he is supposed to be in the list. In cases where you find that say for example it is a woman above the age of 60 years and this is something that can be rectified easily. Each pay-point there is something called a help-desk where such problems are handled and solved immediately.

Follow-up reproach:

*Ingaba ezi-help desk zikho kuzo zonke na izitishi?

Are these help-desks available in all the pay-points?

Ewe kufanel'ukuba zikho kuzo zonke izitishi kodwa kwamanye amaxesha kuyenzeka ukuba zihamba-hambe naba bantu babhatalisayo baye kwizitishi ngezitishi, kodwa ubukhulu becala zikhona ezitishini.

Yes, they are supposed to be available in all the pay-points, they sometimes move around to other pay-points with the people issuing grants, but are mostly available in the pay-points.

Third part of reproach no: 3, p. 18

3. Kukwakho nabantu ekudala basweleka kodwa amagama abo asavela kolu luhlu. Akukho mntu waziyo ukuba le mali iyaphi na okanye ngubani na lo uzuzayo.

Into eye yenzeke kukuthi umntu xa eswelekile uyayazi nawe ukuba kuye kufuneke umntu afune isetifikethi sokufa kwaHome Affairs sona esizakuthi sisebenze njengoqhagamshelwano phakathi kweli sebe nelo lemicimbi yasekhaya. Belukade lungekho olo nxibelelwano phakathi kwalamasebe; sizamile ke kodwa ukuba kusekwe indlela yokugunyazisa nokukhuthaza olu nxibelelwano oluzakwenza ukuba sibenokufikelela kwiinkqubo zala masebe, yindlela ke le abathembise ukuba bazakuyisebenzisa ukwenzel'ukuba kube lula ukumbona umntu xa eswelekile lize isebe likwazi ukumsusa kuluhlu lwabantu abamkelayo.

3. There are also people who are deceased but their names still appear on the lists. No one seems to know where this money goes or whom does it benefit.

What normally happens as you also know is that once a person dies a death certificate must be issued by the department of Home Affairs and that sometimes functions as a link between this department and Home Affairs. This has not always been the case but we have tried to ensure and encourage such communication and interaction between these departments and also to have access to the programmes of the said departments; they have promised that they will manipulate and employ these mechanisms so that it can be easier fro them to get more information on their beneficiaries and remove the deceased from their list of beneficiaries.

Fourth reproach: p. 19

4. **Ukunakekela abantu abadala**: uMphathiswa ukhankanya ukuba injongo yesi sibonelelo: "Kukunakekela ngokuggibeleleyo abantu abadala kwiindawo zabo zokuhlala kunye nakumakhaya/kwiindawo zaasekuhlaleni" (p. 30), nangona kunjalo:

1. Zimbalwa kakhulu iisenta ezifumanekayo kwaye zonke zineemeko ezingaginyisi mathe (umz: izakhiwo, amagumbi kuquka iibhedi, izinto zokulala kunye nezinga lokutya abakufumanayo).

2. Ayinguye wonke umntu omdala ofumana ithuba kwezi ndawo zokuhlala zokunakekelwa kwabo. Nelo gcuntswana lithi liye kwezo senta kufuneka lizihlawulele kungenjalo kuye kunyanzeleke ukuba baye kwiindawo zoshishino ukuya kucela amalizo.

Kwintetho yomgomo yalo nyaka isebe libekele bucala isixa-mali esingama-R6, 7m nangaphezulu ukunizek'inkxaso nenkathalo kubantu asele bekhulile nto leyo etheth'ukuba iimfuno neentlungu zabantu abakhulile zizakuthathelw'ingqalelo ngesi sixa-mali. Xa besiqwalasela olu lwabiwo-mali kukuba enye yezinto ezizakuqatshelwa kukuphuhliswa kweendawo zokuhlala zabantu abadala, kodwa into abayigxininisayo abesebe kukuba ekwenzeni oko bazakwakha unxibelelwano nemibutho yabucala naleyo ingaphandle kurhulumente ukwenzel'ukuba kubekho igalelo abalenzayo nanjengoko ezi ndawo ziphethwe yimibutho ezimeleyo. Igalelo likarhulumente lilandela imigomo ethile efana neesubsidies nangona linganiki nkxaso malunga nemivuzo, kodwa ke kukho ezonjongo zokuba isebe lizakugxininisa kakhulu kwiindawo zokuhlala.

4. *Care of older persons*: *The Hon. MEC mentions that the aim of the grant is: "To provide quality care for the older persons within residential and home/community-based environment" (p. 30), but:*

1. *There are very few centers available and all with very unsatisfying conditions (i.e. the buildings, rooms including beds, bedding, and even the quality of food provided).*

2. *Not every elderly person has access to them. The few that go to those centers have to pay out of their own pockets and/or be taken to the shopping malls to ask for donations.*

In this year's policy speech, the department has reserved R6, 7m and more to give support and care to elderly people something which means that their needs will be taken into consideration with this money. Some of the things that will be addressed by this budget are the rehabilitation and development of the old-age homes, but what the department is stressing on is the interaction with the private sectors that they should also be involved and contribute to this project as most of these homes are run by non-governmental organizations. The government's support is mainly conditioned on the issue of subsidies only and not the salaries, but there is that initiative of focusing on the infrastructure for the care of elderly people.

Follow-up reproach:

Kulento yokuba ezi ndawo ziyaxhaswa lisebe kodwa babe abantu abadala benyanzeliswa ukuba bakuhlawulele ukuhlala kwezi ndawo, nithini nina ngalo nto kuba kaloku ngokwenjenjalo bayaxhatshazwa abantu abadala?

Zingabakhona ke iimeko ezinjalo kodwa eyonanto iphambili kukuhlola nanjengoko incinci kakhulu into eyenziwayo ngokuphathelele koko kuba kaloku isebe bekufanel'ukuba lilandelele yonke isenti eliyikhuphayo ukuqinisekisa ukuba yenza lo msebenzi ibisekelwe wona kwaye le yenye yemisantsa ekhoyo into yokuba umba wokuhlolisisa awanelisi ncam kuba zininzi izikhalazo ezivelayo; zikhona nezikhalazo ezisuka kweziNGOs zokuba iimali zentlawulo ziyalibaziseka ngokungenasizathu kangangokuba ezinye zazo ziye zigunyazise abantu ukuba babhatale ngesizathu sokuba urhulumente akabhatali. Kufuneka siyilungelelanisile indlu yethu thina kuqala singurhulumente, siqinisekise ukuba iimali abafanel'ukuzifumana bazifumana ngethuba ukwenzel'ukuba sikwazi ukubahlola nokubabeka endleleni xa bezisebenzisa ngandlela engeyiyo ezi mali.

These centres are subsidized by the government and at the same time elderly people are expected to pay for their stay in these homes, what are you saying about that because that would mean elderly people are being exploited?

There might be such situations but the main issue is that of monitoring as there is little that is being done by the department pertaining to that because the department is supposed to follow each and every cent that it issues out to see if it serves the purpose for which it is intended, and this lack of monitoring is a major gap as there are many complaints. There are also complaints from these NGO's that they do not get their payments timeously from the department as a result some of them force residents to pay for their stay because "government does not pay". We should try to restructure our own house first as the government and ensure that the monies that are due to these NGO's are received in time so that we can also be in a position to monitor and call them into order wen they are mismanaging those funds.

6. **_Ukulwa nendlala_**: Injongo etsolileyo yale nkqubo: "Kukulwa amazinga endlala ngokuveza iinkqubo zokhuseleko lokutya nenzuzo ezinxamnye neenkqubo kwakunye nemimiselo yophuhliso loluNtu" (p. 31).

Fifth reproach: p. 21

- Kuthiwa inkxaso ngokwezimali yophuhliso loluntu sele ikho: "isikhokelo sokuzuza inkxaso-mali kwiSebe lezeNtlalo-ntle nenkqubo yophuhliso loluntu…" (p. 31), nangani kunjalo iindawo ezininzi zoluntu azinolwazi malunga nale nkxaso-mali, kwaye azifikeleleki eluntwini ezi nkqubo zenkxaso-mali ngokuphathelele ekwenzeni isicelo sokuzuza le mali. (Ngokuqwalasela imeko yezinga leMfundo eqgubayo emaphandleni).

Kunalento kuthiwa yinkqubo yokulwa nendlala apha esebeni enjongo zayo ikukwenza kanye loo nto yokuphuhlisa. Eyonanto inqongopheleyo lunxibelelwano nabantu kuba abantu abaninzi abazi ngamalungelo abo nangona kwezinye iimeko isebe lizama ukuyisasaza le nkqubo. Zikhona ke iinkqubo esele zisebenza njengakoomaBedford nakooMiddledrift, iinkqubo zokufuya nokulima nezinye ke ukuzam'ukulwa nendlala; aba bakhanyelweyo ke bayakwazi ukuzifak'izicelo zijongwe ze ezinye ziphumelele. Eny'into isebe elizam'ukuyenza nebelithe lizakuyiqinisa kulo nyaka yilento yembewu nokukhuthaza into yeenursuries ingakumbi kwezo ndawo kulinywa kakhulu kuzo, kwakhona isebe likwazam'ukusondela kakhulu kwinto yee-cooperatives nanjengoko ingasayi kujongana nento yezibonelelo ngoku izakugxininisa kakhulu kwimiba yophuhliso loluntu. Into yoqeqesho lweecommunities lizakoyanyaniswa nalento yezi-cooperatives. Kulento yeenkqubo zophuhliso esele zikhona lukhona uqeqesho olunikwayo baze bancediswe abantu ukuphumelelisa iibusiness plan zabo; ukuthi oko konele yini na ngumbuzo omhle lowo kuba emaxesheni amaninzi uye ufumanise ukuba ezi zinto zikho nje emaphepheni kodwa zibe zingenzeki. Kwenye yeeprojekthi esiye sazindwendwela sifumanise ukuba ingxaki engundoqo yeyokuba kukho inkqubo ekhoyo kandlunkulu apha ephondweni kodwa iphondo libe lingenagalelo kulo nkqubo, ngoku ingxaki apho ikhoyo kukuba kuba nzima ukuqhagamshelana noNdlunkulu kwaba bantu beziprojekthi babe abakwaziyo ukufikelela kuba ingaba bephondo kodwa babebengazinto ngalo projekthi. Le yenye yezinto esizamayo ukuzenza, ukwakha uqhagamshelwano noNdlunkulu ngeenkqubo ezikhoyo zokulwa nendlala nokuba iphondo kufuneka lidlale indima kwiinkqubo ezenziwa nguNdlunkulu ephondweni. Olu lolona celomngeni sijamelene nalo, olu lophuhliso lweenkqubo zokulwa nendlala kuba umba wecapacity ungundoqo nangona ikhona into yokuba abantu bayaqeqeshwa sifumanise ukuba incinci kakhulu into eyenziwayo.

5. _**Poverty Alleviation**: The main focus of this programme is: "To alleviate levels of poverty through food security and income generation programmes in line with community development principles and practices" (p. 31)._

  ▪ _It is said that financial assistance for community development has been made available: "Guide on how to access financial assistance from department of Social development community development programme…" (p. 31), but then many communities are not aware about such funding, and the funding procedures in terms of applying for the fund is not very user-friendly. (Considering the literacy levels mostly prevalent in rural areas)._

The department has a programme of poverty alleviation which is intended for the purpose of development. The main problem here is lack of communication with the communities even though most people do know about this because the department is also trying to make people aware of these progrmammes as much as they can. There are projects already in place such as in Bedford and Middledrift, farming and agricultural projects, and others intended for poverty alleviaton. Those who are enlightened do submit proposals and some of them are accepted if they meet the requirements. This financial year the department is also trying to do and strengthen is that of seeds and nurseries especially in arears where the main focus is agriculture and again the department is aligning itself more with cooperatives as it is will not be dealing with grants anymore but will be focusing more on community development. The issue of community trainings will be aligned with the cooperatives. Concerning the community development projects that are already in place, there are trainings conducted and assistance is provided on the development of business plans; if that is enough that is a good question because in most cases you will find that these things exist only in paper. In one of the projects that we visited we discovered that the main problem is that the project is a national project and the province has absolutely nothing to do with it or the least the province is not aware of such a project, the problem then is that it becomes difficult for the people in the project to keep in touch with the national officials concerning the project and the only people within reach are the ones who know nothing about the project, the provincial officials. This is one of the things that we are stil trying to set in place, building concrete lines of communication with the national office concerning the existing poverty alleviation programmes so that province can be able to play a role. This is one of the major challenges that we are faced with that of the development of poverty alleviation programmes because the issue of capacity is of utmost importance and even though it has been said that people are being trained, we have discovered that a lot still needs to be done.

Follow-up reproach:

*Ingaba olu lwazi luyafikelela kulo lonke uluntu lweMpuma Koloni?

Zibakhona ii-outreach programmes ezenziwa lisebe lezeNtlalontle ndawonye nesebe lezeMpilo, elezoLimo nelemicimbi yekhaya kujikelezwa iphondo eli kusasazwa le micimbi yeeprojekthi, izibonelelo zabantwana kunye nazazisi; ndicinga ukuba le nkqubo ibiqhubeka ukususela pha ngo-2003 nangaphambili. Zibakhona ke iinkqubo ezikumila kunjalo ke apha ephondweni apho uMphathiswa namagosa akhe bathi bhazalala bajikeleze besasaza iinkqubo zesebe qho emva kweenyanga ezimbini nezintathu; lento yenziwa ke ngawo onke amasebe.

*Is this information accessible to all the Eastern Cape people?

The department of Social Development has outreach programmes together with the department of Health, Agriculture and Home Affairs to enlighten the people of the

province about such projects, child support grants and ID's; I think that this programme has been going on since2003 and earlier. There are such programmes in the province where the MEC and his or her officials will travel thoughout the province educating people about these projects every second or third month, and this is done by all departments.

4.5.4 Interview no. 4

4.5.4.1 Social assistance grants

4.5.4.1.1 Child support grant:

1.1 A: Reproach: This grant is seen as encouraging young girls to fall pregnant so they can have access to this fund:

1 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

The justifier focused on the strategy in which he tried to reframe the outcome or consequences of the failure event. The purpose of this reframing of the consequences of the reproach is to convince the reproacher that this grant will lead to future benefits and people will eventually experience positive outcomes such as:

a. fighting poverty and that
b. children do not grow in impoverished situations (SDI4, Q1.1A: 1-7 and 14-16)

2 <u>Concessions:</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the reproach that some people view the child support grant as a job opportunity and means to survive by earning a monthly salary (SDI4, Q1.1A: 9-11)

1.1 B: Reproach on children who are still suffering even though they are beneficiaries of the grant:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to diffuse responsibility for the reproach to another source which should bear responsibility for the negative consequences of the situation. He presents such source as:

a. The government, she should strengthen the work done by social workers in ensuring that the support grant they receive from government does serve the purpose for which it is intended (SDI4, Q1.1B: 2-6 and 8-11)

2 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee agrees that beneficiaries should be monitored on regular basis (SDI4, Q1.1B: 6-8)

4.5.4.1.2 Disability grant:

1.2 A: Reproach: There are disabled people who are denied access to the disability grant:

1 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the failure event and the right to reproach (SDI4, Q1.2A: 1-4 and 20-22)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver disconnects self from the failure event by mentioning other structures external to him as the source of the reproach and should bear responsibility. Such sources are:

a. The department of Social Development is responsible for the evaluation of applications (SDI4, Q1.2A: 4-5)
b. Doctors who evaluate these cases (SDI4, Q1.2A: 7-8)

3 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate the blame and its consequences by appealing to present adverse conditions. The excuse-giver mentions the following situations:

a. Doctors who should be evaluating applications are very scarce (SDI4, Q1.2A:8 and 12)

b. Doctors take a very long time to process applications (SDI4, Q1.2A: 8-9)

c. The department of Social Development does not have a clear cut process of dealing with applications (SDI4, Q1.2A: 9-11 and 12-14)

d. Applications are processed over a period of three months and sometimes more (SDI4, Q1.2A: 14-17)

1.2 B: Reproach: There are people who are not disabled, but they receive the disability grant:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver tries to disconnect self away from the reproach by presenting another source which in this case is the departmental officials and the public as responsible for the failure event: (SDI4, Q1.2B: 5-6)

1.2 C: Reproach: There are disabled people that have full-time jobs and still benefit from the disability grant:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

An excuse has been employed to disconnect the excuse-giver away from the failure event and the consequences of the reproach by presenting another source which should bear causality for the reproach. He mentions such source as the department of Social Development which should strengthen its system in order to address crime pertaining to social assistance grants (SDI4, Q1.2C: 6-9)

4.5.4.1.3 Old age grant:

1.3 A: Reproach: Elderly people are treated in a rather inhumane manner in pay-points:

1 <u>Concession:</u>

The accounter acknowledges the failure event and the right to reproach (SDI4, Q1.3A: 1 and 40-41)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver used the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way he wants to disconnect himself from the reproach and put the causality of the act on some other source, external to himself. He identified such external sources which are the cause of the reproach as follows:

a. The department should remind people about registering for old age grant after receiving information from the department of Home Affairs (SDI4, Q1.3A: 1-10)
b. Service providers did not abide by the promises they made as per the service-level agreement entered into with the department of Social Development (SDI4, Q1.3A: 34- 39)

3 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver focused attention on three adverse conditions facing the department at present such as:

a. There are no banks in rural areas where people can go and get grants as quickly as possible (SDI4, Q1.3A: 11-13)
b. People always want hard cash (SDI4, Q1.3A:13-16)
c. People are not aware that their money is always available in the bank, instead they would rather go on pay days and stand in long queues (SDI4, Q1.3A: 22-28)
d. People are still using schools and church/community halls as pay-points (SDI4, Q1.3A: 29-34)

4 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier is appealing to the positive present benefits associated with the situation with the aim of reframing the negative consequences and to minimize the severity of the reproach. He mentions such benefit as:

a. There are mobile banks in some areas where people go to get their money (SDI4, Q1.3A: 20-22)

1.3 B: Reproach: Some pensioners find that they have been removed from the beneficiaries list without even being informed about such a decision:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver used the issue of a null cause in his account to disconnect himself from the reproach and to put the causality of the act on some other source external to him. He identifies such source as the actual system of grant pay-out as it is inefficient (SDI4, Q1.3B: 1-6)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver employed an excuse in his response in an attempt to mitigate the blame by focusing on the present conditions that are hampering the proper management and pay-out of social assistance grants in the province. In this regard he mentions the following:

a. The governmental system does not visit people to remind them about application of old age grant (SDi4, Q1.3B: 6- 9)
b. The department lacks the capacity to deal with pensions in a humanely manner (SDI4, Q1.3B: 9-13)
c. There is no interaction and dynamic relations between the department and the public (SDI4, Q1.3B: 13-15)

1.3 C: Reproach: There are ghost beneficiaries in the list and their pensions are still paid out by the department:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility:</u>

The account-giver wants to diffuse responsibility for the failure event to other sources. He mentions two such sources:

The department of Social Development and the department of Home Affairs in the sense that they should be having interaction in terms of their data so that when a

person is registered as deceased by the department of Home Affairs that information should also reflect in the system of Social Development immediately (SDI4, Q1.3C: 1-4)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The justifier is appealing to the present adverse conditions associated with the situation with the aim of reframing the negative consequences and to minimize the severity of the reproach. He mentions such benefit as:

a. There is no communication and coordination between the departments of Social development and Home Affairs (SDI4, Q1.3C: 5-6)
b. Monies are issued by the department of Social Development but they never reach their intended beneficiaries (SDI4, Q1.3C: 9-11)
c. There is no monitoring within the department to minimize instances of fraud and mismanagement of funds (SDI4, Q1.3C: 11-12)

4.5.4.1.4 Care of older people

1.4 A: Reproach: There are very few centers and they are mostly dilapidated.

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver used the issue of a null cause in his account to disconnect himself from the reproach and to put the causality of the act on some other source external to him. He identifies such source as government which fails to monitor these centers after funding them (SDI4, Q1.4A: 1-3)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver employed an excuse in his response in an attempt to mitigate the blame by focusing on the present conditions that are affecting the department as far as old age homes are concerned. He mentions the following problems:

a. The financial assistance provided by the government is insufficient (SDI4, Q1.4A: 4-8)

b. These centers lack the necessary resources (SDi4, Q1.4A: 15-17)

c. Residents are then asked to pay using their pension grants (SDI4, Q1.4A:18-20)

3. <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefit:</u>

The justifier wants to minimize the failure aspects of the reproach by reframing the consequences of the failure. There are present benefits which will lead to future benefits because the current policy has come up with an intervention to deal with this situation. He mentions such benefit as the caring of elderly people in their own homes and communities instead of opening old age centers where they are exploited (SDI4, Q1.4A: 8-12)

4.5.4.2 Poverty alleviation

Reproach: Many communities are not aware of the financial assistance form the Department of Social Development's community development program, and the funding procedures are not user-friendly:

1 <u>Denial:</u>

The interviewee did not want to respond to this reproach.

1. **<u>Language and style</u>**

1.1 *Syntactic level:*

a. Length of sentences:

The account has very long sentences. See *i.a.* Q1.1A: 1-7, 8-14 and 14-16. These sentences range from three to seven lines. However, the length of the sentences is not a problem because in the spoken isiXhosa language there are generally longer sentences than the written version.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences that have been used are quite complex in that each sentence has more than one verb. See *i.a.* Q1.1: 1-6, the sentence has eleven verbs: *akanakuxoxa, ndifun'ukuthi, yokuvelisa, nokusinikezela, yokuzama, ukuhlangabezana, ngelikhawulelana, bakwazi, ukufumana, kuzanywa, angakhuleli.*

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban or modern version of isiXhosa. It is not a dialect though, but just a modern standard of the language mostly used by the urbanized Xhosa speakers.

1.2   Lexical level:

a. Lexical diversity:

i.   *Technical terms:* The interviewee did not much technical terms

ii.   *English terms:* the accounter has also used very English terms probably because he could not find Xhosa terms. Examples of these terms are: *i-capacity*, *i-system, kwa-Home Affairs,* etc.

iii.   *Innovative Xhosa words:* the interviewee did not use any innovative Xhosa words.

b. Language imagery:

i.   **Metaphor**

The account-giver has used such metaphors as: *"…yehla ngomlenze…"* (Q1.3C: 10-11)

ii.   **Simile**

The account-giver did not use simile in his speech repertoire.

1.3   Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used some equivocation in his account such as the following: *"… kusenokwenzeka ukuba inobunyani…"* meaning "it might happen that it is true…: (Q1.1B: 1)

"Andiqondi nje kwaphela ukuba into enjalo ivumelekile…" [I do not think such a thing is acceptable…] (Q1.2C: 1)

2. <u>Language use</u>

2.1 Politeness:

The interviewee has tried to avoid the face-threatening acts (FTAs) by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat such as excuses. However, the account-giver has chosen to perform the FTA, that he did on-record and off-record. On-record is expressed unambiguously through the use of justifications especially the "appeal to higher values of standards in politics". The off-record strategy is expressed ambiguously so that the account-giver cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent. The conclusion of the expression is thus left to the reproacher to make.

2.2 Effectiveness:

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the accounter has chosen to use mostly excuses and justifications. Justifications that have been used are only that seek to minimize the undesirable consequences by appealing to present benefits which somehow should outweigh the negative aspects associated with the failure event in question. There are three justifications in total.

Minimization: Present benefits	2
Minimization: Future benefits	1

The excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances as they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are actually constrained by external circumstances. The interviewee has employed thirteen (13) excuses in his account:

Causal excuses: Null cause	6
Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	5
Diffuse responsibility: Vertical	2

The interviewee has chosen strategies that have the potential of success. He has decided to employ more excuses especially those that focus on null causes and those that mitigate the blame because they are among strategies that are regarded

as effective, and also justifications that appeal to future in the sense that if the mentioned strategies are successfully implemented then there is no need for reproach.

2.3 Power of speech style:

The strategies used are those that have a potential of blame avoidance and thereby claiming credit for the account-giver. Such strategies are excuses that mitigate the blame and its consequences and justification that minimization of negative aspects of the failure by highlighting present benefits, which somehow outweigh the blame.

Interview no: 4

iSebe lezeNtlalo-ntle

Isinikezelo sentetho yomthetho neyokuzinikela koMphathiswa weSebe loPhuhliso lwezeNtlalo (2004-2007), ludandalazisa oku: "Injongo…ukuthatha inxaxheba kuphuhliso lobomi banantu abasokolayo, ababuthathaka, abasweleyo nabo bajongelwe phantsi beli Phondo ngokumisela inkonzo yezentlalo eluqilima, ebandakanyayo nephuhlileyo" (p.2).

Department of Social Welfare

The statement of policy and commitment by the Hon. MEC for the Department of Social Development (2004-2007), states: "The aim is to contribute to the improvement of quality of life of the poor, the vulnerable, the needy and the marginalized citizens of this province through a comprehensive, integrated and developmental social service system" (p.2).

First reproach: p. 15

Iingxaki ezimalunga nezibonelelo zeNtlalo

Yinjongo yeSebe loPhuhliso lweNtlalo "ukuphuhlisa ulawulo lwezibonelelo ngokuthathat izicelo zesibonelelo, iintlawulo, ukugcinwa kweenkcukacha zabo bahlawulwayo kunye nohlenga-hlengiso lweenkqubo".

Isebe loPhuhliso lweNtlalo luneenkqubo zesibonelelo sabantwana ezinenjongo: "Yokulawual nokunikezela izibonelelo zeNtlalo *kubongi/abagcini* babantwana abaminyaka ingaphantsi kwesixhenxe… abaphuma kwiintsapho ezinemivuzo engaphantsi kwama- R800 ukya kuma- R1100" (p.28).

First part of reproach no: 1, p. 16

1. Ingxaki ngesi sibonelelo kukuba sibonwa njengesikhuthaza amantombazanana ukuba akhulelwe ukuze azuze kule mali yesibonelelo, xa sijonga izinga eliphezulu lokukhulelwa kwamantombazana afikisayo kule mihla.

Uyabona ke mhlawumbi umntu akanakuxoxa ngokuchaseneyo kakhulu nalo mbono, kodwa ke ngaxeshanye ndifun'ukuthi masingaphuncukani nale njongo yokuvelisa esi sibonelelo nokusinikezela ebantwini kuba ke le yeyona ndlela intle karhulumente yokuzama ukuhlangabezana nabantu abangathathintweni ngelikhawulelana nendlala ngokuthi nabo bakwazi ukufumana into esiwa phantsi kwempumlo nokuba kukanye okanye kabini ngemini kuzanywa into yokuba loo mntwana angakhuleli phantsi kwemeko engenankxaso ngokwasezimalini. Ngokunokwam ukubona ke ngesizama

ukugxininisa kuloo nto kunokuba sithethe ngabantu abakhulelwayo, kodwa ke isenokwenzeka loo nto kwezo ndawo nezo apho abantu bazakuthi basibone esi sibonelelo njengendlela yomsebenzi batsho bakwazi ukufumana imali inyanga nenyanga; iyinyani loo nto kodwa ke ngaxeshanye le asiyiyo injongo ephambili yesi sibonelelo, mhlawumbi ke isenokuba yenye yezo ziphumo zizivelelayo ebezingasekwanga umgaqo karhulumente. Mna ke bendinokubambelela kakhulu kulento yokuba le yimigudu karhulumente yokuzam'ukuncedisana nabantu kunokuba nditsolise kwizinto ezigwenxa eziyimiphumela yokusekwa kwesi sibonelelo.

1. Problems with Social assistance Grants

It is one of the objectives of the Department of Social Development "to improve administration of grants in terms of taking applications, payments, capturing, filing and diversion programmes" (p.28).

The Department of Social Development has a programme of Child Support Grant with the aim: "To administer and manage Social grants to care-givers of children under the age of 7…whose families in household income is below R800 and R1100" (p.28).

1. *A problem with this grant is that it is seen as encouraging young girls to fall pregnant so they get access to this fund, considering the rapid increase in teenage pregnancy nowadays.*

You see, maybe one may not deviate much from that view but at the same time I should like to say that we must not ignore the objective behind this grant because this is the way in which government is trying to assist the disadvantaged people in order to fight poverty and also to see to it that these children do not grow in impoverished situations. I think we should focus more on that instead of people who are getting pregnant, but it might also happen that in certain areas people might see this assistance as a job opportunity so that they can be able to get some kind of a salary every month; as that might be it is not the original purpose of this grant, it might be one of those unintended consequences. I would hold on more on the fact that this is one of government's means of assisting people instead of focusing on negative aspects of this grant.

Second part of reproach no: 1, p. 16

2. Kukho abantwana abasasokolayo nangona bezuza isibonelelo. Ingxaki kukuba kukho abantu abamkela isibonelelo sokuxhasa abantwana babe bengahlali nokuhlala nabo bantwana. Ngoko ke esi sibonelelo asiwenzi lo msebenzi simiselwe ukuba siwenze.

Nalapho andifuni ukuyiphikisa le nto uza nayo kuba ke kusenokwenzeka ukuba inobunyani kwezinye iindawo, ngoko ke mna ndicinga ukuba ibalulekile into yokuba urhulumente aqinise umsebenzi woonontlalontle ukwenzel'into yokuba bakwazi ukuwenza umsebenzi wabo ngendlela efanelekileyo kwiindawo ngeendawo khon'ukuze ezi zikhewu zifana nezi uzikhankanyileyo zikwazi ukuvaleka kwakamsinya. Iyinyani yona into yokuba abantu abanikwa imali okanye abaxhamla kwiimali zikarhulumente kuyafuneka into yokuba basoloko bendwendwelwa ngurhulumente ukuze kubonwe ukuba le mali okanye esi sibonelelo sisenza laa nto besikhutshelwe ukuba siyenze na kwaye le yeyona nto ibalulekileyo ukuba kuqiniswe oonontlalontle bakwazi ukusebenzisana nabahlali ukwenzel'intoyokuba urhulumente angagaleli imali kwingxowa evuzayo.

2. *There are children who are still suffering even though they are grant-holders. The problem is that the people receiving child support grants are not even staying*

with the said grant-holders. This grant then does not serve the purpose that it is meant for.

I would not disagree with that because it might happen that it is true in other areas and therefore I think that it is important that the government should beef-up the work done by social workers so that they can be more efficient in order to bridge all these gaps that you are mentioning. It is true that people benefiting from these grants should be visited from time to time to see and ensure that these funds are serving the purpose for which they were intended. Reinforcing the work done by social workers so that they can be able to work hand-in-glove with the communities is very important in ensuring that government is not engaging in a futile exercise.

2. **Isibonelelo sokukhubazeka:** uMphathiswa uvakalisa ukuba isibonelelo sijolise: "ekulawuleni nasekunikezeleni **ngokukuko** izibonelelo zeNtlalo kwabo bakhubazekileyo. Abo bangaphezulu kweminyaka engama- 18 nabagunyaziswe yingxelo kagqirha ukuba bakhubazekile ngabo abazuza isibonelelo sokukhubazeka" (p. 28).

2. ***Disability grant:*** *The Hon. MEC argues that this grant is intended: "**To effectively** manage and disburse Social grants to the disabled. Qualifying adults above the age of 18 who are medically diagnosed as disabled receive disability grant" (p. 28).*

First part of reproach no: 2, p. 17

1. Kukho abantu ekungathandabuzekiyo ukuba bakhubazekile kodwa bangalifumani ithuba lokuzuza esi sibonelelo.

Ewe, injalo loo nto kuba zikhona iimeko ezifakiweyo ezivela kwiindawo ngeendawo ezibonakalisa into yokuba lo mntu umzekelo bekungafanelekanga into yokuba imali yakhe ithathiwe okanye bekufanele into yokuba imali yakhe ayifumane ngethuba, kodwa yonke le nto inento yokwenza nemo yokuhlolwa kwendlela ekujongwa ngayo izicelo zesibonelelo lisebe eli lezentlalontle. Ndinayo ke into ethi isebe eli lezentlalontle alinazo izakhono zokujongana ngokukuko nezicelo kunye nabantu abaqhuba olu hlolisiso okanye mhlawumbi kuba le nto yenziwa ngoogqirha nabo abanqongopheleyo ekuthatha ixesha ukuba iiforms bazigcwalise baze bazibuyisele kwisebe libe nesebe nalo lineyayo indlela yokuzijonga ezi zicelo ukuze ekugqibeleni liziphumelelise okanye lingaziphumelelisi. Ndicinga ukuba ke eyona ngxaki ekhoyo ilapha kwisystem, ukufumaneka koogqirha abazakujongana nezi zicelo kwakunye nesebe eli lezentlalontle elingenabo abantu bokuhlalela ukujongana nezi zicelo ngendlela ekhawulezileyo. Okwangoku ke siyayazi into yokuba isicelo somntu sinikwa iinyanga ezintathu ukuba sihlolwe aze anikwe iziphumo umntu lowo, kodwa ke emaxesheni amaninzi isicelo siyakwazi ukudlula kwezonyanga zintathu kube kungekho nesizathu esinikwayo esingunobangela woko. Kodwa ke mna ndikholelwa kwelokuba ukuba nje kunokuthi kuqiniswe indlela le isystem esebenza ngayo ukuze abantu bakwazi ukuphenduleka ngokokukhawuleza, izinto zingangcono. Injalo yona into yokuba abanye naxa umjongile umntu ngeliso lenyama ufumanise ukuba asikho isizathu esenza ukuba lo mntu angasifumani isibonelelo abe engasinikwa ngenxa yendlela isystem eqhuba ngayo.

1. *There are people who are visibly disabled but are denied access to this grant.*

Yes that is true as there are such cases that have been brought forward from various areas proving that there a re people who should be benefiting from the grant, but this has to so with the system is used by the department of Social Development in evaluating the application. I believe that the department does not have enough capacity of handling these cases including the people responsible for evaluating

these cases or maybe because the evaluation is done by doctors which are a scarce skill in the country and that results in the delays as far as filling those forms is concerned only to find that when they finally reach the department they will take another time for them to be approved or disapproved. I think that the main problem lies with the system, the availability of doctors to deal with the evaluation of these cases and the department which does not have personnel to deal specifically with these cases. We all know that normally an application is given three months for evaluation and then issue results after that, but what happens is that the processing of application goes beyond those three months without any explanations. But, I believe that if the system can be strengthened to fast track the processing of application then things can improve. It is true that sometimes you can see that a person is undoubtedly disabled and yet she or he does not get the grant mainly because of the way in which the system operates.

Second part of reproach no: 2, p. 17

2. <u>Kuthekani ke ngoku ngabantu abangakhubazekanga kodwa babe besifumana esi sibonelelo sokukhubazeka?</u>

Ayilunganga ke leyo kakhulu kangangokuba siyayikhuthaza into yokuba abantu babanjwe okanye isysem iqiniswe ukuze bakhutshwe abantu abanjalo kuba nokuba urhulumente angabe uneenjongo ezintle kangakanani na kodwa ke bayakuhlala bekhona abo bayisebenzisayo loo nto ukufezekisa ezabo iinjongo eziqhutywa bubuqhophololo. Loo nto ke yenziwa ngabasebenzi aba bakarhulumente kunye nabantu ngokubanzi, bayabanjwa ke kwaye nathi siyayikhuthaza apho sihamba khona ukuba abantu mabangayingeni into yobuqhophololo kuba ekugqibeleni bazakubanjwa.

2.   There are also people who are not disabled but receive the disability grant.

That is not acceptable at all to an extent that we do encourage that those responsible should be arrested or that the system should be strengthened so to remove such beneficiaries because even if the government could have good intentions for introducing these grants but there will always be those people who manipulate those intentions to fulfill their own selfish needs which are perpetrated by fraud or greed. In most cases this is done by the departmental officials together with the public in general, but they do get arrested and we also encourage people not to get involved in such fraudulent schemes as they will be arrested.

Third part of reproach no: 2, p. 17

3. <u>Kuthiwani ngabantu abakhubazekileyo abafumana isibonelelo sokukhubazeka kodwa babe besebenza kwezinye iindawo, ukutsho oko aba ngabantu abakhubazekileyo babe abangaswelanga ncakasana?</u>

Andiqondi nje kwaphela ukuba into enjalo ivumelekile kuba kaloku esi sibonelelo senzelwe ikakhulu abo bantu bangakwazi kuzenzela nto nabo ke bangenamvuzo banawo. Uyabona ke njengokuba bendikhe ndatsho abanye abantu bayazixhaphaza ezi zibonelelo endaweni yokuba babavuyele abo zisekelwe bona ukwenzel'into yokuba bangahambi bebangoongqibayo apha esithubeni; nalapha ke ndisatsho ukuba isebe kufuneka liyiqinisile isysem le yalo ukuzam'ukujongana neemeko ezikumila kunje baze ke basuswe nabo baxhamla ngokungekho mthethweni de bohlwaywe ukwenzel'ukuba nabo bebesacinga ngokuzorhwaphiliza kwezi zibonelelo bangabi saqalisa.

3.   What about disabled people who received disability grant and holding jobs at the same time, that is, disabled people who are not really needy.

I do not think that is acceptable because this grant is basically intended for those people who are unable to do things on their own and the disabled people who have no income. You see as I have said some people are abusing these grants instead of appreciating them for those these grants are intended so that they cannot turn into begging and even there the department has to strengthen its system in order to address these issues and to remove these from the beneficiaries' list, they should also be dealt with legally as a lesson to those who might be contemplating this.

3. ***Abolupheleyo***: iSebe lithi injongo yesi sibonelelo: "Kukulawula nokunikezela **ngokugqibeleleyo** isibonelelo seNtlalo kwabo bolupheleyo. Abo bafanele ukuzuza esi sibonelelo ngoomama amaneminyaka engama- 60 kunye nootata abaneminyaka engama- 65 nangphezulu ubudala bona bathi baphumelele uvavanyo lokufumana le mali nabathi bayifumane **ngethuba"** (p. 28).

3. ***Old age***: *The Department says the aim of this grant is:"To **effectively** manage and disburse Social grants to the aged. Qualifying women at age 60 and men at age 65 and older who meet the means test receive their grants **timeously"** (p. 28).*

First part of reproach no: 3, p. 17

1. Indlela abathi abantu abadala baphathwe ngayo kwiindawo zokwamkela lisikizi. Kwezinye iindawo zokwamkela abantu abadala abazuza inkam-nkam kufuneka balinde ngaphandle kweevenkile iiyure ezininzi baze bathi xa befika abo bamkelisayo ekugqibeleni beme kwimigca emide kwakhona. Azikho izakhiwo ezifanelekileyo zokujongana ngokufanelekileyo nabantu abadala.

Ewe injalo loo nto kodwa ke ndiyafuna ukuthi isystem le isetyenziswayo ngurhulumente iyafuna ukuba ikhe iphinde iqwalaselwe apha ekuhambeni kwethuba kuba mna ndinayo inkolo yokuba ukuba umntu ubhaliswe ngendlela eyiyo kwaHome Affairs, bekufanele ukuba ibe lisebe elimkhumbuzayo ukuba ngoku sele efikelele kwithuba lokuba abe wamkela inkam-nkam aze loo mntu ayifumane loo mali afanele ukuba ayifumane. Ndikholelwa kwelokuba ke iyafuna ukulungiswa loo nto ukwenzel'ukuba umntu ingabi nguye ohamba ezula apha esithubeni kwezi ndawo, esima kwimingcelele yezi ofisi efaka izicelo; bekufanele ukuba isystem le yona ngokunokwayo iyakwazi ukumxelela umntu ngokumbhalela aze ke asifumane isibonelelo eso ehleli endlini yakhe. Okwesibini, siyakukhumbula ukuba le mingcelele wena ayizenzekeli, le mingcelele ikakhulu yenziwa yinto yokuba iibhanki kwiindawo zethu ezininzi zasezilalini azikho kwaye nabantu bafuna imali eziinkozo kwakamsinya bazokwazi ukuthenga kuba kaloku apha sithetha ngabantu abangenamali kangangokuba ithi iphela inyanga babe sebebalekela evenkileni kuba ukutya kuphelile. Ndiyafuna ke mna ukuba siyijonge ngolo hlobo kuba ke eneneni le mingcelele ayamkelekanga kodwa ke xa kunokuthi kuqiniswe la ndima yokuvula iibhanki ingakumbi apha emaphandleni, bazivule kangangoko ukwenzel'ukuba abantu bethu bakwazi ukuya kwaba matshini bacofe bafumane imali yabo, kodwa ke sele zikhona iindlela ezikhoyo kwezinye iindawo umntu acofe kula maqhosha ayifumane imali yakhe kwakamsinyane ngamanye amazwi ezibhanki zihamba- hambayo. Zikhona ezi bhanki kodwa ke nangani kunjalo abantu abaninzi abayazi into yokuba imali yabo ihlala ikhona phaya ebhankini kwaye uyakwazi ukuba uyifumane nangolunye usuku bona basenalankolo yokuba ukuba ayifikanga ezandleni zabo ngala mini yepeyi umntu uyakube uyiphosile angaphinde ayifumane, ukanti ke le indlela ithi nokuba awuyifumananga ihlala ikhona yona imali ebhankini kodwa ke nayo leyo ifuna into yokuba uyihambele uyokufola ebhankini.

1. *The way in which elderly people are treated in the pay points is inhumane. In some pay points old-age pensioners have to wait outside the local supermarkets*

for long hours and when the service providers finally arrive, they will stand in the long queues again. There are no proper facilities conducive enough for elderly people.

That is a fact but at the same time I want to say that the system that is used by the government needs to be reviewed because I believe that if a person has been properly registered by the department of Home Affairs, the department is then responsible for reminding that person is now due for old-age pension and should then receive that grant. I believe that this has to be rectified to avoid the up and down that is done by the elderly, queuing in these offices and filling those forms; the system should be the one responsible for writing to these people and at the end of the day the pensioner should get her or his pension without any hassles. Secondly, we will recall that these queues do not happen on their own, they are caused mostly by the fact that banks are not available in rural areas and that people want cash as of now so that they can be able to buy because there is no food in the house. I would like that this issue be viewed from that angle because these queues are indeed not acceptable but then if this campaign of opening banks in all areas can be strengthened so that people can be able to go to the ATMs to get their money; but mobile banks are also available in some areas and people are able to access their money immediately. Even if these mobile banks are available most people do not know that their money is always available there and that they ca get it anytime they want because they still believe that if they did not receive on pay day then they would have missed it for good.

Follow-up reproach:

Kuthekani ke ngoku ngezakhiwo ezifanelekileyo ukulungiselela abo basarholela phaya ezilalini?

Uyabona ke okwangoku abantu basasebenzisa amaholo nezikolo ikakhulu kodwa ke ingxaki yile yokuba izikolo zivulile nto leyo eyenza ukuba kubenzima into yokuba babe nendawo yokwamkelela, iseyingxaki ke loo nto engekasombululeki ngendlela ecacileyo kuba kaloku kwezinye iindawo akukho kwaloo maholo nezoCawe ngamanye amaxesha nanjengoko kwezinye iindawo kusetyenziswa amaholo eeCawe. Kwesasivumelwane naba bantu bamkelisayo kwakukho into ethi kunyanzelekile ukuba kubekho izitulo, loo nto ke ayenzeki ncam kuba uthi xa undwendwela ezi ndawo kwamkeliselwa kuzo ufumanise into yokuba azikho ezo zinto nangona ke uthi xa usiya kwezinye ufumanise into yokuba abantu bahleli ezitulweni nokuba kuyabanda na ngaphandle kodwa babe benendawo yokuhlala. Iyakhuthazwa ke le nto nasezilalini into yokuba abantu xa bezokwamkela mababe nendawo nezitulo zokuhlala kodwa yona le intlungu yintlungu engekasombululeki ncam.

What about the proper infrastructure fot those pensioners in rural areas?

You see, at the moment people are still using community halls and mostly schools but the problem is that it has become difficult now that the schools are re-opened; this is the problem that has not yet been solved because in some areas there are no church halls. According to the agreement entered into with the service providers, it was stressed that chairs should be provided and that has not been implemented because when you visit these pay-points you will find that these things have not been provided even though when you go to some you will find that a proper shelter and chairs have been provided even if it is cold outside. It is then being encouraged even in rural areas that people must be provided with a proper shelter and chairs, but then again this is the problem that has not yet been solved.

Second part of reproach no: 3, p. 18

2. <u>Abanye babantu abadala barhoxisiwe kuluhlu lwabo bazuza inkam-nkam kungekho sizathu sibambekayo nje kwaphela. Emva kokulinda iiyure ezininzi ukuze bazuze isibonelelo, abanye abantu bayajikwa kuba kusithiwa amagama abo awekho kuluhlu emva kokwamkela inkam-nkam iminyaka ngeminyaka. Barhoxiswa kolu luhlu ngaphandle kwesilumkiso okanye ukuqhakamshelana nabo ngokufanelekileyo. Kukho uvakalelo lokuba abantu abadala banxunguphaliswa nje ngamabom yile meko yesibonelelo.</u>

Yilento bendikhe ndayitsho kuqala yokuba isystem le yethu yokubhatalwa kwabantu abafumana inkam-nkam iyafuna into yokuba kubekhona ithuba lokuba itshintshwe indlela esebenza ngayo kuba umntu uthi afumanise ngala mini kupeywa ngayo into yokuba akanakuyifumana imali yakhe kuba kusithiwa akakhange ahlaziye kule nto ke ubukhe wayithetha yokurhoxiswa kwabo bengakhange baxelelwe nokuxelelwa, ngoko ke bekufanele ukuba isystem le yona kuqala iyabandwendwela aba bantu ibachazele into yokuba wena awukhange uhlaziye sizokukuhlaziyisa ke ngoku ukwenzel'ukuba ingaqhawulwa inkam-nkam yakho. Ezi ke zezinye zezinto ezifun'ukulungiswa lisebe, ngamanye amazwi ndizam'ukuthi ke icapacity le yesebe yokujongana nemicimbi yankam-nkam ngendlela enobuntu ukwenzel'ukuba ingabi ngathi kujongenwe nezilwanyana okanye izinto ezifuyiweyo ozaziyo ukuba uzakumane uzixelela loonto, kuba kaloku ngabantu aba ngoko ke bekufanele ukuba kukho oluya nxibelelwano lubhetyebhetye phakathi kwabantu nesebe bayazi nabo into yisystem enceda bona kunokuba bayazi njengesystem inobutshaba kubo.

2. *Some of the elderly people have been cancelled from the lists with no reason at all. Having waited hours for the grant, some people are turned away with the claim that they do not appear on the list after many years of receiving the grant. They are cancelled from the list without prior notification or the least consultation. There is a feeling that the elderly are deliberately being frustrated by the system.*

This is what I have mentioned before that our payment system is old-age pension needs to be reviewed because as you say people only find out at the pay-point on the day of payment of grants that they have been withdrawn from the beneficiaries' list without prior notification; the system then was supposed to visit these people to remind them about reviewing their grants to avoid being withdrawn from the list of beneficiaries. These are some of the thins that need to be addressed by the department, in other I am trying to say that the departmental capacity in dealing with issues of old-age grants in a more humane manner should be revised to avoid dealing with people as if they are animals because these are human beings and for that reason there should be a dynamic relations and interaction between the department and the people so that they can also fell that this is the system intended to assist them not the system that is hostile towards them.

Third part of reproach no: 3, p. 18

3. <u>Kukwakho nabantu ekudala basweleka kodwa amagama abo asavela kolu luhlu. Akukho mntu waziyo ukuba le mali iyaphi na okanye ngubani na lo uzuzayo.</u>

Kwakhona lento yenziwa yilento yokunxulunyaniswa kwamasebe kuba isystem yakwa-Home Affairs xa kubhaliswa umntu oswelekileyo bekufanele into yokuba olo lwazi luyakwazi ukuvela naphaya kwisystem yesebe lezentlalontle ngoko nangoko ukuba hayi ubani uswelekile xa bejonga elo gama kwakulo nyanga, ayikenzeki ke loo nto yoko kulungelelaniswa kwalomasebe omabini kuba ke eneneni ukuba ingenziwa ingacutheka kakhulu le nto. Okwesibini ke le nto inalo uphawu lokuphazama kuba singabantu andifun'ukuthi yenziwa ngabom kuba kaloku ngelinye ixesha ezi zinto

ziyafakwa kodwa zingade ziphunyezwe lisebe eli ngenxa yezizathu ngezizathu kuba ke emaxesheni amaninzi uyakufumanisa into yokuba aba bantu bangapeyanga iinyanga ezintathu njl-njl. imali yabo iphumile yahamba yehla ngomlenze. Ndizam'ukuthi ke ukuba isystem le yona kuqala ukuba kunokubakho uhlolo nolungelelaniso zingacutheka izigigaba ezilolu hlobo.

3. *There are also people who are deceased but their names still appear on the lists. No one seems to know where this money goes or whom does it benefit.*

Again this thing is caused by this lack of linkage or coordination between the departments because when a person is being registered as deceased in the system of Home Affairs that information should immediately appear in the system of the department of Social Services as soon as that person's name is punched in their computers, but that coordination and compatibility within these departments has not yet implemented because if it can be implemented then that will address and curb cases like these. Secondly, this has an element of human error as I do not want to say that it is done deliberately because these things are sometimes submitted to the department but are never implemented for certain reasons and you will discover that these people who have not received their grants for three months or so, their monies have been issued only to disappear into thin air. What I am trying to say is that if there can be a way in which the system coordinated by means of checks and balances, such instances can be minimized.

4. **Ukunakekela abantu abadala**: uMphathiswa ukhankanya ukuba injongo yesi sibonelelo: "Kukunakekela ngokuggqibeleleyo abantu abadala kwiindawo zabo zokuhlala kunye nakumakhaya/kwiindawo zaasekuhlaleni" (p. 30), nangona kunjalo:

4. **Care of older persons**: *The Hon. MEC mentions that the aim of the grant is: "To provide quality care for the older persons within residential and home/community-based environment" (p. 30), but:*

Fourth reproach: p. 19

1. Zimbalwa kakhulu iisenta ezifumanekayo kwaye zonke zineemeko ezingaginyisi mathe (umz: izakhiwo, amagumbi kuquka iibhedi, izinto zokulala kunye nezinga lokutya abakufumanayo).

2. Ayinguye wonke umntu omdala ofumana ithuba kwezi ndawo zokuhlala zokunakekelwa kwabo. Nelo gcuntswana lithi liye kwezo senta kufuneka lizihlawulele kungenjalo kuye kunyanzeleke ukuba baye kwiindawo zoshishino ukya kucela amalizo.

Ndiyayingqina loo nto kodwa ke elam lithi ukuba ngaba urhulumente unika inkxaso kula maziko kufanele into yokuba ayenze ngokucacileyo, ngamanye amazwi akwazi ukongamela ajonge ukuba kwenzeka ntoni na kulamaziko kuba kaloku ingxaki apho ikhoyo ikwinto yokuba urhulumente unika la maziko imali, mhlawumbi nezo mali zincinci kangangokuba azikwazi kulithwala elo ziko ngokuphathelele mhlawumbi kwisakhiwo eso nokugcinwa kwaso sisemgangathweni onguwo zize ziwe ke ezo zinto nokuba uthetha ngeebhedi na kufuneka zingabi kumgangatho ongacacanga. Urhulumente ke into ayenzayo kukuphuma kancinci kule nto yala maziko ngokuthi akhethe into yokuba abantu abakhulu bongiwe emakhaya ngenxa yokuba esithi le yeyona nkqubo ingenazindleko kwaye yeyona inobuntu; mhlawumbi ke masithi owona mgaqo unokusinceda ikwangulo wokongiwa kwabantu ekhaya kunokuba silandelele lo mgaqo naye urhulumente angawuboni kakuhle kuba kaloku le nto inokwenza nokugalela kwakhe imali kula maziko abe angayigaleli ngendlela apha ekuzakucaca ukuba iyayincedisa le nkqubo ngenxa yokuba nezixhobo

zinqongophele kangangokuba nala maziko athi azithethelele ngokuzikhangelela imali kwezinye iindawo. Ukuba ke imali ithe ayafumaneka kwezinye iindawo kuba nzima kakhulu kangangokuba njengokuba ubukhe watsho bathi bakhethe ukucuntsula kule malana yala maxhego namaxhegokazi ehleli incinci kakade kube nzima ke nalapho, kodwa ke kum eyona nto ibhetele yile ithethwa ngurhulumente yokuba abantu abakhulu mabongelwe amakhaya kuba ke eneneni lutshipu olo luvo.

1. _There are very few centers available and all with very unsatisfying conditions (i.e. the buildings, rooms including beds, bedding, and even the quality of food provided)._

2. _Not every elderly person has access to them. The few that go to those centers have to pay out of their own pockets and/or be taken to the shopping malls to ask for donations._

I do agree with that but my view is that if government is providing these centers with some financial assistance then she should do that in a specific manner, what I am trying to say is that the government should be able to monitor these centers because what happens is that government allocates some funds to these centers which sometimes are insignificant that they cannot even be in a position to sustain the centre as far as the maintenance of infrastructure is concerned resulting to the collapse of the centre. Everything in the centre should be in a good condition even if you are referring to the beds. The government is now trying to shift away from this notion of centers and is opting for the view that elderly people must be taken care of in their communities because she believes that this programme is less expensive as well as being more humane. We might probably say that this policy of looking after the elderly in their communities is the best instead of pursuing a policy which the government has also realized that pumping money into might not be enough at times. This will do no one any good because resources are scarce as a result these centers defend themselves by saying that they have to look for sponsorship somewhere else to supplement the funding received from the government. If then there is no other sponsor it becomes so difficult that they end up deducting from the residents' grants, but to me the most sensible thing to do is what has been proposed by the government that the elderly must be looked after within their own communities or homes because that move is very cheap.

4.5.5 Interview no. 5

4.5.5.1 Social assistance grants

4.5.5.1.1 Child support grant:

1.1 A: Reproach: This grant is seen as encouraging young girls to fall pregnant so they can have access to this fund:

1 Denial:

The interviewee denies the reproach and the right to reproach based on the fact that there is no scientific proof to support these allegations (SDI5, Q1.1A: 1-8)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate blame and its negative consequences by appealing to the present adverse conditions such as the following:

a. There is a shortage of staff/ personnel in the department (SDI5, Q1.1A: 8-9)
b. There is a lack of proper management of the funds provided for social assistance grants (SDI5, Q1.1A: 14-17 and 20-21)
c. There are no offices in most areas of the province where people can go to get assistance on grants (SDI5, Q1.1A: 17-18)
d. The available offices are not well-equipped and are not linked with the Provincial office (SDI5, Q1.1A: 18-20)

3 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Past adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate blame and its consequences by appealing to the past adverse conditions within the department such as:

a. Under-expenditure in the sense that funds provided for the child support grant were not spent including money provided for the 9-14 age group (SDI5, Q1.1A: 9-14)

1.1 B: Reproach on children who are still suffering even though they are beneficiaries of the grant:

1 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the failure event and the right to reproach (SDI5, Q1.1B: 1 and 4-8)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in his excuse. In this way, he wants to disconnect self from the reproach with the intention of putting the causality

of the act on some other source, external to himself. He identifies such external source as follows:

a. It is the duty of the social workers to go around checking and ensuring that this money is serving what it was intended for (SDI5, Q1.1B: 2-)

3 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver has decided to mitigate the blame and its consequences by appealing to the present adverse conditions that are facing the department of Social Development concerning social assistance grants. He mentions just one such condition, that there is a shortage of social workers and that makes it difficult for these grants to be monitored (SDI5, Q1.1B: 3-4)

4.5.5.1.2 Disability grant:

1.2 A: Reproach: There are disabled people who are denied access to the disability grant:

1 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee agrees with the reproacher that there are problems concerning the disability grant as a result people who are supposed to benefit are not benefiting (SDI5, Q1.2A: 1-2)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

An excuse has been employed to disconnect the excuse-giver away from the reproach by presenting another source which should bear causality for the failure and its consequences. He mentions the government's policy as such source because it allows such a situation to happen (SDI5, Q1.2A: 3-8)

3 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the blame by appealing to present adverse conditions facing the department concerning the disability grant. He mentions the following conditions:

a. Government's policy on disability grant is not dynamic and/or flexible to accommodate all kinds of disabilities (SDI5, Q1.2A: 8-18)
b. Most people were removed from the beneficiaries list due to the department's negligence and only few (11 000) were admitted back to the system (SDI5, Q1.2A: 19-23)
c. Departmental officers are also corrupt and they are involved in fraudulent incidents concerning social grants (SDI5, Q1.2A: 26-29)
d. There is a shortage of doctors who should be evaluating applicants for social grants (SDI5, Q1.2A: 31-36)
e. Applicants have to wait very long periods, months before they can be assessed by doctors for social grants (SDI5, Q1.2A: 36-39)

1.2 B: Reproach: There are people who are not disabled, but they receive the disability grant:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the null cause with the intention of disconnecting self from the reproach by presenting another source which should bear causality for the failure event. He mentions the incapacity of the departmental system in dealing with corruption problems concerning social grants as such source (SDI5, Q1.2B: 1-2)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the blame and its consequences by appealing to present adverse conditions. He mentions the following conditions as those that are affecting the department at present:

a. Lack of proper and competent management in the department of Social Development (SDI5, Q1.2B: 2-3)

b. The policy that is not clear concerning those who should benefit and those who should not (SDI5, Q1.2B: 3-4)

c. Most people die because their sicknesses are not accommodated or considered as relevant in terms of meeting the requirements for the disability grant (SDI5, Q1.2B: 4-8)

4.5.5.1.3 Old age grant:

1.3 A: Reproach: Elderly people are treated in a rather inhumane manner in pay-points:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver is trying to mitigate the blame by appealing to the present adverse conditions affecting the department concerning old age grant. He mentions the following issues as such conditions:

a. There is no proper infrastructure to be used as pay-points (SDI5, Q1.3A: 1-4)

b. There is a problem of inequality in terms of age differences between male and female beneficiaries to the disadvantage of men (SDI5, Q1.3A: 4-11)

c. Most people do not have identity documents (SDI5, Q1.3A: 13)

d. Most people in rural areas do not know their dates of birth (SDI5, Q1.3A: 14-18)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause to disconnect self from the failure event and the reproach with the aim of presenting another source which should bear causality for the sad situation. He mentions the department of Home Affairs as such source which is responsible for the issuing of identity documents and is also able to rectify them if they are wrong (SDI5, Q1.3A: 21-22, 24-27 and 27-31)

3 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to minimize the failure aspects of the reproach and to reframe the negative consequences of the failure event by appealing to the present benefits such as bringing witnesses to prove that the person is indeed in an age of receiving the old age pension (SDI5, Q1.3A: 23-24)

1.3 B: Reproach: Some pensioners find that they have been removed from the beneficiaries' list without even being informed about such a decision:

1 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the reproach and the right to reproach based on the fact that the interviewee has proof of people he knows that have been removed from the beneficiaries' list on allegations that they were dead even though they were very much alive (SDI5, Q1.3B: 1-3)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

An issue of a null cause has been applied in this excuse with the intention of disconnecting the excuse-giver away from the reproach by presenting another source which should bear causality for the failure event. He mentions the department of Home Affairs as an external source that should take responsibility for the reproach and many other problems concerning identity documents (SDI5, Q1.3B: 3-8)

3 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate the negative aspects of the reproach. This is done by appealing to the present adverse conditions such as long period taken by the department of Social Development in processing applications (SDI5, Q1.3B:8-13)

1.3 C: Reproach: There are ghost beneficiaries in the list and their pensions are still paid out by the department:

1 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Derogation of victim: Attacking the accuser:</u>

The justifier is trying to reduce the credibility of the source of accusations and also to lessen the unpleasantness of the action. This strategy somehow diverts attention away from the accusation. The justifier argues that this situation is actually the end result of fraud within the system such as the lack of interaction and/or healthy working relations between the departments of Social Development and Home Affairs (SDI5, Q1.3C: 1-2)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Past adverse conditions:</u>

The excuse-giver argues that there have been some problems in the past that have somehow led to the challenges the department is faced with at present concerning the ghost beneficiaries (SDI5, Q1.3C: 3-4)

3 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to reframe the negative consequences of the act by appealing to positive present benefits that are intended for the minimization of the blame on the part of the department. He mentions the coordination in terms of linkages that have been established between the departments of Home Affairs and Social development as such benefit as this will put an end to the corruption that exist within the departmental social grants (SDI5, Q1,3C: 4-7)

4 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

The interviewee is trying to mitigate the negative consequences of the act by appealing to present adverse conditions. He mentions that some of the deceased still appear on the beneficiaries' list and their grants are issued on monthly basis, and those grants are never returned back to the department (SDI5, Q1.3C: 7-10)

5 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver relied on the issue of a null cause in an attempt of disconnecting self from the failure event and its consequences by presenting another source which should bear causality for the reproach. He mentions the department of Social Development as such source which should investigate about ghost beneficiaries (SDI5, Q1.3C: 11-15)

4.5.5.1.4 Care of older people

1.4 A: Reproach: There are very few centers and they are mostly dilapidated.

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse has been employed to mitigate the blame and its consequences by appealing to the present adverse conditions facing the department as far as care of elderly people is concerned. He mentions the following situations:

a. Old-age homes are mostly catered for white people and coloureds (SDI5, Q1.4A: 1-4)
b. The idea of giving the responsibility of caring for the elderly to their respective communities is hampered by the lack of financial support from the government (SDI5, Q1.4A; 4-13)
c. The elderly are exposed to crime and persecution because of their pensions (SDI5, Q1.4A: 14-22)

1.4 B: Reproach: People living in these centers are expected to pay for their stay using their pensions:

1 <u>Concession:</u>

The interviewee acknowledges the reproach and the right to reproach by agreeing that the elderly pay for their stay in these old age centers even though they are subsidized by the government (SDI5, Q1.4B:1-4)

2 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Causal excuse: Null cause:</u>

The excuse-giver has employed an issue of a null cause in order to disconnect himself from the reproach by presenting another source which should take responsibility for the failure event. He mentions that the department of Social Development should bear causality for the reproach as it has and continue failing to provide enough funding for the running of these old age centers (SDI5, Q1.4B: 4-7)

4.5.5.2 Poverty alleviation

Reproach: Many communities are not aware of the financial assistance form the Department of Social Development's community development program, and the funding procedures are not user-friendly:

1 <u>Excuse:</u>

<u>Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:</u>

An excuse is employed to mitigate the failure aspects of the reproach and its consequences by appealing to the present adverse conditions that are affecting the department. He mentions the following as such conditions:

a. People are required to submit professional business plans in order to be funded (SDI5, Q2: 1-6)
b. There are very few community development workers (SDI5, Q2: 6-8)
c. There is a problem of under-expenditure to an extent that funds provided for community development are sometimes rolled over to the next financial year (SDI5, Q2: 8-10)
d. The department is more focused on social assistance grants than community development (SDI5, Q2: 10-13)
e. There is lack of monitoring of government funded projects as a result some of these funds do not serve the purpose for which they are intended (SDI5, Q2: 15-21)

2 <u>Justification:</u>

<u>Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:</u>

The justifier is trying to reframe the consequences of the reproach and to minimize the failure aspects of the reproach by appealing to the benefits that if successfully implemented might lead to future benefits. He mentions that the social security grants has been separated from social development in order to give priority to community development (SDI5, Q2 13-15)

1. **<u>Language and style</u>**

1.1 *Syntactic level:*

a. Length of sentences:

The account has very long sentences. See *i.a.* Q1.1: 1-6, 6-12 and 12-21. These sentences range from four to nine lines. However, the length of the sentences is not a problem because in the spoken isiXhosa language there are generally longer sentences than the written version.

b. Complexity of sentences:

The sentences that have been used are quite complex in that each sentence has more than one verb. See *i.a.* Q1.1: 1-6, the sentence has five verbs: *uthetha (thetha), ngowokuphucukisa (phucukisa), ukuva (yiva), iqala (qala), ungabona (bona).*

c. Standard of isiXhosa:

The account-giver has used an urban or modern version of isiXhosa. It is not a dialect though, but just a modern standard of the language mostly used by the urbanized Xhosa speakers.

1.2 ***Lexical level:***

a. Lexical diversity:

i. Technical terms: The interviewee has used such technical terms as: *uMphathiswa, ePalamente, umgaqo-siseko, uNdlunkulu, iphondo,* etc. He uses these terms because as the legislator these terms are his daily bread and he

should be teaching the public about government policies and programs which entail these terms.

ii. *English terms:* the accounter has also used a lot of English terms probably because parliament deliberations are mostly conducted in English and that it is sometimes difficult to find Xhosa equivalence of such terms. Examples of these terms are: *yepolicy, nemonitoring, ne-evaluation, ngeneed, i-intervention, ukuzirevitaliza, i-over-expenditure, ibudget, iiprograms, zi-implementwe, neepolicies, ii-recommendations, kwi-oversight process,* etc.

iii. *Innovative Xhosa words:*

b. *Language imagery:*

i.   Simile

The account-giver uses simile in his speech repertoire. Examples are as follows: "…*njengephotha…*" (Q2.3: 3)

1.3   Equivocal language:

The interviewee has used unequivocal language in his account because the information provided is directly stated. The use of unequivocal language benefits the source credibility and the perceived quality of arguments.

2.   Language use

2.1 Politeness:

The interviewee has tried to avoid the face-threatening acts (FTAs) by employing strategies of minimizing the face threat such as excuses. However, the account-giver has chosen to perform the FTA, that he did on-record and off-record. On-record is expressed unambiguously through the use of justifications especially the "appeal to higher values of standards in politics". The off-record strategy is expressed ambiguously so that the account-giver cannot be held responsible for committing self to any current or future intent. The conclusion of the expression is thus left to the reproacher to make.

2.2 Effectiveness:

Among the perceived effective types of accounts, the accounter has chosen to use mostly excuses and justifications. Among justifications that have been used are those that appeal to future benefits which outweigh the present negative aspects and those that appeal to higher values of standards in politics. There are four justifications in total.

Present benefits	2
Future benefits	1
Derogation of victim: attack the accuser	1

The excuses that are perceived to be more effective are those that are aimed at mitigating the circumstances as they are reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are actually constrained by external circumstances. The interviewee has employed 18 excuses in his account:

Causal excuses: Null cause	7
Mitigation: Present adverse conditions	9
Mitigation: Past adverse conditions	2

The interviewee has chosen strategies that have the potential of success. He has decided to employ more excuses especially those that mitigate the blame because they are among strategies that are regarded as effective, and also justifications that appeal to future in the sense that if the mentioned strategies are successfully implemented then there is no need for reproach.

2.3 Power of speech style:

The strategies used are those that have a potential of blame avoidance and thereby claiming credit for the account-giver. Such strategies are excuses that mitigate the blame and its consequences and justification that minimization of negative aspects of the failure by highlighting present and mostly future benefits, which somehow outweigh the blame.

Interview no: 5

iSebe lezeNtlalo-ntle

Isinikezelo sentetho yomthetho neyokuzinikela koMphathiswa weSebe loPhuhliso lwezeNtlalo (2004-2007), ludandalazisa oku: "Injongo…ukuthatha inxaxheba kuphuhliso lobomi banantu abasokolayo, ababuthathaka, abasweleyo nabo

bajongelwe phantsi beli Phondo ngokumisela inkonzo yezentlalo eluqilima, ebandakanyayo nephuhlileyo" (p.2).

Department of Social Welfare

The statement of policy and commitment by the Hon. MEC for the Department of Social Development (2004-2007), states: "The aim is to contribute to the improvement of quality of life of the poor, the vulnerable, the needy and the marginalized citizens of this province through a comprehensive, integrated and developmental social service system" (p.2).

First reproach: p. 15

1. Iingxaki ezimalunga nezibonelelo zeNtlalo

Yinjongo yeSebe loPhuhliso lweNtlalo "ukuphuhlisa ulawulo lwezibonelelo ngokuthathat izicelo zesibonelelo, iintlawulo, ukugcinwa kweenkcukacha zabo bahlawulwayo kunye nohlenga-hlengiso lweenkqubo".

Isebe loPhuhliso lweNtlalo luneenkqubo zesibonelelo sabantwana ezinenjongo: "Yokulawual nokunikezela izibonelelo zeNtlalo *kubongi/abagcini* babantwana abaminyaka ingaphantsi kwesixhenxe… abaphuma kwiintsapho ezinemivuzo engaphantsi kwama- R800 ukya kuma- R1100" (p.28).

1. Problems with Social assistance Grants

It is one of the objectives of the Department of Social Development "to improve administration of grants in terms of taking applications, payments, capturing, filing and diversion programmes" (p.28).

The Department of Social Development has a programme of Child Support Grant with the aim: "To administer and manage Social grants to care-givers of children under the age of 7…whose families in household income is below R800 and R1100" (p.28).

First part of reproach no: 1, p. 16

1.1A

1. Ingxaki ngesi sibonelelo kukuba sibonwa njengesikhuthaza amantombazanana ukuba akhulelwe ukuze azuze kule mali yesibonelelo, xa sijonga izinga eliphezulu lokukhulelwa kwamantombazana afikisayo kule mihla.

Abukho ubungqina bobugcisa bokusekela olu luvo kuba ke ingxaki yokukhulelwa kwabantwana abaselula yingxaki ekukudala ikhona, andifuni kuyingqina ke ngoko into yokuba amanani okukhulelwa kwamantombazana aselula onyukile oko kuthe kwabakho esi sibonelelo; lusenokubakho unxulumano nangona kungekabikho bungqina buphuhlileyo obuphandiweyo baze babekwa thaca etafileni ukuba ngenene loo nto injalo, ngoko ke ndimadolwanzima ke ukuthi esi sibonelelo sesinye sezinto ezenza into yokuba izinga lokukhulelwa kwabantwana lonyuke. Okwesibini ke kukuba isebe lezentlalontle liyafana neliya lezempilo ngokunqongophalelwa ngabasebenzi kuba uye ufumanise into yokuba kwiindawo ezininzi apha eMpuma Koloni oko kwathi kwaveliswa le nto yesibonelelo sabantwana inokuba mnye unyaka-mali apho sasikhe sayichitha khona yonke imali eyabelwe esi sibonelelo, ukanti nale yokonyuselwa kweminyaka ukusuka kwithoba ukuya kwishumi elinanye kulonyaka-mali uthetha ngaye asizange sikhe siyigqibe. Nakwelisebe lezentlalontle kuninzi ukungalawuleki kakuhle ize loo nto yenze into yokuba imali esiyinikiweyo yesibonelelo sabantwana kunye nezinye izibonelelo singakwazi ukuyichitha kakuhle, uphinde kwakhona ufumanise into yokuba iindawo ezininzi azinazo ii-ofisi zesebe lezentlalontle nezo zikhoyo ufumanise into yokuba azinazixhobo zaneleyo zibe

zingadityaniswanga nesebe ngomjelo wekhompyutha kodwa ke leyo yokunxulunyaniswa ngekhompyutha into isandul'ukwenzeka mvanje; zininzi ke nalapha iingxaki ezikhoyo ezibangelwa ikakhulu yimeko yezolawulo lwesebe eli.

1. *A problem with this grant is that it is seen as encouraging young girls to fall pregnant so they get access to this fund, considering the rapid increase in teenage pregnancy nowadays.*

There is no scientific proof to support that view because teenage pregnancy has always been a problem even before this grant was introduced and for that I do not want to agree that numbers have escalated because of this grant. There might be connection between the two even though there has never been a scientific research that has been conducted to prove that and for that I find it difficult to argue that this grant is one of the contributing factors to the high rate of teenage pregnancy. Secondly, is that the department of social development is the same as that of health when it comes to the shortages of personnel because you will find that in all areas of the province since the inception of this child grant, maybe there is only one financial year where the budget for this grant was spent in full including the money provided for the children from age 9 to 14 which was also not utilized in full. There is also a lot of mismanagement in this department resulting in problems pertaining to the expenditure of this grant and other grants because you will find that there are no departmental offices in most areas and even those that have offices they are ill-equipped in terms or the necessary resources including computer links with the provincial department, but that is being addressed only recently. There are a lot of problems which are mainly the result of the lack of proper management of the department.

Second part of reproach no: 1, p. 16

1.1 B

2. Kukho abantwana abasasokolayo nangona bezuza isibonelelo. Ingxaki kukuba kukho abantu abamkela isibonelelo sokuxhasa abantwana babe bengahlali nokuhlala nabo bantwana. Ngoko ke esi sibonelelo asiwenzi lo msebenzi simiselwe ukuba siwenze.

Yona loo nto iyenzeka kwaye iya ngqo kulento bendithetha ngayo ukuba ngumsebenzi woonontlalontle ukuqinisekisa into yokuba le mali iyalandelwa kodwa ke uye ufumanise into yokuba kwizithili nasemasebeni kukhona ukunqongophala kwabasebenzi ingakumbi kweli cala loonontlalonke. Eneneni le yingxaki engqonge izibonelelo nje ngokubanzi kuba nokuba ungathatha esi sabantu abadala uye ufumanise into yokuba le mali endaweni yokuba ijongane nabantu abadala ngokuthi bazondle ukusuk'apho ufumanise ukuba iya etywaleni; le ke yingxaki exhaphakileyo ejikeleze izibonelelo sezizonke kwilizwe lonke.

2. *There are children who are still suffering even though they are grant-holders. The problem is that the people receiving child support grants are not even staying with the said grant-holders. This grant then does not serve the purpose that it is meant for.*

That really happens and it goes back to what I was saying that it is the social workers duty to ensure that this money is serving the purpose it was meant for, but you will find that in certain areas and departments there is a shortage of personnel especially in the field of social work. This is indeed a problem surrounding all grants because even if you talk about old-age grant you will find that the money received it is spent on liquor instead of buying food and looking after the elderly, so this is a common problem related to all the grants offered by government in the whole country.

Second reproach: p. 16

2. *Isibonelelo sokukhubazeka*:

uMphathiswa uvakalisa ukuba isibonelelo sijolise: "ekulawuleni nasekunikezeleni **ngokukuko** izibonelelo zeNtlalo kwabo bakhubazekileyo. Abo bangaphezulu kweminyaka engama- 18 nabagunyaziswe yingxelo kaggirha ukuba bakhubazekile ngabo abazuza isibonelelo sokukhubazeka" (p. 28).

2. Disability grant: *The Hon. MEC argues that this grant is intended: "To **effectively** manage and disburse Social grants to the disabled. Qualifying adults above the age of 18 who are medically diagnosed as disabled receive disability grant" (p. 28).*

First part of reproach no: 2, p. 17

1.2 A

1. Kukho abantu ekungathandabuzekiyo ukuba bakhubazekile kodwa bangalifumani ithuba lokuzuza esi sibonelelo.

Ingxaki inkulu kakhulu kwesi sibonelelo sokukhubazeka, eyokuqala yile uyibekayo yokuba abantu abebefanel'ukuba bayasifumana abasifumani kwaye ke ngumgaqo karhulumente owenza loo nto kuba kaloku uye ufumanise into yokuba ugqirha uyambona umntu atsho ukuba ufanelekile ukuba abe uyasifumana isibonelelo sokukhubazeka kuze kubekho ugqirha wesibini ngokomgaqo karhulumente ophaya esebeni ojonga laa ngxelo kagqirha wokuqala abe engakhange ambone laa mntu ebexilongwa ngugqirha; yingxaki yokuqala ke leyo. Okwesibini kukuba umgaqo lo karhulumente kufuneka utshintshwe kuba uye ufumanise ukuba uthi ngokwemiqathango ukuba umntu usebenzisa isandla sasekunene waze waqhawuka isandla sasekhohlo, loo mntu akakhubazekanga, le yindlela urhulumente akuchaza ngayo ukukhubazeka kwaye yenye ingxaki ke leyo kuba umzekelo ukuba umntu uyaxhuzula kuthiwa loo mntu lowo uyakwazi ukusebenza; inkoliso yabantu basezilalini nasezilokishini uye ufumanise into yokuba basebenzela abanye abantu baze basebenze nasezifemini ngoko ke kuthi akufumaniseka loo mntu ukuba uyaxhuzula kungabikho mntu ofuna ukushiya umntwana wakhe nomntu onjalo, kungabikho mntu ozakufun'ukumqhubisa imoto yakhe kube kungekho namntu efemini onokufuna ukumqesha. Ezi zezinye zeengxaki ezikhoyo malunga nento yokukhubazeka kuba ke kuninzi ukungakhathali kweli sebe malunga nalo mcimbi kuba nangoku kule minyaka mibini idluleyo kunqanyulwe izibonelelo zabantu ezimalunga nama- 70 000 kwaze kwelo nani kwabuyiselwa abantu abangama-11 000, ngoko ke baninzi abantu ababekade bexhamla kwesi sibonelelo abashiywe ngaphandle. Uthi ke yena urhulumente kunye nesebe xa lizithethelela abantu abaninzi bazifumana ngendlela engekho mthethweni ezi zibonelelo ngenxa yobuqhophololo obuninzi, ewe siyavuma buninzi ubugewu kwaye abantu abafanele ukuba bayabuphelisa obo buqhophololo ngabo bona belisebe kodwa ke ngenxa yokunqongophala kwabasebenzi nangenxa yobuqhophololo phaya ngaphakathi kubasebenzi aba besebe kuba abanye abantu abaninzi bayazithenga ezi zibonelelo kubasebenzi aba besebe, ngoko ke ezo ngxaki azinakubuzwa ebantwini abanelungelo lokuba bazifumane izibonelelo. Okokugqibela ngumba wokunqongophala koogqirha kuba uye ufumanise ukuba isebe lezempilo lona linengxaki elinayo yokunqongophala koogqirha ezibhedlele uze uphinde wongeze kuloo ngxaki uxilongo lwabantu abafanel'ukuba bafumane isibonelelo kangangokuba izibhedlele ezininzi zibanenani elibekwayo mhlawumbi kuthiwe kuzakubonwa abantu abalishumi ngeveki kwaye bazakubonwa ngooLwezithathu kuphela; uye ufumanise ke into yokuba umntu uya ngoJanyawari esibhedlele aze anikwe umhla azakubuya

ngawo ozakuba ungoJuni ngenxa yenani labantu abalindileyo, ngoko ke zininzi iingxaki ezinxulumene nesi sibonelelo sokukhubazeka.

1. _There are people who are visibly disabled but are denied access to this grant._

There are lot of problems within the disability grant the first one being that people who are supposed to benefit are not benefiting and it the government's policy that allows that because you will find that a person is examined by the doctor and confirm that that person qualifies for the grant, and there will be second doctor within the department who will evaluate the report from the first doctor without even seeing that patient or person and make a final decision. The second problem is that the policy needs to be amended because you find that according to its requirements is states that if a person is right-handed and the left hand is amputated, that person is not disabled and that is the way the department or government describes disability and it is a problem. For example, if a person has epilepsy, it is argued that that person is capable to work but you will find that most people in townships and in rural areas are domestics and some work in factories and once it is discovered that that person has epilepsy no one would want to hire that person, leave her child with such a person or even allow the person to drive a car. These are some of the problems surrounding this disability grant due to negligence on the part of the department because in the past two years about 70 000 grant holders were removed from the system and only about 11 000 have been re-registered showing that there are many people that have been left out who were benefiting. In explanation the department and government argue that most people were fraudulently benefiting from government's grants and that needed to be rectified. Yes we do agree that there is a lot of fraud going on around these grants and it the department's responsibility to address that but because of shortages of personnel and corruption within departmental officials as it has been discovered that some people buy these grant from the officials and for such reasons deserving cannot suffer or made to pay. The last issue is the problem of shortages of qualified doctors because you will find that the department of health has the same problems in all the hospitals within the province and on top of that you add the evaluation of grant applicants; as a result most hospitals have a set day of dealing with grant applications and have a limited number of people that will be seen by the doctor maybe ten every Wednesday. This is the reason why you find that a person will submit an application in January only to be given a date which is in June because of the number of people in the waiting list and this is one of the problems related to the disability grant.

Second part reproach no: 2, p. 17

1.2 B

2. Kukwakho nabantu abangakhubazekanga kodwa abafumana isibonelelo sokukhubazeka.

Loo nto leyo kaloku izakwenzeka xa isystem ingakwazi ukubahluza abantu abafanelekileyo kwabo bangafanelekanga, yiyo ke loo nto ndisithi izinto ezinjalo ziyenzeka xa kungekho lulawulo lululo esebeni nangenxa ke yomgaqo ongemanga kakuhle kuba ke mna ndifuna ukutsho ukuba umntu owonyukelwa yiswekile uyagula kuba ukuba akanikwanga indlela yokuzondla, kunyaka okanye kwiminyaka emibini loo mntu lowo uzakuf'icala kwaye loo nto iyenzeka ingakumbi apha eMpuma Koloni kuba amanani abantu abafunyanwa sesi sifo ayonyuka unyaka nonyaka ngokubangelwa yiswekile kunye nesifo sokuxhuzula.

2. _There are also people who are not disabled but receive the disability grant._

That is bound to happen if the system is unable to sift the deserving and the undeserving and this is the reason why I say such things will happen if there is no proper management in the department and also because of the policy that is not clear. I want to argue then that people suffering from high blood pressure are sick because if that person is not provided with means of ensuring that she or he maintains healthy eating habits in a year or two that person will have stroke and that is a fact especially here in the Eastern Cape because the numbers of people attacked by stroke are escalating each year due to high blood pressure and epilepsy.

Third reproach: p. 17

3. Abolupheleyo:

iSebe lithi injongo yesi sibonelelo: "Kukulawula nokunikezela **ngokugqibeleleyo** isibonelelo seNtlalo kwabo bolupheleyo. Abo bafanele ukuzuza esi sibonelelo ngoomama amaneminyaka engama- 60 kunye nootata abaneminyaka engama- 65 nangaphezulu ubudala bona bathi baphumelele uvavanyo lokufumana le mali nabathi bayifumane **ngethuba"** (p. 28).

*3. Old age: The Department says the aim of this grant is:"To **effectively** manage and disburse Social grants to the aged. Qualifying women at age 60 and men at age 65 and older who meet the means test receive their grants **timeously"** (p. 28).*

First part of reproach no: 3, p. 17

1.3 A

1. Indlela abathi abantu abadala baphathwe ngayo kwiindawo zokwamkela lisikizi. Kwezinye iindawo zokwamkela abantu abadala abazuza inkam-nkam kufuneka balinde ngaphandle kweevenkile iiyure ezininzi baze bathi xa befika abo bamkelisayo ekugqibeleni beme kwimigca emide kwakhona. Azikho izakhiwo ezifanelekileyo zokujongana ngokufanelekileyo nabantu abadala.

Uyabona ke umgaqo wesebe uthi iipay-points kufanele ukuba zibe zakhiwe kuze kwiindawo ezinamaholo oluntu kusetyenziswe wona kodwa loo nto ayenzeki kwaye yingxaki esijongene nayo kakhulu ke leyo ingakumbi apha eMpuma Koloni. Okwesibini ke kukungalingani ngokweminyaka nangona urhulumente enomthetho kamasilingane phakathi kwamadoda nabafazi kodwa uphinde ufumanise into yokuba kulo mba wesibonelelo sabantu abadala olu lolona lingano urhulumente angalunanzanga nganto. Uye ufumanise ke emaxesheni amaninzi into yokuba ixesha lokuphila lamadoda lifutshane kakhulu ingakumbi apha eMpuma Koloni kangangokuba ambalwa kukhulu amadoda akwaziyo ukufika kula minyaka ingama-65 nto leyo eyenza ukuba amadoda abe ngathi abekelwe bucala. Omnye umba oyingxaki kakhulu apha eMpuma Koloni ngokuphathelele lo mba wesibonelelo sabantu abadala ngumba wezazisi apho ufumanisa into yokuba abantu abaninzi abanazo izazisi kwakhona kwiindawo apho kukho izinga eliphezulu lokungafundi ufumanise into yokuba abantu abaninzi abazazi ukuba bazalwa nini na ngaphandle nje kokuthi umntu esazi into yokuba wazalwa ngalaa nyaka weenkumbi, ngoku ufumanise into yokuba oomabhalane abaninzi abawazi ukuba unyaka weenkumbi wawunini na nto leyo ke ngoku ethi ikhokelele ekubeni iminyaka yomntu iphele ithotyiwe. Kukho loo ngxaki yeminyaka echanekileyo yokuzalwa kwabantu ibe ke loo nto ikhokelela kwiingxaki ezikhoyo malunga nesi sibonelelo.

1. The way in which elderly people are treated in the pay points is inhumane. In some pay points old-age pensioners have to wait outside the local supermarkets for long hours and when the service providers finally arrive, they will stand in the

long queues again. There are no proper facilities conducive enough for elderly people.

You see according to the departmental policy, all pay-points should have proper structures and that halls should be used in areas where there are such facilities, that is not happening and it is the major problem that we are faced with in the province. Secondly, is this issue of inequality whereas government has the polity of gender equality, but you will find that when it comes to this grant that law does not apply. You will find that in most situations the life expectancy of men is very short compared to that of women especially here in the Eastern Cape as a result you will find that very few men reach that age of 65 something that might make men feel a bit neglected. Another burning issue in the Eastern Cape concerning this old-age grant is that of IDs where you find that many people do not have access to IDs and in areas where there is high rate of illiteracy most people do not know their exact dates of birth except knowing the incidents that happened in that particular year and now the problem is that most officials in the departmental offices do not know the years in which those took place resulting in people get IDs with wrong information and thereby affecting their chances of benefiting from this grant.

Follow-up question:

Ithini inkqubo ekhoyo yokuzama ukuhlangabezana nale ngxaki yokungalingani kweminyaka yomntu kunye naleyo ivela kwisazisi?

Isebe lezentlalontle lithi leyo asiyongxaki yalo yingxaki kaHome Affairs yena oonendlela zokuzama ukuyilungisa le ngxaki nangona loo nto ithi ithathe ixesha kuba uye ufumanise into yokuba kuye kuthiwe umntu makeze nezazisi zabantwana bakhe okanye amanqgina; abantu bayayenza loo nto kodwa uphinde ufumanise into yokuba uthi umntu sekeyile ukuyoyilungisa le nto iphinde ibuye ingekathethi nto iyiyo, abanye babo bade babhubhe zingakhange zibe zilungisiwe izazisi zabo. Elezentlalo lona isebe lithi owalo umsebenzi kukwamkela isazisi elisinikwa nguHome Affairs ngoko ke ukuba unikwe isazisi esithetha into engeyiyo loo nto ayinakukhalazelwa kwisebe kuloko mayikhalazelwe kwa-Home Affairs, siyamazi ke uHome Affairs ukuba ngulo waziwayo ngokungakhathali, ubuqhophololo nokungawenzi kakuhle umsebenzi.

What is the programme used in addressing and dealing with problem of a person's actual years that do not correspond with the years reflected in the ID?

The department of social development claims that that is home affairs problem as that department is in a position of rectifying such things even though that move takes a lot of time because people who that kind of a problem are asked to bring their children's IDs or bring witnesses to back up their claim. However, people do bring all they asked to bring only to find that the new IDs will be issued still reflecting the wrong date of birth and some of them even die without their IDs being corrected. The department of social development argues that its responsibility is to accept the ID provided by home affairs and if the Id provided has wrong information then the department of home affairs must take responsibility for that and we all know that the department of home affairs is popular about inefficiency, corruption and maladministration.

Second part of reproach no: 3, p. 18

1.3 B

2. Abanye babantu abadala barhoxisiwe kuluhlu lwabo bazuza inkam-nkam kungekho sizathu sibambekayo nje kwaphela. Emva kokulinda iiyure ezininzi ukuze bazuze isibonelelo, abanye abantu bayajikwa kuba kusithiwa amagama

abo awekho kuluhlu emva kokwamkela inkam-nkam iminyaka ngeminyaka. Barhoxiswa kolu luhlu ngaphandle kwesilumkiso okanye ukuqhakamshelana nabo ngokufanelekileyo. Kukho uvakalelo lokuba abantu abadala banxunguphaliswa nje ngamabom yile meko yesibonelelo.

Ewe injalo loo nto kuba nam ndinabantu endibaziyo abavele babhubha babe bephila ke phofu kwaye ke kuzakuthatha ixesha elide ukuba baphinde babuyiselwe kuluhlu lwabantu abamkelayo; nalapho ke isebe lezentlalontle lithi leyo asingxaki yesebe kuloko yingxaki kaHome Affairs. Ewe zikhona iingxaki nalapha esebeni kodwa ngokokwazi kwam zikwasuka phaya kwaHome Affairs ezinjengokuba abantu ababini badibane ngesazisi esinye, le nto ibonisa ukuba iingxaki ezininzi ezikhoyo ezimalunga nalo mba wesi sibonelelo sabantu abadala ziingxaki ezisuka kwaHome Affairs; eyona ngxaki ikhoyo engamandla apha kwisebe lezentlalontle yile yokubhaliswa kwabantu abatsha abangenela esi sibonelelo sabantu abadala apho uye ufumanise into yokuba uthi umntu ukuba ugqiba iminyaka engama-60 kule nyanga zizakuphela iinyanga zibe ntathu nangaphezulu ingekaphumi imali yakhe, yingxaki ekhoyo ke le kwicala lezentlalontle.

2. *Some of the elderly people have been cancelled from the lists with no reason at all. Having waited hours for the grant, some people are turned away with the claim that they do not appear on the list after many years of receiving the grant. They are cancelled from the list without prior notification or the least consultation. There is a feeling that the elderly are deliberately being frustrated by the system.*

That is a fact because I also have cases of people who are deemed deceased though they as alive as you and me and it takes time for them to be returned to the beneficiaries' list; even in such cases the department of Social Development claims that this Home Affairs problem. Yes there are problems within the department but most of the problems experienced by the department of social development are problems caused by the department of home affairs such two people sharing the same Id number; the main problem that the department has is the registration of new beneficiaries into the grant system where you find that it takes time for a person to receive her or his grant after submitting an application.

Third part of reproach no: 3, p. 18

1.3 C

3. Kukwakho nabantu ekudala basweleka kodwa amagama abo asavela kolu luhlu. Akukho mntu waziyo ukuba le mali iyaphi na okanye ngubani na lo uzuzayo.

Uyabona ke lowo ngumba nje wobuqhophololo kuba uye ufumanise into yokuba xa kukho into ekumila kunjalo lukhona utyiwo lwemali oluqhubekayo apho ngenxa yokuba kaloku bekukade kungekho lunxulumano phakathi kwesebe lezentlalontle nelo lakwaHome Affairs kodwa ke ngoku olo nxulumano lukhona ngoku kwaye ke ezi ntsika zimbini ziyakwazi ukuthungelana ngohlobo lokuba uthi umntu akubhaliswa njengoswelekileyo kwaHome Affairs loo ngxelo ikwazi ukuvela nakwelicala lezentlalontle, kodwa nangona kunjalo uye ufumanise ukuba iyakwazi ukwenzeka into yokuba abantu baqhubeke bephila ngoku bebhubhile nemali iphume.

4. *There are also people who are deceased but their names still appear on the lists. No one seems to know where this money goes or whom does it benefit.*

You see that is a question of fraud because when there is something of that sort you will find that there is mismanagement of funds in one way or the other caused by the lack of interaction or link between the departments of Social Development and Home Affairs, but now these departments are linked to an extent that when a person is

registered as deceased within the department of Home Affairs that information will reflect in the system of Social Development. However, people grants continue being issued for people even though they are deceased.

Follow-up question:

Iphuma iye phi le mali?
Iyatyiwa kaloku ngoomabhalane kuba ayibuyeli esebeni.
Where does this money go?
It goes to the officials' pockets because it is not returned to the department.

Follow-up question:

Nenza ntoni nina mapalamente ngalo nto kuba ke inoba ezo zinto (cases) ziyafika kuni?

Unyanisile ziyafika kuthi kodwa ke lowo ayingomsebenzi wethu, okukokwethu kukuxelela isebe ukuba kwinyanga egqithileyo unabantu abafileyo obabhateleyo lungisa loo nto, ibelisebe ke elizakuyiphanda loo nto ukuba loo mali iyephi na kuba owethu umsebenzi thina epalamente ayikokulawula amasebe kuloko kukuqiniseka ukuba amasebe aphathwa ngendlela efanelekileyo.

As parliamentarians what do you do about that because I am sure that you do get such cases?

You are right, such cases are brought to our attention but that is not our duty, ours is to inform the department that last month you had such and such number of deceased people that you paid, rectify that. It is the department that should investigate more about that money because our responsibility in parliament is not to manage departments but to ensure that departments are efficiently and effectively managed.

Fourth reproach: p. 19

4. Ukunakekela abantu abadala:

uMphathiswa ukhankanya ukuba injongo yesi sibonelelo: "Kukunakekela ngokugqibeleleyo abantu abadala kwiindawo zabo zokuhlala kunye nakumakhaya/kwiindawo zaasekuhlaleni" (p. 30), nangona kunjalo:

4. Care of older persons:

The Hon. MEC mentions that the aim of the grant is: "To provide quality care for the older persons within residential and home/community-based environment" (p. 30), but:

First part of reproach no: 4, p. 19

1.4 A

1. Zimbalwa kakhulu iisenta ezifumanekayo kwaye zonke zineemeko ezingaginyisi mathe (umz: izakhiwo, amagumbi kuquka iibhedi, izinto zokulala kunye nezinga lokutya abakufumanayo).

Kukhona ukusilela notshintsho okufuneka kwenzekile ekunakekeleni abantu abadala kuba uye ufumanise into yokuba amakhaya abantu abakhulileyo ikakhulu asekwelicala labantu abamhlophe kunye nabebala, ambalwa kakhulu amakhaya akhoyo alungiselelwe abantu abamnyama ukuba akhona; ndiyayiva ke nale uMphathiswa ayithethayo yokuba abantu mabanakekelwe kwiindawo abahlala kuzo kuba ayenzeki loo nto kuba ke abayikhuthazi into yokuba amaxhego namaxhegokazi anakekelwe ngabantwana bawo kunye nabazukulwana kwaye kudala nathi sisitsho ukuba makubekho indlela yokuqinisekisa into yokuba kumakhaya ekugcinwa kuwo

abantu abolupheleyo makubekho ubonelelo olwenziwayo ukuncedisa abo bantu ngendlela efanayo nale urhulumente ayisebenzisayo yokufaka'imali kula maziko ekugcinwa kuwo abantu abadala, yiyo ke le nto kulula ukuba abantu babase abantu abadala kula maziko kuba bayazi ukuba ayanikwa imali ekubeni bona bengafumani nto. Eny'ingxaki ekhoyo apha eMpuma Koloni esukela kulento yenkam-nkam bubundlobongela nokutshutshiswa kwabantu abadala, uye ufumanise ke phaya ezilalini njengokuba abantu abatsha abaninzi bengaphangeli nje bayayazi into yokuba ngemini ethile kurholwa inkam-nkam kwaye bayayazi into yokuba umakhulu okanye utatomkhulu othile uhlala yedwa uze ufumanise ke ukuba uthi lo makhulu xa ebuya epeyini ufika ohluthelwe imali, abanye bayakrwitshwa abanye badlwengulwe; zininzi izinto ezibehlelayo abantu abadala kwaye ke akukho ndlela isekiweyo yokuqinisekisa ukuba aba bantu bayakhuseleka kwizinto ezinjalo.

1. *<u>There are very few centers available and all with very unsatisfying conditions (i.e. the buildings, rooms including beds, bedding, and even the quality of food provided).</u>*

There is still an imbalance and transformation that needs to effected when it comes to this issue of caring for elderly people because old-age homes are still being catered mostly for whites and coloureds, there are very few if there are any homes provided for black people. I also understand the view that the minister is proposing that elderly people must be taken care of in their own homes and communities but that is not happening as there is no encouragement for children and grandchildren to look after their elderly members. We've been saying that there must be a grant provided for those people who are looking after their elderly members of societies in the same manner that the government is subsidizing these old-age centres because the failure to do that result in these elderly people being sent to these homes which are funded. Another problem that we have in the Eastern Cape is the high rate of crime and abuse of elderly people because of this old-age pension where you find that most of these unemployed youth know when the elders are getting paid and which of these elderly people stay alone, then they go there to rob them of their pensions, strangle and rape them. There are a lot of painful and terrible things that befall elderly people and there are no measures that have been devised to ensure that they are protected from such incidents at all times.

Second part of reproach no: 4, p. 19

1.4 B

2. <u>Ndive ubalula kwakhona ukuba ezi senta zinayo inkxaso-mali eziyifumanayo esuka kurhulumente kodwa kuye kwafumaniseka ukuba ayinguye wonke umntu omdala ofumana ithuba kwezi ndawo zokuhlala zokunakekelwa kwabo. Nelo gcuntswana lithi liye kwezo senta kufuneka lizihlawulele kungenjalo kuye kunyanzeleke ukuba baye kwiindawo zoshishino ukuya kucela amalizo.</u>

Ewe injalo loo nto kangangokuba uye ufumanise into yokuba inkoliso yezi senta iqhutywa ngeemali zenkam-nkam zaba bantu badala bahlala kwezi ndawo uze ufumanise into yokuba le karhulumente yona inkxaso iya kwimicimbi efana nolawulo nemivuzo yabasebenzi; kudala siyithetha ke le nto kurhulumente ukuba makubekho indlela yokuqinisekise ukuba ezi senta ziyayifumana inkxaso ngokwaneleyo kwaye ke emaxesheni amaninzi ezi senta ziba ngamaziko azimelelyo angekho phantsi korhulumente, yona le nto iyingxaki kakhulu.

2. *<u>You mentioned that there is funding received by these centres from the government but at the same time it has been discovered that not all elderly</u>*

people have access. The few that go to those centers have to pay out of their own pockets and/or be taken to the shopping malls to beg for donations.

That is true to an extent that you sometimes find that some of these centres are run using the residents' pension funds and to find that the government subsidy is dealing with administrative issues and salaries. We've always been debating this issue with the department that there must be a way of ensuring that these centres are fully funded and in most instances you will find that these centres are non-governmental organizations, this cause a lot of problems.

5. Fifth reproach: p. 21

5. Ukulwa nendlala: Injongo etsolileyo yale nkqubo: "Kukulwa amazinga endlala ngokuveza iinkqubo zokhuseleko lokutya nenzuzo ezinxamnye neenkqubo kwakunye nemimiselo yophuhliso loluNtu" (p. 31).

- Kuthiwa inkxaso ngokwezimali yophuhliso loluntu sele ikho: "isikhokelo sokuzuza inkxaso-mali kwiSebe lezeNtlalo-ntle nenkqubo yophuhliso loluntu…" (p. 31), nangani kunjalo iindawo ezininzi zoluntu azinolwazi malunga nale nkxaso-mali, kwaye azifikeleleki eluntwini ezi nkqubo zenkxaso-mali ngokuphathelele ekwenzeni isicelo sokuzuza le mali. (Ngokuqwalasela imeko yezinga leMfundo egqubayo emaphandleni).

Iyinyani yona loonto kuba okokuqala isebe liye lifune into yokuba abantu babe nebusiness plan ukuze iindawo zasekuhlaleni zikwazi ukufikelela kule nkxaso nanjengokuba sele utshilo ezinye iindawo zinamazinga aphezulu okungafundi, ukanti nezo zifundileyo ziyachaphazeleka kuba ezikolweni zethu asifundiswa kwenza business plan kuquka nabo bafundileyo abafana neetitshala bayasokola okanye abanazo ezo zakhono. Okwesibini uye ufumanise into yokuba bambalwa kakhulu abantu abajongene nophuhliso loluntu ezikwaziyo ukuncedisa uluntu ekuthini lukwazi ukufikelela kwesi sibonelelo sophuhliso soluntu ude ufumanise into yokuba imali iyakwazi ukuhlala esebeni ingachithwa kuba kukho ezi ngxaki zeebusiness plan. Enye ingxaki ngulo mba wokuzinikezelwa kwale nkqubo yophuhliso loluntu apho uye ufumanise into yokuba kwimali yesebe lezentlalontle eyonanto ibikhokheliswe phambili ibiyinto yezibonelelo ngaphezulu kophuhliso loluntu, kodwa ke ekuqaleni kwalo nyaka-mali izibonelelo zohluliwe kuphuhliso loluntu ngoko ke sinethemba lokuba noko iyakubakhona indlela yokuba kubekhona ugxininiso kumba wophuhliso loluntu. Okokugqibela kukho iiprojekthi esele ziqaliwe kodwa kukho ukunqongophala kokugadwa kwazo apho uthi ufumanise into yokuba abantu bathi banikwe imali yokuqala iprojekthi kodwa ufumanise ukuba emva kwenyanga ezintathu iwile loo projekthi kuba kaloku akukho ukugadwa nokugcinwa zisemgangathweni onguwo kunqongophele; abantu abaninzi bathi bafake izicelo zale mali baze bathi bakuyifumana basuke bohlulelane ngayo baze bohlukane ngenxa yokungabikho kokugadwa kwezi projekthi.

5. Poverty Alleviation: The main focus of this programme is: "To alleviate levels of poverty through food security and income generation programmes in line with community development principles and practices" (p. 31).

- *It is said that financial assistance for community development has been made available: "Guide on how to access financial assistance from department of Social development community development programme…" (p. 31), but then many communities are not aware about such funding, and the funding procedures in terms of applying for the fund is not very user-friendly. (Considering the literacy levels mostly prevalent in rural areas).*

That is true because too start with the department requires that people should have business plans in order for the communities to access these funds and that becomes a problem as you have already mentioned that most areas are illiterate and sometimes those who are enlightened are also affected because at school you are not taught how to write a business plan including learned people such as teachers because they do not have such skills. Secondly, you will find that there are very few community development workers who are able to assist communities in accessing this community development grant to an extent that sometimes funds are rolled-over to the next financial year as they were not spent because of this business plan issue. Another problem is the issue of issuing of this community development grant because the focus of the departmental budget has always been on welfare more than community development, but at the beginning of this financial year the social security has been separated from social development and for that reason we are hoping that community development will be prioritized more. Lastly, there are projects that are already in place but because of the lack of monitoring on the part of the department and you will find that people are given money to start the project only to find that three months or so down the line that project is history mainly because there is no sustainability and monitoring; people do apply for this grant and once they get funding they share the money and part ways, why because there is no monitoring.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSIONS

5.1   AIM

The conclusions with regard to the findings in the various interactions in the three departments of government will be discussed below. The focus will be on the three elements within the interviews: the interviewee, the reproach and the account.

The interviewee: The interviewees will be discussed with regard to the accounts in the reproaches together with the number of arguments. Each reproach in the various interviews will be analyzed within an overview of the type of account with regard to three criteria: effectiveness, argumentation and politeness. The interviewees will thus be discussed individually with the help of tables of each interviewee. The focus will be on the accounts of justification and excuses. After this overview has been completed, a summary will be given within a table of interviewees and the accounts each of them have used. The interviewee will then be judged on two parameters:

a. The number of accounts each has used with regard to the three criteria above.
b. A comparison will then be attempted to establish the relative merit of the interviewees among themselves.

The reproach: The various reproaches in the three government departments will be discussed separately with regard to the number of accounts and arguments in each reproach. The focus will be on the accounts of justification and excuse. A summary will then be given of the various reproaches with the four types of accounts. The reproaches will be judged according to the following criteria: the quality and quantity of reactions by the interviewees against the reproaches, the judgment of the responses to the reproaches and the overall judgment of the reproaches.

The account: The various justifications and excuses which have been used in the interactions will be discussed separately with regard to the criteria of effectiveness and politeness which have also been featured above. Thereafter a judgment will be attempted to establish the favored use of the four types of account.

Finally, the implications of the research will be discussed with regard to the following: a comparative overview will be given of the political accounts in reproaches within government departments with specific attention to the type and frequency of the account as well as possible reasons for this type of preferred account.

5.2. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
5.2.1. SUMMARY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION'S INTERVIEWS

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5
Reproach 1	**Reproach 1**	**Reproach 1**	**Reproach 1**	**Reproach 1**
1.*Justification:Appeal to higher values: Fairness:* ▪ Discrimination cannot be justified by claiming a loophole in the department's system 2.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits* ▪ Program of measuring performance level to be extended to lower grades ▪ Lower grades to be equipped with resources too 3.*Denial* 4. *Justification: Attacking the accuser:* ▪ They discriminate against disadvantaged learners ▪ They are doing nothing to improve the situation ▪ They make Model C schools inaccessible to those who do not meet their language proficiency requirements ▪ They discriminate against learners ▪ They disregard others right to education 5.*Justification: Comparison: Past negative circumstances:*	1.*Concession* ▪ Rural schools are different from private schools 2.*Justification:Minimization: Present benefits*: ▪ The department of Education is trying to integrate these schools to benefit learners from rural/public schools ▪ To transform educators in public schools as far as teaching is concerned	1.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Sad tales*: ▪ Schools have different backgrounds, some are from very poor background and others from a well-off background 2.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefit*: ▪ A new legislation that will cater for those learners that are denied access to education by these former Model C schools 3.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse condition*: ▪ Learners migrate to urban schools because they offer better education than rural and public schools 4.*Excuse: Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility:* ▪ The department of Education does not provide assistance like resources to public schools ▪ Government does not provide enough money ▪ Teachers are not dedicated	1.*Concession* 2. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ Most principals and managers of these schools are white ▪ These schools do not abide by the constitution and the regulations set by the department of Education 3.*Justification: Higher values: Reframe moral principles: Fairness*: ▪ The majority number of learners in these former Model c schools are black ▪ The constitution stipulates that schools are not allowed to deny learners access to education ▪ All schools should register with the department of Education for proper monitoring 4.*Excuse: Causal excuse: Null cause*: ▪ The MEC has all the powers to enforce transformation in the former Model C schools	1.*Concession* 2.*Excuse: Causal excuse: Null cause*: ▪ The law allows the former Model C schools to make their own language policies 3.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions*: ▪ It is not easy to employ teachers to these schools ▪ The appointment of teachers should be approved by the school's board of directors, which is purely white ▪ There are schools who insist on making English and Afrikaans a first language even for Xhosa speaking learners 4.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe principles: Present benefits*: ▪ The Minister of Education, and the MECs have been given powers to make intervention and enforce transformation in these former Model C schools ▪ The language policy has been reviewed and all learners should be taught

▪ Presence of disadvantaged learners is the legacy of apartheid ▪ Model C schools should take note by learning more about others' backgrounds		5.Denial		in their own mother language in all schools 5.*Denial* 6.*Denial* 7.*Justification: Comparison: differentiation*: ▪ Model C schools have always had all the necessary resources and they have the backing of big companies owned by white people ▪ These schools are in towns 8.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions*: ▪ The conditions under which teachers are working, are not healthy ▪ There is lack of infrastructure especially in rural areas 9.*Concession*: 10.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefit*s: ▪ Some teachers produce learners that do not struggle to get admission to these former Model C schools
Reproach 2 1.*Excuse:Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ Limited budget ▪ No resources to deal with the challenges facing the	**Reproach 2** 1. *Justification: Minimization: Present benefit:* ▪ The allocation for schools has been increased to R526, 000 to assist	**Reproach 2** 1.*Excuse:Causal excuse: Null cause:* ▪ Parents' lack of involvement in the development of their	**Reproach 2** 1.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions*: ▪ These schools do not provide for those learners who cannot afford the	**Reproach 2** 1.*Justification: Derogation of victim: Attacking the accuser*: ▪ These former Model C schools think they are living in their own world

department 2.*Excuse:Mitigation of blame:* *Past adverse conditions:* ▪ Budget was initially meant to cater for whites only 3. *Justification: Derogation of the victim: attacking the accuser:* ▪ They make access to schools impossible for all children ▪ Disadvantaged children have no access to these schools ▪ These schools do not make any contribution for the benefit of learners 4.*Justification: Higher values: reframe principles Fairness:* ▪ Historical background ▪ Discrimination against constitution ▪ Government will offer free education for disadvantaged learners 5.*Justification:Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits*: ▪ Shortage of teachers in public schools and of resources: thus school fees are used to employ more teachers 6. *Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* ▪ Model C schools should make plans to deal with disadvantaged learners	learners who cannot be able to pay for school fees 2.*Excuse:Mitigation of blame: Past adverse conditions*: ▪ The Province constitute of a former Transkei homeland, which is very disadvantaged and poverty stricken 3.*Justifications: Minimization: Present benefits:* ▪ The newly built schools have separate rooms specifically for computer laboratories and libraries 4.*Justification: Minimization: Future benefits*: To integrate public and private schools so to bridge the existing gap.	schools 2.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions*: ▪ Parents have no money 3.*Concession*: ▪ The situation in these former Model C schools discourages learners from disadvantaged schools from applying for admission	required fees ▪ People who take their children to these schools are mostly well-off ▪ The department is managed by a toothless MEC ▪ The former Model C schools have their own admission policies 2.*Denial*: 3.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:* ▪ Libraries and computer laboratories are being built in public schools 4.*Concession*:	2.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits*: ▪ The department (government) is now focused on providing infrastructure to accommodate learners ▪ The government maintains that learners should not be denied access to education and those who cannot afford should be exempted from paying 3.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions*: ▪ Most rural schools are currently mud structures ▪ These structures might still not be finished by 2008 ▪ Some schools have only one block built by the community ▪ The department of Education is mostly focused on building classrooms ▪ There is no budget to do all these things at once

such as exemption of fees and subsidies. Then such fees will benefit children				

Reproach 3	**Reproach 3**	**Reproach 3**	**Reproach 3**	**Reproach 3**
1. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions*: Teachers' contribution: ■ Poor standards of teachers ■ Teachers do not have enough time for training. ■ Morale of teachers is low because of their grievances about staff establishment and salaries Learners contribution: ■ Lack of discipline. ■ Lack of parents' involvement in learners' education. ■ Late-coming to school. ■ Drug abuse. ■ Lack of cooperation with teachers. 2.*Justification: Minimization of harm: Reframe consequences: Future benefits* ■ Establish cooperation between teachers and the department. ■ Address instability within the senior management of the department ■ Vacancies in the senior management to be filled	1.*Excuse: Responsibility: Diffusion of responsibility*: ■ Teachers do not understand OBE and yet they are expected to teach it to the learners 2. *Justification: Minimization: Present benefits*: ■ Workshops are conducted throughout the Province ■ Teachers are trained so that they can train other teachers 3.*Excuse: Mitigation: Present adverse conditions:* ■ Educators resist change/ transformation because of the quality of education which they received	1.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions*: ■ The administration of the department of Education is not strong enough ■ Schools are not provided with enough well-trained teachers in all levels ■ Schools lack necessary resources for effective teaching and learning 2.*Excuse: Causal excuse: Null cause*: ■ Parents are not supportive and do not show interest in their children's education ■ Learners are ill-disciplined	1.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions*: ■ The department is no longer producing teachers ■ Most teachers who graduated in 1995/96 are still not yet employed ■ Teachers are not disciplined and they lack dedication 2.*Excuse: Causal excuse: Null cause*: ■ The department of Education does not have capacity to discipline teachers ■ The teacher unions cause the declining teacher conduct in schools 3.*Excuse: Causal excuse: Null cause:* ■ The MEC is responsible for implementing recommendations made by the portfolio committee	1.*Concession* 2.*Justification: Comparisons: Past negative circumstances*: ■ Results were 53% in 2004 and they improved to 57% in 2005 ■ The Exemption passes improved by 1% from 7% of 2004 to 8% in 2005 3.*Excuse: Responsibility: Diffusion of responsibility*: ■ Universities do not provide education and training that will provide good teachers 4.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions*: ■ Teachers that are produced especially by universities are not good enough ■ There is a shortage of qualified teachers ■ Teachers are allocated according to the number of learners instead of using the curriculum ■ Teachers end-up being overworked or overloaded ■ Learners have a very limited scope of subjects to choose from ■ There is lower level of education in lower grades

				(primary schools) • The OBE and NCS programs are not properly coordinated 5.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits*: • There is a developmental program to assist the under-qualified teachers • A teacher-skills' training institute operating from East London 6.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits*: • Satellites of the skills training institute to be opened in Mthatha and Port Elizabeth
Reproach 4 1.*Excuse: Mitigation of Blame: Present adverse conditions:* • Poor conditions of schools, no learner support materials, ill-disciplined learners. • School principals lack capacity to do their jobs properly. • Teachers prioritize to their own personal development. • There is tension between teachers and the department.	**Reproach 4** 1. *Excuse: Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility*: • Educators do not want to teach 2. *Justification: Derogation of victim: Attacking the accuser*: • Teachers absent themselves from school for no reason 3.*Concession* • In some schools, learners are very ill-disciplined, they arrive late at school, they use drugs and	**Reproach 4** 1.*Denial* 2.*Justification: Comparisons: Past negative circumstances*: • Teachers had to wait for almost six months before getting their first salary, but that has changed now	**Reproach 4** 1.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions*: • Teachers have no interest in teaching • Teachers treat public and private schools differently; they are more dedicated when working for Model C schools than they do in public schools • The teaching personnel lack discipline 2.*Excuse: Causal excuse: Null cause*: The department of Education	**Reproach 4** 1.*Concession*: • Teachers do not attend school on Fridays and pay days • Some teachers suffer from depression 2.*Justification: Higher authorities*: • The department of Education is busy dealing with the situation • Portfolio committee has the power to ensure that challenges facing the department are addressed 3.*Excuse: Causal excuse: Null

▪ The department has staff shortages. 2.*Justification: Minimization of harm: Reframe consequences: Future benefits* ▪ Teachers were asked to support the various departmental programs. ▪ The department is looking at capacity building of principals. ▪ The tension between the department and teachers has stabilized. ▪ Teacher-learner ratio has improved to 40 learners.	classes are overcrowded 4.*Concession* ▪ School managers lack the capacity to manage schools ▪ School governing bodies are inefficient and they do not know their responsibilities 5.*Denial*		lack authority 3.*Denial*: 4.*Justification: Derogation of victim: Reciprocity*: ▪ Teachers also lack discipline	*cause*: ▪ The Peter Morkel system used to determine the allocation of teachers ▪ School managers lack capacity to manage 4.*Concession*: 5.*Excuse: Causal excuse: Null cause*: ▪ Parents are not firm in disciplining their children
Reproach 5 1. *Excuse: Mitigation: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ Poor conditions of schools and infrastructure. ▪ No care, low quality of educators and principals. ▪ Education in towns is better than in rural areas. 2.*Justification:Minimization: Reframe consequences: future benefits* ▪ The department will renovate and build more schools. ▪ The department has a rationalization program in which two or more schools in one area will be integrated into one school. 3.*Justification: Appeal to*	**Reproach 5** 1.*Excuse:Causal excuse: Null cause:* ▪ Learners migrate to schools that have better results ▪ Crime within school premises drives learners to other schools ▪ Learners are not disciplined enough and they move around as they please	**Reproach 5** 1.*Excuse: Causal excuse: Null cause*: ▪ Parents cannot control their children properly 2.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions*: ▪ There are schools that always have poor results	**Reproach 5** 1.*Justification: Self-fulfillment: self-development*: ▪ Parents have the right to move their children to schools where a brighter tomorrow is guaranteed 2.*Excuse: Causal excuse: Null cause*: ▪ Parents lack interest in their schools ▪ Parents do not ensure that their children get to school on time	**Reproach 5** 1.*Concession*:

higher values: Reframe principles: Fairness: ▪ Research should be conducted to establish the reasons of migration.				
Reproach 6 1.*Justification:Appeal to higher values: Reframe principles: Fairness:* ▪ The way in which the ratio is measured is not stable.	**Reproach 6** 1.*Excuse: Defeasibility: Plea of ignorance:* The department consider the number of subjects offered in that particular school before redeploying teachers instead of using learner numbers	**Reproach 6** 1.*Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions*: ▪ The program of redeployment results to family breakdown ▪ The process is quite unreasonable ▪ The way in which it is conducted is not conducive	**Reproach 6** 1.*Excuse: Mitigation: Present adverse condition*: ▪ The process of redeployed focused on the number of learners instead of the curricula ▪ The way redeployment is conducted results in breakdown of families ▪ Department has entered into court battles with teachers because of redeployed 2.*Concession*	**Reproach 6** 1.*Excuse: Null cause*: ▪ The department of Education, teacher unions ▪ Principals do not consider tuition ▪ Teachers do not care about the learners 2.*Excuse: Present adverse conditions*: ▪ The allocation is first made through the closed bulletin ▪ The Province has many small schools 3.*Justification: Minimization: Present benefits*: ▪ The department is rationalizing schools 4.*Justification:Minimization: Future benefits*: ▪ The department will save money ▪ There will be stability ▪ Teachers will get incentives 6.*Justification: Appeal to higher authorities*: ▪ The National department of Education has the capacity to bring stability

5.2.2 The Interviews:

Interview 1
Reproach 1

The level of education and the management in primary schools are not up to standard:

Justification:
Four types of justification have been used:

a. Minimization of undesirable consequences: there will be future benefits (2 arguments have been tendered in support)

b. Derogation of victim: the interviewee attacked the accuser (5 arguments have been given in support of this)

c. Comparison to past negative circumstances (2 arguments in support of this have been provided)

d. Higher values: the interviewee focused on fairness which is based on moral principles (1 argument has been given in support)

Denial:
One refusal/denial has been used.

Excuse and concession:
No excuse or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1 of Interview 1:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: the justification with focus on higher values of fairness is the most effective because of its basis on moral principles- different standards should be applied in the interest of greater societal fairness.

Least effective account: the three justifications with focus on the minimization of the undesirable consequences, the derogation of the victim and the comparison to past negative circumstances are the least effective because they concentrate on a narrow focus which is the consequences of the reproach, both negative (derogation of victim,

comparison to past negative circumstances) and positive (minimization of consequences through some future benefits)

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the justification of the derogation of victim in which the accuser is attacked is the most persuasive account because of the high number of arguments that have been provided in support of it, i.e. 5 arguments.

Least persuasive accounts; the other three justifications which have been used are not very persuasive because of the low number of arguments given in support of them, i.e. minimization of consequences (2 arguments), comparison to past negative circumstances (2 arguments) and higher values with focus on fairness (1 argument)

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face are the four justifications and the one denial. They constitute the more serious threats against the accuser's face. The most threatening justification is the derogation of the victim in which the accuser is attacked. The focus on the consequences of the reproach, i.e. the comparison to past negative circumstances and the minimization of the consequences by pointing to the future benefits, is the second most threatening account. The least threatening of the four justifications is the account of higher values with the focus on fairness.

Reproach 2

Exorbitant school fees are demanded by the former Model C schools to make available the necessary resources which the department of Education is incapable of providing:

Justification:
Three types of justification have been used with 8 arguments:

a. Minimization of undesirable consequences: there are present benefits (one argument has been provided) and future benefits (one argument has been given in support of this)
b. Derogation of victim: the interviewee attacked the accuser (3 arguments have been given in support)

c. Higher values: the interviewee focused on fairness which is based on moral principles (3 arguments have been given in support of this)

Excuse:

There is one type of excuse that has been used:

Mitigation of blame: the interviewee focused on the past adverse conditions (one argument has been provided in support) and the present adverse conditions (two arguments have been provided in support of this)

Denial and concession;

No denial/refusal or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2 of Interview 1:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: the justification with focus on higher values of fairness is the most effective because of its basis on moral principles- different standards ought to be applied in the interest of greater societal fairness.

Least effective account: the other two justifications with focus on minimization of the undesirable consequences and the derogation of the victim are the least effective because they have a narrow focus which is the consequences of the reproach, both the negative (derogation of the victim) and the positive (minimization through present and future benefits)

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive accounts: the justifications of the higher values with the focus on societal fairness and that of the derogation of the victim in which the accuser is attacked are the most persuasive accounts because of the high number of arguments that have been provided in support, i.e. three arguments for each type of justification. The excuse that minimizes the blame is also persuasive and it has a total of three arguments (two arguments for present adverse conditions and one for past adverse conditions)

Least persuasive accounts: the other justification which has been used is not very persuasive because of the low number of arguments that has been given in support

of it, i.e. minimization of consequences (two arguments, one for present benefits and one for future benefits)

c. *Politeness:*

The most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face are the three justifications. These justifications constitute the more serious threats against the accuser's face with the derogation of the victim in which the accuser is attacked being the most/worst threatening justification. The focus on the consequences of the reproach, i.e. the minimization of the consequences by highlighting the present and the future benefits, is the second most threatening account. The least threatening of the three justifications is the account of higher values with focus on fairness.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse employed by the interviewee. This excuse focuses on the mitigation of the blame by pointing out the past and the present adverse conditions.

Reproach 3

There is a concern about the poor performance of learners which is believed to be the result of the low level and standard of teachers:

Justification:
The interviewee used only one type of justification:

Minimization of the consequences of the blame because the interviewee believes that there is future benefits (three arguments)

Excuse:
The interviewee used one type of excuse:

Mitigation of the blame: the interviewee focuses on present adverse conditions with a total of eight arguments.

Denial and concession:
No denial/ refusal or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 3 of Interview 1:

a. *Effectiveness:*

The interviewee has employed only the least effective accounts: justification that focuses on the minimization of the undesirable consequences is the least effective account as well as the excuse that mitigates the blame because it narrowly focuses on the circumstances of the reproach, which in this case are the present adverse conditions.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: The excuse that minimizes the blame is the most persuasive and it has a total of eight arguments for present adverse conditions.

Least persuasive account: the justification used is not very persuasive because of the low number of arguments that has been given in support of it, i.e. minimization of consequences -three arguments for future benefits.

c. *Politeness:*

The justification that focuses on the consequences of the reproach, i.e. the minimization of the consequences by pointing out the future benefits, is the most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse that has been employed which focuses on the mitigation of the blame by pointing out the present adverse conditions.

Reproach 4

There is a high level of absenteeism of the teaching staff:

Justification:
One type of justification has been used:

Minimization of the undesirable consequences: there will be future benefits (four arguments have been given in support)

Excuse:

One type of excuse has been used in this reproach:

Minimization of the blame: an appeal to present adverse conditions (five arguments have been tendered in support of this)

Denial and concession:

No denial and concession.

Overview of reproach 4 of Interview 1:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: the interviewee did not focus on the most effective accounts when dealing with this reproach.

Least effective account: the justification that focuses on the minimization of the undesirable consequences through future benefits as well as the excuse that focus on the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions are the least effective accounts because they concentrate more on the narrow focus of the consequences of the reproach

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive account: the excuse that mitigates the blame through appealing to some present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because of the high number of arguments that have been provided in support of it, i.e. five arguments; as well as the justification that has been used which minimizes the consequences by highlighting some future benefits with a total number of four arguments given in support of it.

c. ***Politeness:***

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse that focuses on the mitigation of the blame by pointing out to the present adverse conditions.

The most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face is the justification that focuses on the consequences of the

reproach, i.e. the minimization of the consequences by pointing out that there are some future benefits.

Reproach 5

The random migration of learners from one school to the other makes planning and staffing difficult to manage:

Justification:
Two types of justification have been used:

a. Minimization of the undesirable consequences: there will be future benefits (two arguments have been given in support)
b. Higher values: the interviewee focused on fairness which is based on moral principles (one argument is provided in support of this)

Excuse:
One type of excuse is used:

Mitigation of the blame: the interviewee focused on present adverse conditions (three arguments are given in support)

Denial and concession:
No denial or concession.

Overview of reproach 5 of Interview 1:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Most effective account: the justification with focus on higher values of fairness is the most effective because it is based on moral principles in the sense that it requires that different standards should be applied for the interests of the greater societal fairness.

Least effective account: the justification with focus on minimization of the undesirable consequences is the least effective because of its narrow focus on the positive consequences of the reproach, which are the future benefits.

The excuse that mitigates the blame is also the least effective account because it also concentrates on the narrow focus on the negative consequences of the reproach.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the excuse that focuses on the mitigation of the blame, in which the negative consequences of the reproach are pointed out through present adverse conditions, is the most effective because of the high number of arguments that have been given in support, i.e. three arguments. However, the justification that focus on minimization of the undesirable consequences through the interviewee's belief that there are some future benefits is also the most persuasive account as there is not that much difference in the number of arguments given in support, i.e. two arguments are provided in support of future benefits as against three arguments of the present adverse conditions.

Least persuasive account: the other justification that has been used is not that persuasive because of the low number of arguments provided in support of it, i.e. higher values with focus on fairness (one argument)

c. *Politeness:*

The most threatening accounts with a high level of aggravation against the reproacher's negative face are the two justification that have been used with minimization of the consequences being the most threatening because of its focus on the consequences of the reproach by pointing to the future benefits. The least threatening of these justifications is the account on higher values with its focus on fairness.

An excuse has a high level of mitigation on the reproacher's face and for that reason it is the least threatening account to the accuser's positive as well as negative face.

Reproach 6

There is a problem with the implementation of the redeployment of teachers:

Justification:
The interviewee used only one type of justification:

Higher values: the interviewee focused on fairness which is based on moral principles (one argument has been given in support)

Excuses, denials and concessions:
No excuses, denials and concessions.

Overview of reproach 6 of Interview 1:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: the justification that has been used is the most effective because it is the one that focus on higher values of fairness and is also based on moral principles which stipulate that different standards ought to be applied in viewing certain situations in the interest of the greater societal fairness.

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive account: the justification with focus on higher values of fairness is the most persuasive account because it is the only account that has been provided by the interviewee.

c. ***Politeness:***

The justification that focuses on higher values of fairness is the least threatening account with the high level of aggravation against the reproacher's negative face.

SUMMARY OF JUSTIFICATIONS AND REPROACHES

INTERVIEW 1

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS						TOTAL	
1. **Minimization**	1	2	3	4	5	6	Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits		1					**1**	**1**
1.2 Future benefits	2	1	3	4	2		**5**	**12**
2. **Self-fulfillment**								
2.1 Self-development								
2.2 Self-fulfillment								
3. **Derogation of victim**								
3.1 Reciprocity								
3.2 Derogation of victim								
3.3 Attack the accuser	5	3					**2**	**8**
4. **Comparisons**								
4.1 Differentiation								
4.2 Past negative circumstances	2						**1**	**2**
5. **Higher authority**								
5.1 Loyalty								
5.2 Higher authority								
6. **Higher values**								
6.1 Fairness	1	3			1	1	**4**	**6**
6.2 Facework								
7. **Bolstering**								
TOTAL: Justification	**4**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**13**	
Arguments	**10**	**8**	**3**	**4**	**3**	**1**		**29**

SUMMARY OF EXCUSES AND REPROACHES

INTERVIEW 1

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS						TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	1	2	3	4	5	6	Excuse	Arguments
1.1 No knowledge								
1.2 Ignorance								
2. **Responsibility**								
2.1 Horizontal								
2.2 Vertical								
3. **Causal excuse**								
3.1 Alternative								
3.2 Null cause								
4. **Volition**								
4.1 Compulsion								
4.2 Impairment								
5. **Agency**								
5.1 Joint production								
5.2 Amnesia								
6. **Mitigation**								
6.1 Scapegoat								
6.2 Sad tale								
6.3 Present adverse conditions		2	8	5	3		**4**	**18**
6.4 Past adverse conditions		1					**1**	**1**
TOTAL: Excuse		**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**		**5**	
Arguments		**3**	**8**	**5**	**3**			**19**

Interview 2

Reproach 1

The level of education and the management in primary schools are not up to standard:

Justification:

The interviewee has used only one type of justification:

Minimization of undesirable consequences: there are present benefits (two arguments have been provided).

Excuses and denials/refusals:

No excuses and denials.

Concessions:

There is only one concession with one argument.

Overview of reproach 1 of Interview 2:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: concession with its acknowledgement of the blame and the reproacher's right to reproach is the most effective account.

Least effective account: the justification with focus on the minimization of the undesirable consequences is the least effective account because of its narrow focus which is based on the positive consequences of the reproach (minimization of consequences through present benefits)

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive account: both the justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences and the concession are the most persuasive accounts considering the fact that there are only two arguments that have been provided in support of the justification through present benefits.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification that has been used with its focus on the consequences of the reproach, i.e. the minimization of the consequences by pointing out to the present benefits.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation which lessens the seriousness of threat against the reproacher's face is the concession that has been employed in this reproach.

Reproach 2

Exorbitant school fees are demanded by the former Model C schools to make available the necessary resources which the department of Education is incapable of providing:

Justification:
The interviewee has used one type of justification:

Minimization of undesirable consequences: there are present (two arguments) and future benefits (one argument)

Excuse:
There is only one type of excuse that has been used:

Mitigation of the blame: the interviewee focused on the past adverse conditions (one argument has been provided in support)

Denial and concession:
No denials/ refusals or concessions.

Overview of reproach 2 of Interview 2:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Least effective account: the justification that focuses on the minimization of the undesirable consequences based on the present and future benefits is the least effective account because of its narrow focus on consequences. The excuse that has

been used, i.e. mitigation of the blame with focus on the negative consequences (past adverse conditions) is a more effective account.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences with focus on present and future benefits is the most persuasive account with a total of three arguments that have been provided in support (two arguments for present benefits and one argument for future benefits).

Least persuasive account: the excuse that has been used is the least effective because it has only one argument given in support of it.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face is the justification that focuses on the consequences of the reproach, i.e. minimization of the consequences by appealing to the benefits that are associated with the situation, both present and future.

The least threatening account with a high level of mitigation against the reproacher's face concerns the mitigating circumstances of the past.

Reproach 3

There is a concern of the poor performance of learners which is believed to be the result of the low level and standard of teachers:

Justification:
One type of justification has been used in this reproach:

Minimization of the undesirable consequences of the reproach: the interviewee believes that there are some present benefits (two arguments have been provided in support of this)

Excuse:
Two types of excuses have been used in this reproach:

a. Responsibility: vertical diffusion of responsibility (one argument)

b. Mitigation of the blame: the interviewee points to present adverse conditions (one argument)

Denials and concession:

No denials/ refusals or concessions.

Overview of reproach 3 of Interview 2:

a. **Effectiveness:**

Most effective account: the excuse that diffuses responsibility for the failure event, vertically to the person with higher level of authority is considered an effective account.

Least effective account: the other excuse which mitigates the blame by pointing to the present adverse conditions is the least effective because of its narrow focus on the consequences of the reproach. The justification that has been used is also the least effective account as it also concentrates on the narrow focus of the consequences of the reproach (minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefits)

b. **Argumentation:**

Most persuasive account: justification that has been used (minimization through the belief that there are present benefits) is the most persuasive as it is the only account with two arguments which is the highest number.

The excuses used are the least effective because they have the lowest number of arguments, which is one for both the responsibility and the mitigation of blame.

c. **Politeness:**

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences and it constitutes the more serious threat against the reproacher's face. This justification is most threatening because of its focus on the consequences of the reproach such as the present benefits.

The least threatening account is an excuse because it has a high level of mitigation which lessens the seriousness of the face threat against the reproacher. However, in

the two types of excuse that have been used, mitigation of blame has greater face threat than responsibility.

Reproach 4

There is a high level of absenteeism of the teaching staff:

Justification:
Interviewee 2 used only one type of justification:
Derogation of the victim: the interviewee attacked the accuser (one argument has been provided)

Excuse:
There is only one type of excuse:
Responsibility: the interviewee diffused the responsibility of the failure event, vertically (one argument has been provided in support)

Denial:
There is one denial.

Concession:
There are two concessions with three arguments.

Overview of reproach 4 of Interview 2:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Most effective account: Concession in which the interviewee acknowledges the blame is the most effective account followed by the excuse of responsibility whereby the interviewee tries to vertically diffuse responsibility for the blame to person/s with higher authority.

Least effective account: the justification with focus on the derogation of victim is the least effective account because of its narrow focus on negative consequences of the reproach.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: concession is the most persuasive account because it has the highest number, which is two.

Least persuasive account: the other three accounts that have been used by the interviewee are not that persuasive because they all provided only one argument in support of them, i.e. one justification- derogation of victim in which the interviewee attacks the accuser (one argument); one excuse of responsibility in which the interviewee vertically diffuses responsibility (one argument) and one denial.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face are the justification of derogation by attacking the accuser and the one denial. These accounts constitute the more serious threats against the reproacher's face. Both accounts are the most threatening to the reproacher's face.

The least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the reproacher's face are concession and excuse. Concession is the least threatening account which lessens the seriousness of the face threat against the reproacher and the excuse of responsibility in which the responsibility for the blame is vertically diffused to person/s with higher level of authority as the second least threatening account.

Reproach 5

The random migration of learners from one school to the other makes planning and staffing difficult to manage:

Justification:
There are no justifications.

Excuse:
The interviewee has used only one type of excuse:

Causal excuse: null cause in which the interviewee tries to disconnect self from the reproach by arguing "it is not my job" (three arguments provided for this excuse)

Denial and concession:
No denials/refusals or concessions.

Overview of reproach 5 of Interview 2:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Most effective account: the causal excuse that focuses on the null cause which argues that the interviewee is not responsible for the reproach as this was not his job, someone is responsible and should thus take responsibility for the blame is the most effective account.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the excuse that has been used is the most persuasive and it has the substantial number of arguments on top of the fact that it is the only account used by the interviewee.

c. *Politeness:*

Least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the causal excuse that has been employed by the interviewee. This account has a potential to lessen the seriousness of face threat against the reproacher's face.

Reproach 6

There is a problem with the implementation of the redeployment of teachers:

Justification:
There are no justifications.

Excuse:
The interviewee has used one type of excuse:

Mitigation of blame: plea of ignorance by arguing that he did not foresee the negative consequences.

Denial and concession:
No denials/ refusals or concessions.

Overview of reproach 6 of Interview 2:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Least effective account: the excuse that has been employed by the interviewee is the least effective because it concentrates more on the narrow focus of the negative consequences of the reproach (mitigation of the blame through the plea of ignorance, in the sense that the interviewee did not foresee the negative consequences)

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive account: mitigation of the blame through the plea of ignorance is the only account that has been used by the interviewee and for that reason it qualifies as the most persuasive account.

c. ***Politeness:***

The reproach is a face threatening act against a person's negative face, i.e. against a person's desire for autonomy or to be taken unfair advantage of:

Least threatening account with a high level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse and it lessens the seriousness of the face-threat against the reproacher.

INTERVIEW 2

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS						TOTAL	
1. **Minimization**	1	2	3	4	5	6	Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits	2	2	2				3	6
1.2 Future benefits		1					1	1
2. **Self-fulfillment**								
2.1 Self-development								
2.2 Self-fulfillment								
3. **Derogation of victim**								
3.1 Reciprocity								
3.2 Derogation of victim								
3.3 Attack the accuser				1			1	
4. **Comparisons**								
4.1 Differentiation								
4.2 Past negative circumstances								
5. **Higher authority**								
5.1 Loyalty								
5.2 Higher authority								
6. **Higher values**								
6.1 Fairness								
6.2 Facework								
7. **Bolstering**								
TOTAL: Justification	1	2	1	1			5	
Arguments	2	3	2	1				8

INTERVIEW 2

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS						TOTAL	
1. Defeasibility	1	2	3	4	5	6	**Excuse**	**Arguments**
1.1 No knowledge								
1.2 Ignorance						1	**1**	**1**
2. **Responsibility**								
2.1 Horizontal								
2.2 Vertical			1	1			**2**	**2**
3. **Causal excuse**								
3.1 Alternative								
3.2 Null cause					3		**1**	**3**
4. **Volition**								
4.1 Compulsion								
4.2 Impairment								
5. **Agency**								
5.1 Joint production								
5.2 Amnesia								
6. **Mitigation**								
6.1 Scapegoat								
6.2 Sad tale								
6.3 Present adverse conditions			1				**1**	**1**
6.4 Past adverse conditions		1					**1**	**1**
TOTAL: Excuse		1	2	1	1	1	**6**	
Arguments		1	2	1	3	1		**8**

Interview 3

Reproach 1

The level of education and the management in primary schools are not up to standard:

Justification:

The interviewee used only one type of justification:

Minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal to present benefits (one argument)

Excuse:

Two types of excuse have been used:

a. Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility (three arguments)
b. Mitigation of the blame: sad tale of a dismal past (one argument) and present adverse conditions (one argument)

Denial:

There is one denial/refusal.

Concession:

No concessions.

Overview of reproach 2 of Interview 3:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Most effective account: responsibility with the vertical diffusion of responsibility to person/s of higher authority is the most effective account.

Least effective account: the justification with the minimization of the undesirable consequences, the excuse that mitigates the blame and denial are the least effective accounts with denial being the worst of the three accounts. The other two are least effective because they concentrate on a narrow focus of the consequences of the reproach which is basically positive (minimization of consequences through present benefits) and negative (mitigation of the blame through an appeal to a sad tale of the dismal past and present adverse conditions)

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the excuse of responsibility in which the interviewee vertically diffuses the responsibility to person/s of higher authority is the most persuasive account because of the high number of arguments that have been provided in support of it, i.e. three arguments.

Least persuasive account: the other two accounts, justification that minimizes the consequences through present benefits and the excuse that mitigates the blame through an appeal to a sad tale of the dismal past and present adverse conditions are the least persuasive accounts as they have a low number of arguments with one argument for each of the accounts.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face is the justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences of the reproach through pointing to the present benefits.

Least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is excuse as it also lessens the seriousness of the face-threat. Responsibility is the highest in preserving the other's sense of autonomy and face followed by the mitigation of the blame.

Reproach 2

Exorbitant school fees are demanded by the former Model C schools to make available the necessary resources which the department of Education is incapable of providing:

Justification and denial:
There are no justifications or denials.

Excuse:
The interviewee has used two types of excuse:

a. Causal excuse: null cause in which the interviewee disconnects himself from the failure event (one argument)
b. Mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions (one argument)

Concession:

There is only one concession.

Overview of reproach 2 of Interview 3:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Most effective account: concession is the most effective account as it acknowledges the blame and the right of the reproacher to reproach. The excuse that focuses on the null cause is the second effective account.

The least effective account: the excuse that mitigates the blame is the least effective because it concentrates on the narrow focus which is the negative consequences of the blame (present adverse conditions)

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: all the accounts that are employed by the interviewee in response to this reproach are equally persuasive in the sense that they have equal number of arguments that are provided in support of them (causal excuse through the null cause has one argument, mitigation of the blame through appeal on present adverse conditions has one argument and there is only one concession)

c. *Politeness:*

The accounts that have been used by the interviewee are the least threatening with a high level of mitigation against the accuser's face. These accounts: excuse (mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions and causal excuse) and concession somehow make the threat to one's face less serious.

Reproach 3

There is a concern of the poor performance of learners which is believed to be the result of the low level and standard of teachers:

Justification, denial and concession:

There are no justifications, denials and concessions.

Excuse:

The interviewee used two types of excuse:

a. Causal excuse: the interviewee used the excuse of a null cause in which he tries to disconnect himself from the blame (two arguments)

b. Mitigation of the blame: the interviewee appeals to the present adverse conditions (three arguments)

Overview of reproach 3 of Interview 3:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: the excuse of a null cause in which the interviewee disconnects himself from the blame by introducing another source which should bear causality and take responsibility for the failure event is the most effective account.

Least effective: the excuse with the mitigation of the blame is the least effective account as it concentrates more on the negative consequences of the reproach through appeal to the present adverse conditions.

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive account: the excuse with the mitigation of the blame is the most persuasive account because it has the highest number of arguments, which is a total of three. This account is followed closely by the excuse that focuses on the null cause in which the interviewee argues that the blame is directed at the wrong person because this "is not his job". This account has a total of two arguments that have been given in support of it.

c. ***Politeness:***

The account that has been chosen by the interviewee is the least threatening account against the accuser's face with the highest level of mitigation. This account: excuse (causal excuse and mitigation of the blame through pointing the present adverse conditions) has the ability to lessen the seriousness of the face threat against the accuser's face.

Reproach 4

There is a high level of absenteeism of the teaching staff:

Justification:

The interviewee used one type of justification:

Comparisons to past negative circumstances (one argument in support)

Excuse and denial:

There are no excuses or concessions:

Denial:

There is only one denial/refusal.

Overview of reproach 4 of Interview 3:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Least effective account: denial is the worst account in terms of effectiveness and the justification of the comparisons to past negative circumstances is the second least effective account because it concentrates on the negative consequences of the reproach.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: justification that focuses on the comparisons to the past negative circumstances serves as the most persuasive account because it has an argument that serves as support (one argument)

Least persuasive account: denial is the least effective because there are no arguments that have been given to support it.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face is denial and the one justification. These accounts pose the more serious threats against the reproacher's face.

Reproach 5

The random migration of learners from one school to the other makes planning and staffing difficult to manage:

Justification, denial and concession:

There are no justifications, denial or concession.

Excuse:

The interviewee used two types of excuse:

a. Causal excuse: null cause (one argument)
b. Mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions (one argument)

Overview of reproach 5 of Interview 3:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: the causal excuse of a null cause in which the interviewee disconnects himself from the blame by introducing another source which is external to him as the one that should bear causality and responsibility for the reproach is the most effective account.

Least effective account: the excuse that mitigates the blame is the least effective account because of its focus on the negative consequences of the reproach (present adverse conditions)

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive account: both types of excuse that have been used are equally effective because they have the same or rather an equal number of arguments that have been provided in support of them, which is one.

c. ***Politeness:***

The account that has been chosen by the interviewee, excuse (causal excuse of the null cause and mitigation of the blame through the present adverse conditions) is the least threatening account with a high level of mitigation against the accuser's face. An excuse is thus viewed as polite as it is more concerned about preserving the other's face than that of the interviewee.

Reproach 6

There is a problem with the implementation of the redeployment of teachers:

Justification, denial and concession:

There are no justifications, denials or concessions.

Excuse:

The interviewee used only one type of excuse:

Mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions (three arguments)

Overview of reproach 6 of Interview 3:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Least effective account: the excuse with the mitigation of the blame is the least effective account because of its focus on the negative consequences of the reproach such as present adverse conditions.

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive account: this account, excuse with the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions is the only account and thus serves as the most persuasive.

c. ***Politeness:***

The interviewee used only the account that has the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face and a strategy that is least threatening against the accuser's face, which also has the ability to lessen the seriousness of the face-threat. An excuse is thus viewed as the least threatening account that serves to preserve the other's face and the sense of autonomy.

INTERVIEW 3

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS						TOTAL	
1. **Minimization**	1	2	3	4	5	6	Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits	1						1	1
1.2 Future benefits								
2. **Self-fulfillment**								
2.1 Self-development								
2.2 Self-fulfillment								
3. **Derogation of victim**								
3.1 Reciprocity								
3.2 Derogation of victim								
3.3 Attack the accuser								
4. **Comparisons**								
4.1 Differentiation								
4.2 Past negative circumstances				1			1	1
5. **Higher authority**								
5.1 Loyalty								
5.2 Higher authority								
6. **Higher values**								
6.1 Fairness								
6.2 Facework								
7. **Bolstering**								
TOTAL: Justification	1			1			2	
Arguments	1			1				2

INTERVIEW 3

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS						TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	1	2	3	4	5	6	**Excuse**	**Arguments**
1.1 No knowledge								
1.2 Ignorance								
2. **Responsibility**								
2.1 Horizontal								
2.2 Vertical	3						**1**	**3**
3. **Causal excuse**								
3.1 Alternative								
3.2 Null cause		1	2		1		**3**	**4**
4. **Volition**								
4.1 Compulsion								
4.2 Impairment								
5. **Agency**								
5.1 Joint production								
5.2 Amnesia								
6. **Mitigation**								
6.1 Scapegoat								
6.2 Sad tale	1						**1**	**1**
6.3 Present adverse conditions	1	1	3		1	3	**5**	**9**
6.4 Past adverse conditions								
TOTAL: Excuse	**3**	**2**	**2**		**2**	**1**	**10**	
Arguments	**5**	**2**	**5**		**2**	**3**		**17**

Interview 4

Reproach 1

The level of education and the management in primary schools are not up to standard:

Justification:

The interviewee used only one type of justification:

Higher values: with the focus on fairness which is based on moral principles (three arguments)

Excuse:

There are two types of excuse that have been used:

a. Causal excuse of the null cause (one argument)
b. Mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions (two arguments)

Denial:

No denials/refusals.

Concession:

There is one concession that has been used.

Overview of reproach 1 of Interview 4:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Most effective account: the justification that focuses on the higher values of fairness is the most effective account because it is based on moral principles that different standards ought to be applied when dealing with this issue for the interest of the greater societal fairness. Concession is the second most effective account because it acknowledges the blame and the right to reproach. The causal excuse with focus on the null cause is the second effective account because an alternative source which is responsible for the failure event is introduced and should thus take causality for the blame.

Least effective account: the excuse that mitigates the blame is the least effective account because it concentrates on the negative consequences of the reproach which is the present adverse conditions.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the justification of the higher values with the focus on societal fairness is the most persuasive account because it has the highest number of arguments in support of it, i.e. three arguments. This account is followed closely by the excuse of the mitigation of the blame through the focus on the negative consequences of the reproach (present adverse conditions) with the total number of two arguments.

Least persuasive account: the causal excuse with the focus on the null cause is the least effective account because it has the lowest number of arguments that are given in support, i.e. one argument.

c. *Politeness:*

Least threatening account with a high level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse because it lessens the seriousness of this face threat. The justification of higher values with the focus on fairness is the second least threatening account.

Reproach 2

Exorbitant school fees are demanded by the former Model C schools to make available the necessary resources which the department of Education is incapable of providing:

Justification:
The interviewee used only one justification:
Minimization of the undesirable consequences: the interviewee argues that there are present benefits (one argument)

Excuse:
Only type of excuse:
 Mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions (four arguments)

Denial:
There is one denial/refusal that has been used.

Concession:
No concessions.

Overview of reproach 2 of Interview 4:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Least effective account: all the accounts that have been used are the least effective: justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences of the blame, the excuse that mitigates the blame and the denial being the worst of the three accounts.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the excuse with the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because it has the highest number of arguments that have been provided in support, i.e. four arguments.

Least persuasive account: both the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences with focus on the present benefits and denial are the least effective accounts because they have the lowest number of arguments given in support, i.e. one argument for justification of the minimization of the consequences.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face is the justification that has been used and the one denial. Both these accounts constitute the more serious threats against the reproacher's face. The most threatening of these accounts is denial followed by justification that focuses on the consequences of the reproach through the minimization of the consequences by pointing out to some present benefits.

Least threatening account is the excuse that has been used because it has the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face and thereby lessening the seriousness of the face threat. By employing an excuse, the interviewee shows that he is more concerned with preserving the other's face, both positive and negative.

Reproach 3

There is a concern of the poor performance of learners which is believed to be the result of the low level and standard of teachers:

Justification, denial and concession:

There are no justifications, denials or concessions.

Excuse:

The interviewee used two types of excuse:

a. Causal excuse of a null cause (three arguments)
b. Mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions (three arguments)

Overview of reproach 3 of Interview 4:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: of the types of excuse that have been used, the causal excuse that focus on a null cause is the most effective because it provides a source which should take causality and full responsibility for the failure event or blame.

Least effective account: the other excuse is the least effective because of its narrow focus on the negative consequences of the reproach (mitigation of the blame by pointing out the present adverse conditions)

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive account: both excuses are the most persuasive because of the highest number of arguments that have been given to their support, i.e. causal excuse of a null cause has three arguments and the mitigation of the blame through the present adverse conditions also has three arguments.

c. ***Politeness:***

Least threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face has been employed through the use of an excuse. This account lessen the seriousness of the face threat and it shows that the interviewee was more concerned with preserving the other's face and sense of autonomy than that of his own.

Reproach 4

There is a high level of absenteeism of the teaching staff:

Justification:

The interviewee used only one type of justification:

Derogation of the victim with focus on reciprocity (one argument)

Excuse:

Two types of excuse have been used in this reproach:

Causal excuse with focus on the null cause (one argument)

Mitigation of the blame through pointing to some present adverse conditions (three arguments)

Denial:

There is one denial/refusal.

Concession:

No concessions.

Overview of reproach 4 of Interview 4:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Most effective account: the causal excuse with focus on the null cause is the most effective because the interviewee provides the reproacher/accuser with another source that is external from the interviewee, which should take the causality and responsibility for the blame.

Least effective account: the excuse of the mitigation of the blame by pointing to present adverse conditions, the justification of the derogation of the victim in which the interviewee focuses on reciprocity by arguing that the victim deserves the injury because of his actions, and denial are the least effective accounts. The first two accounts are least effective because of their focus, which is narrowly based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the excuse of the mitigation of the blame by pointing to the present adverse conditions is the most persuasive due to the highest number of arguments that are given in support of it, i.e. three arguments.

Least persuasive account: the justification of the derogation of the victim with focus on reciprocity in which the interviewee argues that the victim deserves injury because of his actions and the causal excuse with focus on the null cause are the least persuasive accounts because they have the equal and lowest number of arguments in their support, i.e. one argument.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face is the justification of the derogation of the victim with focus on reciprocity and the one denial.

The excuse on the other hand is least threatening to the accuser's face with the highest level of mitigation.

Reproach 5

The random migration of learners from one school to the other makes planning and staffing difficult to manage:

Justification:
The interviewee used only 1 justification:
Self-fulfillment with focus on self-fulfillment (one argument)

Excuse:
Causal excuse with focus on the null cause is the only excuse that has been used (two arguments)

Denial and concession:
There are no denials/refusals or concessions.

Overview of reproach 5 of Interview 4:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Most effective account: the causal excuse with its focus on the null cause by providing an alternative source that is external to the interviewee as the one that should bear responsibility for the blame is the most effective account.

Least effective account: the justification of self-fulfillment which focuses on self-fulfillment is the least effective account because it has a narrow focus based on the positive consequences of the reproach.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the causal excuse of the null cause is the most persuasive because in the accounts that have been used by the interviewee in response to this reproach, it is the one that has more arguments given in support, i.e. two arguments.

The justification of self-fulfillment is the least persuasive because it has only one argument.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face is the justification that concentrates on the consequences of the reproach: self-fulfillment.

Excuse is the least threatening to the accuser's face and it lessens the seriousness of the threat as it strives to preserve the other's face and sense of autonomy.

Reproach 6

There is a problem with the implementation of the redeployment of teachers:

Justification and denial:
There are no justifications or denials.

Excuse:
The interviewee used one excuse:
 Mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions (three arguments)

Concession:
There is only one concession.

Overview of reproach 6 of Interview 4:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Least effective account: the excuse that has been used by the interviewee is the least effective because of its focus on the negative consequences of the reproach.

Most effective account: concession is the most effective account because by using it the interviewee shows that he acknowledges the blame, its consequences and also the right to reproach.

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive account: this excuse is the most persuasive account with three arguments and is the only account.

c. ***Politeness:***

The interviewee has used the accounts that are least threatening to the hearer's face, both negative and positive. This has been done through the use of excuse and concession. The interviewee was obviously more concerned with preserving the interviewer's/hearer's face. Excuse and concession lessen the seriousness of the face-threat against the accuser's face.

INTERVIEW 4

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS						TOTAL	
1. **Minimization**	1	2	3	4	5	6	Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits		1					1	1
1.2 Future benefits								
2. **Self-fulfillment**								
2.1 Self-development								
2.2 Self-fulfillment					1		1	1
3. **Derogation of victim**								
3.1 Reciprocity				1			1	1
3.2 Derogation of victim								
3.3 Attack the accuser								
4. **Comparisons**								
4.1 Differentiation								
4.2 Past negative circumstances								
5. **Higher authority**								
5.1 Loyalty								
5.2 Higher authority								
6. **Higher values**								
6.1 Fairness	3						1	3
6.2 Facework								
7. **Bolstering**								
TOTAL: Justification	1	1		1	1		4	
Arguments	3	1		1	1			6

INTERVIEW 4

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS						TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	1	2	3	4	5	6	**Excuse**	**Arguments**
1.1 No knowledge								
1.2 Ignorance								
2. **Responsibility**								
2.1 Horizontal								
2.2 Vertical								
3. **Causal excuse**								
3.1 Alternative								
3.2 Null cause	1		3	1	2		**5**	**7**
4. **Volition**								
4.1 Compulsion								
4.2 Impairment								
5. **Agency**								
5.1 Joint production								
5.2 Amnesia								
6. **Mitigation**								
6.1 Scapegoat								
6.2 Sad tale								
6.3 Present adverse conditions	2	4	3	3		3	**5**	**15**
6.4 Past adverse conditions								
TOTAL: Excuse	**2**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**10**	
Arguments	**3**	**4**	**6**	**4**	**2**	**3**		**22**

Interview 5

Reproach 1

The level of education and the management in primary schools are not up to standard:

Justification:

The interviewee used two types of justification:

a. Minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefits (three arguments)
b. Comparisons through differentiation (two arguments)

Excuse:

Two types of excuse have been used:

a. Causal excuse with focus on the null cause (one argument)
b. Mitigation of the blame by pointing to present adverse conditions (five arguments)

Denial:

There are 2 denials/refusals.

Concession:

There are 2 concessions.

Overview of reproach 1 of Interview 5:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: concession is the most effective account because it acknowledges the blame and the other's right to reproach. The causal excuse of the null cause is the second effective account because it provides a source which is responsible for the blame and the one that should bear causality for the reproach.

Least effective account: the two justifications that have been used with focus on the minimization of the undesirable consequences and the comparisons through differentiation are the least effective accounts because their narrow focus on the consequences of the reproach, both negative (comparisons through differentiation) and positive (minimization through present benefits). The excuse with the mitigation

of the blame through present adverse conditions is also the least effective account because it also concentrates on the narrow focus of the negative consequences of the reproach. Denial is the worst in this category.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the excuse of the mitigation of the blame with focus on the present adverse conditions is the most persuasive because of the high number of arguments that are provided in support of it, i.e. five arguments.

This account is followed by the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences through some present benefits with a total of three arguments.

The other accounts that have been used are less persuasive with two arguments in their support (justification that focus on comparisons through differentiation, denials and concessions). The causal excuse of the null cause is the least persuasive of the accounts that have been used with only one argument in support.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face is the two justifications and the two denials because they constitute the most serious threats against the accuser's face.

Least threatening account is the two excuses and the two concessions with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face. These two accounts lessen the seriousness of the threat against the accuser's face.

Aggravation (most threatening to hearer's face)		mitigation (least threatening to hearer's face)	
1	2	3	4
← ←←←			→→→→
Denial	justification	excuse	concession

Reproach 2

Exorbitant school fees are demanded by the former Model C schools to make available the necessary resources which the department of Education is incapable of providing:

Justification:

There are two types of justification that have been used:

a. Minimization of the undesirable consequences of the blame through present benefits (two arguments)

b. Derogation of the victim in which the interviewee attacks the accuser (one argument)

Excuse:

The interviewee used only one type of excuse:

Mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions (five arguments)

Denial and concession:

No denials/refusals or concessions.

Overview of reproach 2 of Interview 5:

a. *Effectiveness:*

All the accounts that have been used are the least effective. The two justifications (with focus on the minimization of the undesirable consequences and the derogation of the victim in which the accuser is attacked) and the excuse of the mitigation of the blame through pointing to some present adverse conditions are the least effective accounts because they concentrate more on the narrow focus of the consequences of the reproach which are both negative (derogation of the victim and the excuse with the mitigation of the blame) and positive (minimization of the consequences through present benefits)

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the excuse with the mitigation of the blame through pointing out to some present adverse conditions is the most persuasive because of the highest number of arguments that are provided in support of it, i.e. five arguments.

Least persuasive account: the two justifications that have been used are not that persuasive because they have a low number of arguments in support, i.e. minimization of consequences due to present benefits has two arguments and the

derogation of the victim in which the interviewee attacks the accuser has one argument.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face is the two justifications that have been used because they constitute the more serious threats against the accuser's face.

The least threatening account is the excuse that has been employed because it has the highest level of mitigation and it lessens the seriousness of the threat against the accuser's face. It is thus intended to preserve the accuser's face and desire for autonomy.

Reproach 3

There is a concern of the poor performance of learners which is believed to be the result of the low level and standard of teachers:

Justification:

There are two types of justification that have been used:

a. Minimization of the consequences: present benefits (two arguments) and future benefits (one argument)
b. Comparisons to past negative circumstances (two arguments)

Excuse:

The interviewee has used two types of excuse:

a. Responsibility in which the interviewee vertically diffuses responsibility (one argument)
b. Mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions (six arguments)

Denial:

No denials/refusals.

Concession:

There is only one concession.

Overview of reproach 3 of Interview 5:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Most effective account: concession and the excuse of responsibility in which the interviewee vertically diffuses responsibility to person/s of higher authority are the most effective accounts.

Least effective account: the two justifications that have been used (minimization of the consequences through benefits and the comparisons to past negative circumstances) and the excuse with the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions are the least effective accounts because they focus more on the consequences of the reproach.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the excuse that mitigates the blame through the present adverse conditions is the most persuasive because of the highest number of arguments that are provided in support, i.e. six arguments.

The two justifications used are the least persuasive with an equal number of two arguments that have been given in support (minimization of consequences through present benefits and comparisons to past negative circumstances); the other justification with minimization of the consequences through future benefits has one argument in support as well as the excuse in which responsibility is vertically diffused.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face is the two justifications because they constitute the more serious threats to the accuser's face.

The least threatening account is the concession and the excuse that has been used with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face because they lessen the seriousness of the threats.

Reproach 4

There is a high level of absenteeism of the teaching staff:

Justification:

One justification has been used:

Higher authority with an appeal to higher authorities (two arguments)

Excuse:

The interviewee has used only one type of excuse:

Causal excuse with focus on the null cause (three arguments)

Denial:

No denials/refusals.

Concession:

There are 2 concessions.

Overview of reproach 4 of Interview 5:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: concession is the most effective account because it acknowledges the blame and the right to reproach followed by the justification with focus on higher authorities as the second most effective because of its basis that a powerful or rather a person of a higher status commanded the act or that the institutional rules stipulated the act. The causal excuse with focus on the null cause is the third effective because of its provision of the alternative source of the reproach which should take causality and responsibility for the blame.

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive account: the causal excuse with focus on the null cause is more persuasive in the accounts that have been used by the interviewee because it has the highest number of arguments that are given in support, i.e. three arguments.

The justification with focus on higher authority is less persuasive because it has only two arguments in support.

c. ***Politeness:***

Most threatening account with the lowest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face is the justification with the focus on higher authorities.

The excuse and the concession are less threatening to the accuser's face because they lessen the level of seriousness of the threat with their highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face.

Reproach 5

The random migration of learners from one school to the other makes planning and staffing difficult to manage:

Justification, excuse and denial:
There are no justifications, no excuses and no denials/refusals.

Concession:
There is concession whereby the interviewee acknowledges the blame, its consequences and the right to reproach.

Overview of reproach 5 of Interview 5:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: concession in which the interviewee acknowledges the blame, its consequences and above all, the right of the reproacher to reproach is the most effective account.

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive account: since concession is the only account that has been used, it thus serves as the most persuasive.

c. ***Politeness:***

The account is highly mitigating and least threatening to the face of the hearer. Thus, the account is very polite because it lessens the seriousness of the threat against the accuser's face.

Reproach 6

There is a problem with the implementation of the redeployment of teachers:

Justification:
The interviewee has used two types of justification:

a. Minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefits (one argument) and future benefits (three arguments)

b. Higher authority (one argument)

Excuse:

There are two types of excuses that have been used:

a. Causal excuse with focus on the null cause (three arguments)

b. Mitigation of blame through the present adverse conditions (two arguments)

Denial and concession

No denials/refusals or concessions.

Overview of reproach 6 of Interview 5:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: the justification that appeals to the higher authorities is the most effective account and the causal excuse with the focus on the null cause is the second most effective because it provides the source that is responsible for the blame, which should also bear causality for the failure event.

Least effective account: the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences and the mitigation of blame are the least effective accounts because of their narrow focus on the consequences of the reproach.

b. ***Argumentation:***

Most persuasive account: justification with the minimization of the consequences of the blame is the most persuasive because it has the highest number of arguments that are given in support, i.e. four arguments (one argument for present benefits and three for future benefits) and this is closely followed by the causal excuse of the null cause with three arguments.

The least persuasive account is the excuse with the mitigation of the blame through the present adverse conditions with two arguments and the justification that appeals to higher authorities with one argument.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face are the two justifications that have been used.

The least threatening accounts are the two excuses that have been employed because of their highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face and the fact that their level of face threat is less serious.

INTERVIEW 5

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS						TOTAL	
1. **Minimization**	1	2	3	4	5	6	Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits	3	2	2			1	**5**	**8**
1.2 Future benefits			1			3	**2**	**4**
2. **Self-fulfillment**								
2.1 Self-development								
2.2 Self-fulfillment								
3. **Derogation of victim**								
3.1 Reciprocity								
3.2 Derogation of victim								
3.3 Attack the accuser		1					**1**	**1**
4. **Comparisons**								
4.1 Differentiation	2						**1**	**2**
4.2 Past negative circumstances			2				**1**	**2**
5. **Higher authority**								
5.1 Loyalty								
5.2 Higher authority				2		1	**2**	**3**
6. **Higher values**								
6.1 Fairness								
6.2 Facework								
7. **Bolstering**								
TOTAL: Justification	**3**	**2**	**3**	**1**		**3**	**12**	
Arguments	**5**	**3**	**5**	**2**		**5**		**20**

INTERVIEW 5

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS						TOTAL		
1. **Defeasibility**	1	2	3	4	5	6	Excuse	Arguments	
1.1 No knowledge									
1.2 Ignorance									
2. **Responsibility**									
2.1 Horizontal									
2.2 Vertical			1				1	1	
3. **Causal excuse**									
3.1 Alternative									
3.2 Null cause	1			3		3	4	7	
4. **Volition**									
4.1 Compulsion									
4.2 Impairment									
5. **Agency**									
5.1 Joint production									
5.2 Amnesia									
6. **Mitigation**									
6.1 Scapegoat									
6.2 Sad tale									
6.3 Present adverse conditions	5	5	6			2	4	18	
6.4 Past adverse conditions									
TOTAL: Excuse	2	1	2	2		2	9		
Arguments	6	5	7	3		5		26	

5.2.2.2 Summary of the interviewee:

Interviewee	Concession	Excuse	Denial	Justification	TOTAL
1	__	5 (19)	1	13 (29)	19 (48)
2	3	6 (8)	1	5 (8)	15 (16)
3	1	10 (17)	2	2 (2)	15 (19)
4	3	10 (22)	2	4 (6)	19 (28)
5	6	9 (26)	2	11 (20)	28 (46)

Concessions and denials:

The interviewees have not conceded or denied very many of the reproaches which have been leveled against them. The only exception seems to be interviewee no 5 who has used six concessions which is basically a sign of politeness.

Justification:

Interview 1 has thirteen justifications and 29 arguments.

Interview 2 has five justifications and eight arguments.

Interview 3 has two justifications and two arguments.

Interview 4 has four justifications and six arguments.

Interview 5 has eleven justifications and twenty arguments.

Effectiveness:

Interviews 1 and 5 are the most effective judging by the number of justifications that have been used. Interview 1 has thirteen justifications whereas Interview 5 has eleven justifications. The other interviews are not as effective because of the low number of justifications that they used.

Argumentation:

Again Interview 1 and 5 with 29 arguments and 5 with 20 arguments are considered the best in terms of argumentation.

The other three interviews have a low level of arguments in support of the justifications (see table above)

Politeness:

The focus on politeness is on Interviews 1 and 5 because these interviewees have

gone out of their way to satisfy the interviewer and as such they have used more justifications and gave more arguments in support of them, i.e. interviewee 1 gave thirteen justifications with twenty-nine arguments in support of them while interviewee 5 used eleven justifications with twenty arguments in support.

Excuse:

Interview 1 has five excuses and nineteen arguments.

Interview 2 has six excuses and eight arguments.

Interview 3 has ten excuses and seventeen arguments.

Interview 4 has ten excuses and twenty-two arguments.

Interview 5 has nine excuses and twenty-six arguments.

Effectiveness:

The most effective interviews are of interviewees 3, 4 and 5 because they have used more excuses than the first two interviewees. Interviewees 3 and 4 used ten excuses and interviewee 5 used nine.

Argumentation:

The best interviews are of interviewee 5 with twenty-six arguments followed by interviewee 4 with twenty-two arguments in the second place, and both interviewee 1 with nineteen and interviewee 3 with seventeen arguments in the third place.

Interview 2 has the lowest number of arguments provided in support of the excuses, i.e. eight arguments.

Politeness:

The most polite of these interviewees is interviewee 3, 4 and 5 with regard to the number of excuses and arguments provided in support of those excuses. However, interviewee no. 1 has given the most arguments in support of the excuses he gave, i.e. five excuses with nineteen arguments, which is nearly four arguments for each excuse.

5.2.2.3. The interviewee:

Effectiveness:

The most effective: interviewee no.5 is the most effective because he has used twenty-eight accounts and forty-six arguments in support of them.

Argumentation:

Interviewee no.1 and no.5 are more persuasive because they have given more arguments or rather reasons in support of the accounts they used. Interviewee no.1 has provided a total of forty-eight arguments and interviewee no.5 gave forty-six reasons.

Politeness:

Interviewee no.5 is the most polite with regard to the number of accounts and arguments given, i.e. he used twenty-eight accounts and gave forty-six arguments.

Interviewee no.3, 4 and 5 are the most polite with regard to positive accounts used:

➢ No.3 has used ten excuses (seventeen arguments) and one concession.
➢ No.4 employed ten excuses (twenty-two reasons) and three concessions.
➢ No.5 used nine excuses (twenty-six arguments) and six concessions.

Interviewee no.1 and 5 are also the most impolite with regard to the negative accounts used:

➢ No.1 used thirteen justifications (twenty-nine reasons) and one denial.
➢ No.5 used eleven justifications (twenty arguments) and two denials.

5.2.2.4. Judgment of the interviewees:

Interviewee 5 provided the best interview because he has managed to maintain some balance between the highly aggravating and the highly mitigating accounts, i.e. there are fifteen highly mitigating accounts and thirteen highly aggravating accounts, giving a total of twenty-eight accounts. The interviewee has also gone out of his way to satisfy the interviewee because he has used 28 accounts and gave 46 arguments. This could be the result of the fact that this interviewee is a good diplomat as a result he knows exactly how to play his cards right and at the same time maintain a balance to avoid bad publicity/ judgment.

Interviewee 1 has used 19 accounts and gave 48 arguments in support of them. Interviewee no.2, 3 and 4 are more or less equal with fifteen and nineteen accounts and sixteen, nineteen and twenty-eight arguments respectively.

5.2.3. THE REPROACH

5.2.3.1 SUMMARY OF JUSTIFICATIONS AND REPROACHES [ALL INTERVIEWS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION]

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS						TOTAL	
1. Minimization	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**Justification**	**Arguments**
1.1 Present benefits	6 (3)	6 (4)	4 (2)			1 (1)	**10**	**17**
1.2 Future benefits	2 (1)	2 (2)	4 (2)	4 (1)	2 (1)	3 (1)	**8** **(18)**	**17** **(34)**
2. Self-fulfillment								
2.1 Self-development								
2.2 Self-fulfillment					1		**1** **(1)**	**1** **(1)**
3. Derogation of victim								
3.1 Reciprocity				1			**1**	**1**
3.2 Derogation of victim								
3.3 Attack the accuser	5 (1)	4 (2)		1			**4** **(5)**	**10** **(11)**
4. Comparisons								
4.1 Differentiation	2 (1)						**1**	**2**
4.2 Past negative circumstances	2 (1)		2 (1)	1			**3** **(4)**	**5** **(7)**
5. Higher authority								
5.1 Loyalty								
5.2 Higher authority				2 (1)		1	**2** **(2)**	**3** **(3)**
6. Higher values								
6.1 Fairness	4 (2)	3 (1)			1	1	**5**	**9**
6.2 Facework							**(5)**	**(9)**
7. Bolstering								
TOTAL: Justification	**9**	**9**	**5**	**5**	**3**	**4**	**35**	
Arguments	**21**	**15**	**10**	**9**	**4**	**6**		**65** **(65)**

SUMMARY OF EXCUSES AND REPROACHES [ALL INTERVIEWS]

EXCUSES	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS						TOTAL	
1. Defeasibility	1	2	3	4	5	6	Excuses	Arguments
1.1 No knowledge								
1.2 Ignorance						1	1 (1)	1 (1)
2. Responsibility								
2.1 Horizontal								
2.2 Vertical	3 (1)		2 (2)	1			4 (4)	6 (6)
3. Causal excuse								
3.1 Alternative								
3.2 Null cause	2 (2)	1	5 (3)	4 (2)	6 (3)	3 (1)	12 (12)	21 (21)
4. Volition								
4.1 Compulsion								
4.2 Impairment								
5. Agency								
5.1 Joint production								
5.2 Amnesia								
6. Mitigation								
6.1 Scapegoat								
6.2 Sad tale	1						1	1
6.3 Present adverse conditions	8 (4)	12 (4)	21 (5)	8 (2)	4 (2)	8 (3)	20	61
6.4 Past adverse conditions		2 (2)					2 (23)	2 (64)
TOTAL: Excuse	8	7	10	5	5	5	40 (40)	
Arguments	14	15	28	13	10	12		92 (92)

5.2.3.2. THE REPROACHES

Reproach 1

The level of education and the management in primary schools are not up to standard:

Justifications in reproach 1:

Four justifications have been used in reproach 1:

1. Minimization of the undesirable consequences: present benefits (three) and future benefit (one)
2. Derogation of the victim: attack the accuser (one)
3. Comparisons: differentiation (one) and past negative circumstances (one)
4. Higher values: fairness (two)

Excuses in reproach 1:
Three types of excuses have been used in this reproach:

1. Responsibility: (one)
2. Causal excuse: null cause (two)
3. Mitigation of the blame: sad tale (one) and present adverse conditions (four)

Denials in reproach 1:
Three denials have been used.

Concessions in reproach 1:
Four concessions have been used in this reproach.

Reproach 2

Exorbitant school fees are demanded by the former Model C schools to make available the necessary resources which the department of Education is incapable of providing:

Justifications in reproach 2:
Three types of justifications have been used:

1. Minimization of the blame: present benefits (four) and future benefits(two)
2. Derogation of the victim: attack the accuser (two)
3. Higher values: fairness (one)

Excuses in reproach 2:
Two excuses have bee used:

1. Causal excuse: null cause (one)
2. Mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions (four) and past adverse conditions (two)

Denials in reproach 2:
One denial has been used.

Concessions in reproach 2:
One concession has been used.

Reproach 3

There is a concern of the poor performance of learners which is believed to be the result of the low level and standard of teachers:

Justifications in reproach 3:
Two justifications:

1. Minimization of the blame: present benefits (two) and future benefits (two)
2. Comparisons: past negative circumstances (one)

Excuses in reproach 3:
Three excuses have been used:

1. Responsibility: vertical diffusion (two)
2. Causal excuse: null cause (three)
3. mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions (five)

Denials in reproach 3:
No denial has been used.

Concessions in reproach 3:
One concession has been used.

Reproach 4

There is a high level of absenteeism of the teaching staff:

Justifications in reproach 4:

Four justifications have been used:

1. Minimization of the blame: future benefits (one)
2. Derogation of victim: reciprocity (one) and attack the accuser (one)
3. Comparisons : past negative circumstances (one)
4. Higher authority: higher authorities (one)

Excuses in reproach 4:

Three excuses have been used:

1. Responsibility: vertical diffusion (one)
2. Causal excuse: null cause (two)
3. Mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions: (two)

Denials in reproach 4:

Three denials have been used.

Concessions in reproach 4:

Four concessions have been used.

Reproach 5

The random migration of learners from one school to the other makes planning and staffing difficult to manage:

Justifications in reproach 5:

Three justifications have been used:

1. Minimization of the blame: future benefits (one)
2. Self-fulfillment: self-fulfillment (one)
3. Higher values: fairness (one)

Excuses in reproach 5:

Two excuses have been used:

1. Causal excuse: null cause (three)
2. Mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions (two)

Denials in reproach 5:
No denial has been used.

Concessions in reproach 5:
One concession has been used in this reproach.

Reproach 6

There is a problem with the implementation of the redeployment of teachers:

Justifications in reproach 6:
Three justifications have been used:

1. minimization of the blame: present benefits (one) and future benefits (one)
2. Higher authority: higher authorities (one)
3. Higher values: fairness (one)

Excuses in reproach 6:
Three excuses have been used:

1. Defeasibility: plea of ignorance (one)
2. Causal excuse: null cause (one)
3. Mitigation of the blame: present adverse conditions (three)

Denials in reproach 6:
Denial has not been used in this reproach.

Concessions in reproach 6:
One concession has been used.

Summary of justifications in reproaches:

The justification of the minimization of the negative consequences seems to be the most popular justification that has been used in response to the reproaches especially in reproach 1 and 2.

Summary of excuses in reproaches:

Mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions and null causal excuse are the only two types of excuse that have been frequently used in response to the reproaches, particularly reproach 3, 1 and 2.

5.2.3.3 Summary of reproaches:

ACCOUNT	REPROACHES					
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Concession	4	1	1	4	1	1
Excuse	8	7	10	5	5	5
Denial	3	1	--	3	--	--
Justification	9	9	5	5	3	4
TOTAL	24	18	16	17	9	10

Reaction against reproaches

Most reaction: reproach 1 has received more reaction from the interviewees, i.e. twenty-four (24) because the issue of Model C schools and their admission policies is something that is mostly viewed as some kind of discrimination against those from previously disadvantaged communities.

Less reaction: reproaches 2, 3 and 4 received less reaction, which is 18, 16 and 17 respectively because these issues should be dealt with by the department but for some reason they fail to do that and as result ignoring the reproaches is the best thing to do.

Very little reaction: reproaches 5 and 6 received very little reaction from the interviewees, i.e. 9 and 10 respectively because the department is to blame for these problems concerning redeployment and migration of learners from schools.

5.2.3.4 Judgment of responses to reproaches:

Concessions: reproaches 1 and 4 have a fair amount of concessions (four for each reproach) from the interviewees because they (interviewees) acknowledge the fact that there are indeed problems as far as the level of feeder primary schools and the former Model C schools' admission policies are concerned. The members of

parliament also agree that teachers lack discipline when it comes to school attendance most probably because statistics are there and cannot be disputed.

Excuses: reproaches 1 and 3 (eight and ten respectively). The hierarchy of excuses begins with Reproach 3 [with a total of ten excuses] and it is followed by Reproach 1 and 2 with eight and seven excuses respectively. Excuses that focus on mitigating circumstances are more effective when they involve the past than the present. Past mitigating circumstances may be the reason for the problem and thus outside the excuse-giver's control.

Denials: reproaches 1 and 4 (three for each reproach) have received a lot of denials from the interviews because they (interviewees) did not want to take any causality and responsibility for these reproaches (the low level of education in primary schools, that the department of education does know how to deal with these former Model C schools who are exercising own policies especially those pertaining to admissions and that there is nothing that is done to put an end to the high rate of absenteeism among the teaching personnel.

Justifications: reproaches 1 and 2 (nine for each reproach), the interviewees have decided to give more attention to these reproaches because they are the burning issues currently both in the Province and countrywide: Reproach 1: *The level of education and the management in primary schools are not up to standard-* and Reproach 2: *Exorbitant school fees are demanded by the former Model C schools to make available the necessary resources which the department of Education is incapable of providing.* Justification has been largely used to minimize the negative consequences surrounding the issues raised by these reproaches.

Overall judgment of reproaches:

Best response: reproaches 1 and 2 are the best dealt with reproaches because interviewees managed to maintain some kind of balance between the highly aggravating and the highly mitigating accounts in response to them (nine justifications for each and eight and seven excuses respectively) (see the Table above).

Second best response: reproach 3 with ten excuses and five justifications is the second best dealt with reproach because it has a high number of highly mitigating and less threatening accounts against the accuser's face. Reproach 4 also falls in

this category even though it has managed to strike some kind of a balance between the mitigating responses (four concessions and five excuses, giving a total of nine) and aggravating responses (three denials and five justifications, giving a total of eight) (see the Table above).

Poorest quality of responses: reproaches 5 and 6 have the poorest quality of responses because a very low number of justifications and excuses have been used by the interviewees in response to these reproaches (see the Table above)

5.2.4 THE ACCOUNT

5.2.4.1. SUMMARY OF JUSTIFICATIONS IN INTERVIEWS [DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION]

JUSTIFICATION	INTERVIEWS					
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**TOTAL**
1. **Minimization**						
1.1 Present benefits	1	3	1	1	4	**10**
1.2 Future benefits	5	1			2	**8** **(18)**
2. **Self-fulfillment**						
2.1 Self-development				1		**1**
2.2 Self-fulfillment						**(1)**
3. **Derogation of victim**				1		**1**
3.1 Reciprocity						
3.2 Derogation of victim						
3.3 Attack the accuser	2	1			1	**4** **(5)**
4. **Comparisons**						
4.1 Differentiation					1	**1**
4.2 Past negative circumstances	1		1		1	**3** **(4)**
5. **Higher authority**						
5.1 Loyalty						
5.2 Higher authority					_2	**2** **(2)**
6. **Higher values**						
6.1 Fairness	4			1		**5**
6.2 Facework						
7. **Bolstering**						**(5)**
TOTAL	**13**	**5**	**2**	**4**	**11**	**35** (35)

SUMMARY OFEXCUSES IN INTERVIEWS

EXCUSES	INTERVIEWS					
	1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
1. **Defeasibility**						
1.1 No knowledge						
1.2 Ignorance		1				**1** **(1)**
2. **Responsibility**						
2.1 Horizontal						
2.2 Vertical		2	1		1	**4** **(4)**
3. **Causal excuse**						
3.1 Alternative						
3.2 Null cause		1	3	5	4	**13** **(13)**
4. **Volition**						
4.1 Compulsion						
4.2 Impairment						**---**
5. **Agency**						
5.1 Joint production						
5.2 Amnesia						**---**
6. **Mitigation**						
6.1 Scapegoat						
6.2 Sad tale			1			**1**
6.3 Present adverse conditions	4	1	5	5	4	**19**
6.4 Past adverse conditions	1	1				**2** **(22)**
TOTAL:	**5**	**6**	**10**	**10**	**9**	**40** **(40)**

5.2.4.2. The Account

Justifications:

Minimization of blame (18):

a. Present benefits (10)

b. Future benefits (8)

Minimization is the worst justification because it is the most threatening to the hearer's face, but according to the interviewees, this is their best justification. Minimization of the consequences that appeal to present benefits have been used ten (10) times and those that appeal to future benefits have been used eight (8) times giving a total of eighteen (18) minimizations/ justifications that reframe the consequences of the blame or failure event. What counts most here is that the interviewees have decided to employ more of minimization because they believe it is the best.

Self-fulfillment has been used only once most probably because self-fulfillment refers to the desire to satisfy one's own needs, and the interviews are focused more on the departmental policies and their implementation. Thus, the use of self-fulfillment as an account is irrelevant.

Derogation of victim where the interviewee attacks the accuser has been used five times. This is a highly threatening strategy to the face of the accuser.

Comparisons (4)

a. Differentiation (1)

b. Past negative circumstance (3)

Higher authority through an appeal on higher authorities has been used only twice.

Higher values with focus on societal fairness have been used five times. This is the best justification because it tries to reframe moral principles in that different standards should be applied in evaluating the situation for the interest of the greater societal fairness.

Bolstering has not been used in any of the interviews probably because the reproaches are concerned with the policies and their implementation and not the individual(s) of which bolstering is concerned.

Most effective justification:

The best account is justification that "appeals to higher authority" and "higher values" with focus to societal fairness and together they give a total of twelve justifications; seven for justifications that appeal to higher authority and five for higher values.

Excuses:

Defeasibility has been used only once most probably because the interviewees do not want to appear to be ignorant to the public.

Responsibility with focus on vertical diffusion of responsibility has been used four times.

Causal excuse with focus on the null cause has been used thirteen (13) times.

Mitigation of the blame has been used twenty-two (22) times:
a. Sad tale (1)
b. Present adverse conditions (19)
c. Past adverse conditions (2)

The mitigating excuses are the most popular excuses among politicians because they have been used twenty-two (22) times. This is not a problem though because excuses are still considered polite because they pose very low level of face threat and also because they are employed mostly to preserve the accuser's face.

Volition and **agency** has not been used by any of the interviewees.

Most effective excuse: The best excuses according to the interviewees are mitigation and causal excuses. They gave a total of 23 mitigating excuses and 13 "null causal excuses". Causal excuses are effective based on the fact that in reality one cannot be held responsible for something that is not his or her job and as a result this excuse is positively perceived. Excuses that focus on mitigating circumstances are more effective when they involve the past than the present. Past mitigating circumstances may be the reason for the problem and thus outside the control of the excuse-giver/ excuse. Moreover, mitigation happens to be the interviewees' best excuse and a typical political excuse because it somehow reflects people's understanding that real political decisions are constrained by external forces.

Denials:

There are eight denials that have been used.

Concessions:

There are twelve concessions that have been used

5.2.4.3 Summary of the Accounts:

ACCOUNT	INTERVIEW						TOTAL
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**		
Concession	---	3	1	2	6		**12**
Excuse	5	6	10	10	9		**40**
Denial	1	1	2	2	2		**8**
Justification	13	5	2	4	11		**35**

Concessions: 12 in total, interviewee 5 employed six concessions which is a half of the total number of concessions used by all interviewees. This is because the interviewee did not want to appear as impolite by denying the reproaches. It seems as if the interviewee was more concerned with preserving the interviewer's face by trying to be honest through acknowledging the failure events and the interviewer's right to reproach.

Excuses: 40 excuses in total have been used by interviewees especially interviewee 3, 4 and 5 who used ten, ten and nine excuses respectively.

Denials: 8 have been used by interviewees and there is no probable reason because the number of denials used by each interviewee is almost equal.

Justifications: 35 total number of justifications used by interviewees especially interviewee 1 and 5 who used thirteen and eleven justifications respectively.

5.2.4.4. Judgment of accounts

Effectiveness:

Most effective account: According to the interviewees, justifications and excuses are the most effective accounts because they have been used more often that the other two accounts, i.e. 40 excuses and 35 justifications. These accounts are almost equal because the difference is not that much.

Least effective account: Denial and concession are not that effective because they have not been used that much: eight denials and twelve concessions. These are also equal because the difference is not that much.

Overall: There are four types of accounts that have been used: concession, excuse, denial and justification. These types of accounts are more or less equal in terms of effectiveness.

Politeness:

The most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation are denials and justifications. There are eight denials and thirty-five justifications giving a total of forty-three most aggravating accounts.

Concessions and excuses are least threatening to the hearer's face because of their high level of mitigation. There are twelve concessions and forty excuses giving a total of fifty-two least aggravating accounts.

However, more positive accounts or rather the number of the least aggravating accounts is higher than the most aggravating accounts.

5.3. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

5.3.1 SUMMARY OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT INTERVIEWS

Reproach 1.1

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
1.*Justification: Present benefit*: ▪ Organization of the structures of the department ▪ Availability of funds ▪ Addressing staff shortages 2. *Justification: Future benefits*: ▪ Building communication lines ▪ Incorporate hospitals to complexes ▪ To have proper and effective management system 3. *Justification: Appeal to higher authorities*: ▪ The portfolio committee of Health has to operate within a higher authority such as: the parliament and the cabinet	1. *Simple denial of the reproach* 2. *Excuse: Past adverse conditions:* ▪ Eastern Cape has been economically disadvantaged ▪ Huge backlogs 3. *Excuse: Present adverse conditions*: ▪ Inadequate budget ▪ Incapacitated departmental personnel 4. *Justification: Present benefits*: ▪ Department addresses the challenges with the limited budget 5. *Justification: Future benefits*: ▪ Partnerships with the private health centers.	1.*Justification: Higher values: Loyalties to standards in politics*: ▪ Portfolio committee has duty for policy oversight and inspection ▪ Department to spread policy and give quarterly reports 2. *Excuse: Diffuse responsibility*: ▪ Departmental tender process ▪ The standing committee 3. *Justification: Future benefits*: ▪ Hospitals will be budgeted for ▪ MEC has intervention programs in place	1. *Concession*	1. *Excuse: Present adverse conditions*: ▪ Inadequate budget ▪ Hospitals have old and new structures ▪ Workers are not dedicated	1. *Excuse: diffusion of responsibility*: ▪ Management is not efficient enough 2. *Excuse: Present adverse conditions*: ▪ The Province is mainly rural and as such interaction with the stakeholders is difficult/ impossible 3. *Justification: Higher values*: ▪ Standards should be applied in the evaluation of the situation

Reproach 1.2

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
1. *Excuse: Null cause*: ▪ The National government and ▪ The department of Public Works	1. *Excuse: Null cause*: ▪ Departmental officials are negligent 2. *Excuse: Defeasibility: Ignorance*: ▪ Legislators failed to do their monitoring work over the department	1. *Excuse: Null cause*: ▪ The former MEC is responsible for the failure	1. *Concession* 2. *Excuse: Null cause*: ▪ The incapability of the department in utilizing the funds ▪ The money was a conditional grant from the National government ▪ Poor management. ▪ Lack of accountability within the department of Health in the Province of the Eastern Cape	1. *Excuse: Null cause*: ▪ The department of Health lacked the capacity to utilize the funds ▪ The National government does not avail funds in time	1. *Excuse: Null cause*: The department does not have the CFO Department of Public Works is responsible for government buildings Service providers fail to deliver 2. *Excuse: Plea of ignorance*: **1** Buying overseas' equipment **2** Tender processes that are never finalized

Reproach 2.1

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
1. *Justification: Higher authorities:* **1** Parliament, National department of Health and MINMEC 2. *Excuse: null cause:* **1** Departmental sections should submit their needs for allocation purposes **2** Department randomly allocates funds **3** The allocation does not cater for all the needs of sections	1. *Excuse: Present adverse conditions:* **1** Hospital managers are not part of budget discussions **2** They have interaction only with the departmental Superintendent **3** Young people have lost interest in the field **4** Incapacitated personnel **5** Overcrowded hospitals 2. *Justification: Future benefits:* **1** Hospital managers will be involved in budget discussions **2** Inputs from other sectors of the department will be considered	1. *Excuse: Past adverse conditions:* **1** Hospitals were managed by doctors. 2. *Justification: Present benefits:* **1** New managers have been employed. **2** Availability of rural allowances 3. *Excuse: Present adverse conditions:* **1** Incapacitated hospital managers **2** Shortages of managers **3** Ineffective allowance policy	1. *Simple denial* 2. *Excuse: Present adverse conditions:* Most hospitals do not have bank accounts 3. *Concession:* **1** There is a shortage of health workers and it is a problem 4. *Excuse: Plea of ignorance:* **1**Most districts and their managers do not regard themselves as the department, the department is only Bisho.	1. *Justification: Attacking the accuser:* ▪ South Africans are not patriotic. ▪ Doctors are exploiting government funds 2. *Simple denial*	1. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ The Province including the department of Health was monitored through Section 100 　▪ Incapacitated administrators 　▪ District managers were stripped off of their powers 2. *Excuse: Plea of ignorance:* ▪ The department could not foresee that their focus on business side of the department will have negative impact and consequences. 3. *Justification: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* ▪ Department is shifting to health services which is the core of the department

Reproach 2.2

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
1. *Excuse: Causal excuse:* **1** Poor management and/or the administration staff. **2** Doctors who are also managers of hospitals *2. Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* **1** Newly built hospitals have all the necessary equipment **2** Private-public partnership with private companies to beef-up hospitals with the required resources 3. *Excuse: Causal excuse:* **1**The National department of Health: Health workers are treated differently from employees of other departments who receive incentives 4. *Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* • There is a budget to strengthen security	1. *Justification: Reframe principles:* **1** South Africans to have access to other countries, but now new opportunities for people have been created 2. *Justification: Right of self-fulfillment:* **1** People would move away for better opportunities because of previous oppression 3. *Excuse: Causal excuse: null cause:* **1**The interviewee blames the administration and administrators blame this on the shortage of staff 4. *Justification: Higher values: Transcendence:* **1**The department has no proper manager system to look after its problems 5. *Excuse: Causal excuse: null cause:* • The bargaining chamber 6. *Excuse: Causal excuse: null cause:*	1. *Excuse: Causal excuse: null cause* **1** The human resource management of the department **2** Crime in South Africa is the responsibility of the police **3** Negligence of hospital managers 2.*Justification:Minimization of blame: Reframe consequences: Future benefits* • The career-pathing. People returning from overseas are to enter the system at a higher level • The implementation of the second notch adjustment 3. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* • Conditions are not conducive enough for doctors • No security for health workers • No burglar bars in other healthcare environments • Cleaners in the provincial legislature earn more than	1. *Concession:* ▪ Nurses are underpaid ▪ Unfavorable working conditions for health workers ▪ Crime within healthcare environments ▪ Communities demonstrate against health workers 2. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: present adverse conditions:* ▪ No program for human resource development. ▪ Nursing training colleges have also been closed down ▪ The rural allowance program has not yet been fully implemented	*Simple denial*	1. *Concession:* 2. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: present adverse conditions:* ▪ The department's focus is mainly on cooperate side instead of the clinical, which is supposed to be the core of the department 3. *Justification: Mitigation of blame: present benefits:* ▪ The department is shifting its focus from cooperate affairs to the clinical which is basically doctors and nurses 4. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ Poor organization ▪ People go straight to hospitals because they have no hope in clinics anymore 5.*Justification:Minimization: Reframe responsibility: Present benefits:* ▪ The rural development program The department will ensure that clinics have all the necessary primary healthcare equipment, staff and

	1The poor quality of administrators **2** Managers who do not give attention to the promotion of health workers 7. *Excuse: Agency: Joint Production:* **1** The SAPS (South African Police Services) and the community 8. *Excuse: Causal excuse: null cause:* **1**The employed security officers	professional nurses ▪ No inducement in other sectors ▪ Second notch adjustment is partly implemented ▪ No support for departmental employees			drugs 6. *Excuse: Causal excuse: Null cause:* ▪ The community should be responsible for protecting its assets including the nurses as they are there to serve the community 6.*Justification:Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* ▪ The department's initiative is that of employing private security companies to safeguard the healthcare centers

Reproach 2.3

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
1.*Justification: Comparison to past negative circumstances:* ▪ Doctors' salaries have increased since the inception of the democratic government ▪ This government has opened doors to everyone who wants to go to other countries including health workers, and this was not allowed during the apartheid system 2. *Justification: Higher values: transcendence:* ▪ The cost of living in those countries is much higher than South Africa 3*. Justification: Minimization of blame: Reframe Consequences: Future benefits:* Each section to submit its own budget for the allocation of funds to employ additional staff	1.*Excuse:Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility*: ▪ Salaries are established by the central government to obtain uniformity 2.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* ▪ Doctors' salaries have to be reviewed because they are not paid much 3.*Justification: Comparisons: Differentiation:* ▪ Doctors from other African states see salaries in South Africa as good compared to their countries 4. *Justification: Higher values: Transcendence:* ▪ The department has decided to treat each job as a critical including porters	1. *Denial* 2. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ Nurses do odd jobs such as being porters and cleaners ▪ The department does not employ porters ▪ Nurses leave the profession 3.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: future benefits:* ▪ Porters will be employed All health workers will be employed (there are funds) ▪ Do things that are within the department's reach	1.*Excuse: Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility:* ▪ The government's program of GEAR. ▪ The government has given money to private companies 2.*Justification: Reframe principles: Fairness:* ▪ People are free to move anywhere they want 3. *Justification: Right of self-fulfillment:* ▪ These other countries are more industrialized and as such they pay better. ▪ There are more opportunities overseas than in S.A.	1. *Denial* 2.*Justification: Derogation of victim: Attacking the accuser*: ▪ South Africans are not patriotic	1. *Justification: Derogation of the victim: Reciprocity:* ▪ The compare with economically developed countries 2. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ Unsatisfactory remuneration Protests that hamper transformation 3.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: future benefits:* ▪ The human resources plan or strategy that has been adopted by the minister aimed at addressing the question of professional health workers' salaries 4. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Adverse past conditions*: ▪ The background of the Province constitutes of three previous governments that have to be integrated into one solid government.

Reproach 3

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
1. *Excuse: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ There is a shortage of staff and medicine in depots. ▪ The distance between hospitals and the depots is huge. ▪ Hospitals have to fetch own supplies from the depots. ▪ It takes time for the medicine to be delivered to hospitals and clinics. ▪ Drugs are also stolen in health environments. 2.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: future benefits:* ▪ All departmental medicines will be marked to differentiate them from others	1. *Excuse: Mitigation: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ There is a shortage of qualified pharmacists. ▪ Orders of drugs are not made on time. ▪ Medicines are stolen in hospitals and clinics. ▪ Security staff does not do their job properly. 2. *Justification: Higher values: Reframe principles:* ▪ Hospitals should follow a new system with medicine based on past experience and understanding of ordering and delivery process 3. *Concession:* ▪ People go to hospitals instead of going to their local clinics. ▪ There are no doctors, nurses and medicine in clinics. ▪ The primary healthcare in Cuba is good. ▪ The conditions of clinics do not address the needs of the public.	1. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ In 1999 they were told that there were problems concerning drugs ▪ In 2006 there is still no contract for public-private partnership, drugs continue to disappear in health environments and the medicine that is always available is Panado which does not cure all the illnesses. ▪ Shortage of qualified pharmacists in Healthcare centers. ▪ There are no pharmacists, but only pharmacy assistants. 2. *Justification: Higher values: Reframe principles: Loyalty to standards in politics:* Legislators should take responsibility	1. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ There are no proper delivery mechanisms of medicines ▪ The ordering medicine is not done in time ▪ The system of delivery of drugs is hampered by negligence 2. *Excuse: Causal excuse: null cause:* ▪ The management of the department of Health is responsible for the failure event	1. *Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* ▪ Outsourcing the distribution of drugs to service-providers. ▪ Mark government drugs to differentiate them from others.	1. *Excuse: Mitigation: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ Drugs are stolen in depots, on the way to the health centers and also in the healthcare centers ▪ Hospital medication is different from that provided by clinics and people fail to understand that 2. *Justification: Minimization: reframe consequences*: ▪ Qualified managers will be employed to monitor and facilitate the distribution of drugs from the depots ▪ Educational programs for the public on how to keep healthy to avoid relying on drugs

Reproach 4

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
1. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ People go to towns (hospitals) instead of going to the clinics first ▪ One clinic serves a large number of communities ▪ There is overcrowding ▪ Doctors do not visit these clinics ▪ Clinics lack of resources 2. *Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* ▪ Clinics will be pumped with enough resources ▪ Establish a norm for the number of communities each clinic has to serve ▪ Employ more doctors to address problems in clinics	1. *Concession* ▪ There are no doctors, nurses and medicine in clinics and conditions are such that needs of people are not addressed as required ▪ Many clinics in the province have shortages of staff and medicine ▪ The existing budget in the Province of the Eastern Cape is not enough to solve problems that the province is faced with ▪ The Province of the Eastern Cape will thus always have a shortfall	1. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: present adverse conditions:* ▪ The mortality rate is increasing ▪ The conditions of hygiene in hospitals are very poor 2. *Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: future benefits:* ▪ Nutrition programs such as milk supplements that are meant for babies born of HIV positive mothers are not available in most hospitals ▪ There is a social network is supposed to assist the needy and the poor in terms of accessing government grants and assistance, but it is not doing the job	1. *Excuse: Causal excuse: null cause:* ▪ The department fails to monitor and rather supervise its employees ▪ Nursing staff lacks discipline and dedication 2. *Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: future benefits:* ▪ A set radius is to be followed of areas that should be served by one clinic ▪ Mobile clinics for areas that struggle to get primary healthcare 3. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ Nurses do not work regular hours ▪ Mobile clinics are not always available	1. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ The public goes straight to hospitals without referrals ▪ There is no difference with incentives received by health workers in rural areas and those in townships 2. *Justification: Minimization of blame: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:* ▪ The department is focusing on primary healthcare ▪ Incentives are intended for those willing to work in rural areas and also to attract more qualified and specialized health workers to those areas 3. *Justification: Minimization of blame: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* ▪ The departmental organogram is going to be broadened There are funds to populate the department's organogram	1. *Simple denial* 2. *Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* ▪ A separate budget for the day-to-day running of the clinics ▪ To set up normal clinic standards such as employing enough nurses, providing enough medicine and equipment

Reproach 5

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Interview 6
1. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ Poverty and the high unemployment rate 2.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* ▪ Focus will be on neglected areas ▪ An integrated poverty alleviation program of government departments	1. *Concession: Acknowledge negative consequences:* ▪ There is much poverty in the Eastern Cape Province ▪ There are government intervention programs, but they are poorly coordinated 2. *Justification: Higher values: reframe principles: transcendence:* ▪ The portfolio committee should look at the impact of the poverty alleviation programs to see if they serve the purpose for which they are intended 3. *Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* ▪ Poverty can be alleviated through agricultural development and big industries that could invest in the Province	1. *Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Future benefits:* ▪ It is the aim of the primary healthcare to prevent illnesses from escalating to that level of being referred of transferred to hospitals 2. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: present adverse conditions:* ▪ Clinics are far from people and some have no drugs, very few nurses or even one in other clinics, patients wait in very long queues and when they give up they go to hospitals ▪ There are no doctors ▪ There are no ambulances to transport patients from the clinics to the hospitals and back ▪ Poverty and access to primary healthcare are two major problems	1. *Excuse: Responsibility: Vertical diffusion of responsibility:* ▪ The department is responsible for the reproach and does not want to take responsibility 2. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ Awareness and inoculation campaigns are not successful ▪ The unavailability and/or shortage of the inoculation drugs in healthcare centers 3. *Justification: Comparison:* ▪ Most diseases of children can be avoided nowadays, so there is no reason for children to die	1. *Denial* 2. *Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:* ▪ A large number of communities is already benefiting from poverty alleviation programs and government grants	1. *Excuse: Causal excuse: Null cause:* ▪ The departments of Social Development and Agriculture 2. *Excuse: Mitigation of blame: Present adverse conditions:* ▪ Money is not given to the departments that are in a better position of assisting people such as the department of Social Development and the department of Agriculture ▪ The department of Health does not have a way of monitoring people after they have treated them for sicknesses related to poverty stricken conditions 3.*Justification: Minimization: Reframe consequences: Present benefits:* ▪ The department of Health makes visits to find out more about cause of malnourishment and provide advice to those families.

5.3.2. THE INTERVIEWEE

5.3.2.1. THE INTERVIEWS

JUSTIFICATIONS AND REPROACHES: INTERVIEW 1

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS									TOTAL	
1. Minimization	**1.1**	**1.2**	**2.1**	**2.2**	**2.3**	**3**	**4**	**5**		**Justification**	**Arguments**
1.1 Present benefits	3 (1)									1	3
1.2 Future benefits	3 (1)			3 (2)	1	1	3	2		7	13
2. Self-fulfillment											
2.1 Self-development											
2.2 Self-fulfillment											
3. Derogation of victim											
3.1 Reciprocity											
3.2 Derogation of victim											
3.3 Attack the accuser											
4. Comparisons											
4.1 Differentiation											
4.2 Past negative circumstances					2 (1)					1	2
5. Higher authority											
5.1 Loyalty											
5.2 Higher authority	1		1							2	2
6. Higher values											
6.1 Fairness											
6.2 Facework											
6.3 Transcendence					1					1	1
TOTAL: Justification	**3**		**1**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**1**		**12**	
Arguments	**7**		**1**	**3**	**4**	**1**	**3**	**2**			**21**

EXCUSES AND REPROACHES

INTERVIEW 1

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS								TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	2.3	3	4	5	**Excuse**	**Arguments**
1.1 No knowledge										
1.2 Ignorance										
2. **Responsibility**										
2.1 Horizontal										
2.2 Vertical										
3. **Causal excuse**										
3.1 Alternative										
3.2 Null cause		2 (1)	3 (1)	2　(2)					**4**	**8**
4. **Volition**										
4.1 Compulsion										
4.2 Impairment										
5. **Agency**										
5.1 Joint production										
5.2 Amnesia										
6. **Mitigation**										
6.1 Scapegoat										
6.2 Sad tale										
6.3 Present adverse conditions						5	5	1	**3**	**11**
6.4 Past adverse conditions										
TOTAL: Excuse		**1**	**1**	**2**		**1**	**1**	**1**	**7**	
Arguments		**2**	**3**	**3**		**5**	**5**	**1**		**19**

Interview 1

Reproach 1.1

The hospital infrastructure, development and maintenance are not up to standard:

Justification:

Two types of justification have been used:

a. Minimization of undesirable consequences: interviewee says there are present benefits (3 arguments) and there will be future benefits (3 arguments have been provided in support of this)
b. Higher authority (1 argument has been tendered in support)

Excuse, Denial and concession:

No excuse, refusal/denial or concession has been used.

Overview of Reproach 1.1 of Interview 1:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: The justification that focuses on higher authority is the second effective account because of its basis on institutional rules.

Least effective account: the justification with focus on the minimization of the undesirable consequences is the least effective because it concentrates on a narrow focus which is the consequences of the reproach (minimization of consequences through some present and future benefits)

b. Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the justification of the minimization of the negative consequences through present and future benefits is the most persuasive account because of the high number of arguments provided in support of it, i.e. 6 arguments (3 for present benefits and 3 for future benefits)

Least persuasive account: the justification that appeals to higher authorities is not very persuasive because of the lowest number of arguments that have been given in support, i.e. 1 argument.

c. Politeness:

The most threatening account with the high level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of minimization of the consequences of the failure event because it constitutes the more serious threat against the accuser's face.

The justification of higher authority is the least threatening of the justifications that have been used because of its focus on institutional rules.

Reproach 1.2

The R10m that has been utilized by the department in upgrading hospital infrastructure in the Province:

Justification:
No justification has been used.

Excuse:
The interviewee has used only one type of excuse, which is a causal excuse through an appeal to null cause in that it was not the interviewee's job (2 arguments have been given in support)

Denial and concession:
No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.2 of interview 1:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: the excuse with focus on causal excuse of the null cause is the most effective because of its basis of providing another source which should bear causality for the failure event as this is not the interviewee's responsibility or rather job.

b. Argumentation:

The account that has been used is the least effective because of the lowest number of arguments that have been provided in its support, i.e. two arguments.

c. *Politeness*:

The interviewee has used only the account that is least threatening to the hearer's face with the high level of mitigation, the causal excuse with an appeal to the null cause.

Reproach 2.1

There is massive shortage of specialized healthcare workers in the country:

Justification:
The interviewee used only one type of justification:

a. Higher authority: higher authorities (one argument has been provided in support of this)

Excuse:
Causal excuse with an appeal to null cause is the only excuse that has been used (three arguments have been given in support of it)

Denial and concession:
No denials/refusals or concessions have been used.

Overview of Reproach 2.1 of Interview 1:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Most effective account: the justification that focuses on higher authority of higher authorities because of its basis on institutional rules. The causal excuse of the null cause is also considered effective because of its basis that failure should not be blamed on the interviewee as this was not his/her job and also on the fact that an alternative person who should bear responsibility and causality for the failure event has been provided.

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the excuse of the null cause in which the interviewee provides another source which should bear responsibility for the failure by stating that this is not his or her job, is the most persuasive account because of the high number of arguments provided in support of it, i.e. three arguments.

The least persuasive account: the justification that has been used, higher authority is the least persuasive because of the low number of arguments that have been provided in its support (one argument)

c. Politeness:

The most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation to the hearer's/ reproacher's face is the justification of minimization of negative consequences. This account is threatening because of its focus on the consequences of the reproach.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation to the accuser's face is the causal excuse of the null cause that has been used. The use of this excuse shows that the interviewee is more concerned about preserving the other's face, both negative and positive.

Reproach 2.2

World Health Organization (WHO) report on problems that lead to the migration of nurses:

Justification:
Minimization of the undesirable consequences: there will future benefits (four arguments have been given in support of it, two justifications)

Excuse:
Two causal excuses with an appeal to null cause have been used (three arguments have been given in support of it)

Denial and concession:
No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2.2 of interview 1:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: the causal excuse of the null cause is also considered effective because of its basis that failure should not be blamed on the interviewee as this was not his/her job and also on the fact that an alternative person who should bear responsibility and causality for the failure event has been provided.

Least effective account: the justification with focus on minimization of the undesirable consequences is the least effective because of its concentration on the narrow focus which is the consequences of the reproach (minimization of consequences through future benefits)

b. *Argumentation:*

Most persuasive account: the justification that focuses on the minimization of the undesirable behavior through the belief that there will be future benefits is the most persuasive because of the high number of reasons that have been given in its support (four arguments). The excuse of the null cause is the second persuasive account with three arguments given in its support.

c. *Politeness:*

The most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation to the hearer's/ reproacher's face is the justification of minimization of negative consequences.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation to the accuser's face is the causal excuse of the null cause that has been used. The use of this excuse shows that the interviewee is more concerned about preserving the other's face, both negative and positive.

Reproach 2.3

Problems that lead to the migration of doctors to render their services in countries where they get better salaries:

Justification:
Two types of justification have been used:

a. Minimization of the undesirable behavior: there will be future benefits (one argument has been given in support of this)
b. Comparisons to past negative circumstances (two arguments have been tendered in support)
c. Higher values: transcendence (one argument has been given in support)

Excuse, denial and concession:
No excuse, denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2.3 of interview 1:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Most effective account: the justification with focus on higher values of transcendence is the most effective account because of its basis on moral values and principles, that different standards should be applied in viewing the situation by putting it in a different context.

Least effective account: the justification with focus on minimization of the undesirable consequences and comparisons to past negative circumstances is the least effective account because it concentrates more on the consequences of the reproach, which are both negative (comparison to past negative circumstances) and positive (minimization through future benefits)

b. *Argumentation:*

All the accounts used are the least persuasive because they have provided few reasons in support of them, i.e. one, two and one argument irrespectively.

c. *Politeness:*

The interviewee has used only the most threatening account to the hearer's face with the highest level of aggravation; the justification.

Reproach 3

There is a shortage of medicine in healthcare centers:

Justification:
Minimization of the negative consequences through an appeal to future benefits is the only type of justification that has been used (one argument has been provided)

Excuse:
There is only one type of excuse that has been used, mitigation of the blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions (five arguments have been tendered in support).

Denial and concession:
No denials/refusals or concessions have been used.

Overview of Reproach 3 of Interview 1:

a. Effectiveness:

The interviewee has used only the least effective account: the justification that focuses on the minimization of the undesirable consequences is the least effective account as well as the excuse that mitigates the blame because it narrowly focuses on the circumstances of the reproach, which in this case are the present adverse conditions.

b. Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the excuse that mitigates the blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because of the high number of arguments provided in support of it, i.e. five arguments.

Least persuasive account: the justification that has been used is not that persuasive because of the low number of arguments that have been provided in support of it, which is only one.

c. Politeness:

The justification that focuses on the consequences of the reproach, i.e. the minimization of the consequences through future benefits is the most threatening account because it has the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face.

An excuse is the least threatening account with a high level of mitigation. This account is intended to preserve the accuser's face

Reproach 4

There are concerns with the primary healthcare and services it renders:

Justification:
The interviewee used only one type of justification: minimization of the negative consequences: there will be future benefits (three arguments have been given in support)

Excuse:

The interviewee used only one excuse: mitigation of the blame: there are present adverse conditions (five arguments have been provided in support).

Denials and concessions:

No denials/refusals or concessions.

Overview of Reproach 4 of Interview 1:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: the interviewee did not focus on the most effective accounts when dealing with this reproach.

Least effective account: the justification with focus on minimization of the negative consequences through future benefits as well as the excuse that focuses on the mitigation of the blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions are the least effective accounts because they narrowly focus on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the excuse that mitigates the blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because it has the highest number of arguments given in support of it, i.e. five arguments.

Least persuasive account: the justification that has been used, minimization of the undesirable consequences through appealing to future benefits is the least persuasive as it has the lowest number of arguments, which is one.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee used an account that has the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's negative face. This account is most threatening to the hearer's face through justification because it focuses on the consequences of the reproach, i.e. minimization of the consequences by pointing out to some future benefits.

The least threatening account to the hearer's face with the high level of mitigation is an excuse with its focus on the mitigation of the blame through appealing to present adverse conditions.

Reproach 5

There is high infant mortality rate and malnourished children as a result of poverty:

Justification:

There is only one type of justification that has been used: minimization of the undesirable consequences through future benefits (two arguments have been provided in support)

Excuse:

The interviewee used one excuse, mitigation of the blame: there are present adverse conditions (one argument has been given in support)

Denial and concession:

No denials/refusals or concessions has been used.

Overview of Reproach 5 of Interview 1:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: the interviewee did not focus on the most effective accounts in this reproach.

Least effective account: the employed justification with its focus on minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal to future benefits and the excuse that focuses on the mitigation of the blame by claiming that there are present adverse conditions, are the least effective accounts because they both concentrate on the narrow focus of the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

Both the accounts that have been used by the interviewee (minimization of the undesirable consequences that there will be future benefits and the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions) are the least persuasive because they have provided the lowest number of arguments in support of them, which is two for justification and one for the excuse.

c. Politeness:

The most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification that focuses on the consequences of the reproach, i.e. the minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal to some future benefits.

The least threatening account with the high level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse that focuses on the mitigation of blame by pointing out to present adverse conditions.

INTERVIEW 2

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS									TOTAL	
1. Minimization	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	2.3	3	4	5		Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits	1									1	1
1.2 Future benefits	1		2 (1)		1					3	4
2. Self-fulfillment											
2.1 Self-development											
2.2 Self-fulfillment				1						1	1
3. Derogation of victim											
3.1 Reciprocity											
3.2 Derogation of victim											
3.3 Attack the accuser											
4. Comparisons											
4.1 Differentiation					1					1	1
4.2 Past negative circumstances											
5. Higher authority											
5.1 Loyalty											
5.2 Higher authority											
6. Higher values											
6.1 Fairness											
6.2 Facework											
6.3 Transcendence				1	1	1		1		4	4
7. Bolstering				1						1	1
TOTAL: Justification	2		1	3	3	1		1		11	
Arguments	2		2	3	3	1		1			12

685

INTERVIEW 2

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS								TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	2.3	3	4	5	Excuse	Arguments
1.1 No knowledge										
1.2 Ignorance		1							1	1
2. **Responsibility**										
2.1 Horizontal										
2.2 Vertical					1				1	1
3. **Causal excuse**										
3.1 Alternative										
3.2 Null cause		1		4 (3)					4	5
4. **Volition**										
4.1 Compulsion										
4.2 Impairment										
5. **Agency**										
5.1 Joint production				1					1	1
5.2 Amnesia										
6. **Mitigation**										
6.1 Scapegoat										
6.2 Sad tale										
6.3 Present adverse conditions	2 (1)		5 (1)			4			3	11
6.4 Past adverse conditions	2 (1)								1	2
TOTAL: Excuse	**2**	**2**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**1**			**11**	
Arguments	**4**	**2**	**5**	**5**	**1**	**4**				**21**

Interview 2

Reproach 1.1

The hospital infrastructure, development and maintenance are not up to standard

Justification:

One type of justification has been used, minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefit (1 argument) and future benefits (1 argument)

Excuse:

One type of excuse has been used in this reproach:

1. Mitigation of the blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions (2 arguments) and past adverse conditions (2 arguments)

Denials and concessions:

No denials/refusals or concessions have been used.

Overview of reproach 1.1 of Interview 2:

a. Effectiveness:

Least effective account: the justification with focus on minimization of the undesirable consequences and the excuse of the mitigation of the blame are the least effective accounts because they both focus more on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

All the accounts that have been used are equal in terms of persuasiveness because they have almost the same or equal number of arguments that have been given in their support. These accounts are actually the least effective because they have the lowest number of arguments, i.e. two arguments

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accusers face is the justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences through an appeal that there are present benefits and that there will be future benefits. The excuse that focuses on the mitigation of the blame through past and present adverse conditions is the second most threatening account.

Reproach 1.2

The R10m that has been utilized by the department in upgrading hospital infrastructure in the Province:

Justification, denial and concession:
No justification, denial or concession has been used.

Excuse:
Two types of excuse have been used in this reproach:

1. Defeasibility with focus on ignorance- (1 argument has been provided in support)
2. Causal excuse through null causes in which the interviewee argues that the act is not his job and thereby provides another source which should bear causality and responsibility for the failure event (1 argument has been given)

Overview of reproach 1.2 or interview 2:

a. Effectiveness:

The interviewee has used only the most effective accounts: the excuse of defeasibility with focus on ignorance is the most effective account followed by the causal excuse of the null cause.

b. Argumentation:

The accounts that have been used are not persuasive because they have the lowest equal number of reasons that have been given in their support, i.e. one argument.

c. Politeness:

Least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face are the two excuses that have been used: defeasibility with focus on ignorance and the causal excuse through null causes. The interviewee has used only the least threatening accounts.

Reproach 2.1

There is massive shortage of specialized healthcare workers in the country:

Justification:

The interviewee used one justification in this account:

1. Minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal that there will be future benefits (two arguments have been provided in support)

Excuse:

Only one type of excuse has been used:

1. Mitigation of the blame through appealing to present adverse conditions (five arguments have been given in support of this)

Denials and concession:

No denials/refusals or concessions have been used.

Overview of Reproach 2.1 of Interview 2:

a. Effectiveness:

The interviewee has used only the least effective accounts, i.e. the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal to future benefits and the excuse that mitigates the blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions. These accounts are least effective because of their narrow focus on the consequences of the reproach both negative (mitigation of blame) and present (minimization of the undesirable consequences)

b. Argumentation:

The most persuasive account: the mitigation of blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions is the most persuasive accounts because a high number of arguments have been given in its support, i.e. five arguments.

Least persuasive account: the justification that minimizes the unfavorable consequences through future benefits is the least persuasive account because of the low number of arguments that have been provided in its support, i.e. two arguments.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is justifications of the minimization of blame through future benefits.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuses of the mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions.

Reproach 2.2

World Health Organization (WHO) report on problems that lead to the migration of nurses:

Justification:
The interviewee used three types of justification in this account:

1. Self-fulfillment (one argument has been given in support of this)
2. Bolstering (one argument has been provided in support)
3. higher values with attention to transcendence

Excuse:
There are two types of excuse that have been used:

1. Causal excuse with focus on the null cause (five arguments have been provided in support)
2. Agency by arguing that the act was a joint production (one argument has been given in support)

Denials and concession:
No denials/refusals or concessions have been used.

Overview of reproach 2.2 of interview 2:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: The justification of the higher values and the justification with focus on self-fulfillment are effective accounts. The second most effective account is the excuse of the null cause because it provides a source that should bear causality and take responsibility for the undesirable consequences.

The least effective account is the excuse of agency which argues that the act in question is cause of a joint production and thus the interviewee should not be the only one that accounts or takes responsibility for failure event.

b. Argumentation

The excuse of the null cause is the most persuasive account because it has a high number of reasons that have been given in its support, i.e. five arguments.

The other three accounts are the least persuasive because they have the lowest number of arguments provided in support of them.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face are the three justifications that have been used.

The least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face are the four excuses.

Reproach 2.3

Problems that lead to the migration of doctors to render their services in countries where they get better salaries:

Justification:
The interviewee used three types of justification in this account:

1. Minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal that there will be future benefits (1 argument has been provided in support)
2. Comparison through differentiation (one argument has been given in support)
3. Higher values through transcendence in which the interviewee tries to put the act in a broader context and frame of reference (1 argument has been provided in support of this)

Excuse:
Only one excuse has been used:
Responsibility through the vertical diffusion of responsibility (one argument has been given)

Denials and concession:
No denials/refusals or concessions have been used.

Overview of reproach 2.3 of interview 2:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: the justification of the higher values through transcendence is the most effective account.

All the other accounts (minimization through future benefits, comparisons to past negative circumstances and the excuse that diffuses responsibility of the failure event) are least effective accounts.

b. Argumentation

All the accounts that have been used are the least persuasive because they have the lowest number (one) of arguments provided in their support.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face are the three justifications that have been used.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the one excuses and the concession

Reproach 3

There is a shortage of medicine in healthcare centers:

Justification:

There is only one justification that has been used: higher values with focus on transcendence (one argument has been given in support)

Excuse:

Only one excuse has been used: mitigation of the blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions (four arguments have been provided in support)

Denial:

No denials/refusals have been used.

Concession:

There is only 1 concession.

Overview of Reproach 3 of Interview 2:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: concession is the most effective account because it acknowledges the blame and the right to reproach.

Least effective account: the justification of higher values with focus on transcendence is the least effective account as well as the excuse that mitigates the blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions because it has a narrow focus on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the excuse with the mitigation of blame through the present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because it has a high number of arguments provided in its support, i.e. four arguments.

Least persuasive account: the other accounts that have been used are the least persuasive because they have low number of arguments given in their support.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification that has been employed.

Least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is concession and the excuse with focus on the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions.

Reproach 4 deals with primary healthcare:

There are concerns with the primary healthcare and services it renders:

Justification:
No justifications have been used.

Excuse:
No excuse has been used:

Denial:

No denials have been used.

Concession:

One concession has been used in this reproach (four arguments have been provided in support of it)

Overview of reproach 4 of Interview 2:

a. Effectiveness:

The interviewee has used only the most effective account, concession because it acknowledges the reproach or rather the failure event and the accuser's right to reproach.

b. Argumentation:

The account (concession) is the most persuasive because it is the only account that has been used and on top of that it has a high number of arguments that have been provided in its support, i.e. four arguments.

c. Politeness:

This account is the least threatening with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face.

Reproach 5 deals with infant mortality and poverty:

There is high infant mortality rate and malnourished children as a result of poverty:

Justification:

Only one justification has been used: higher values with focus on transcendence (one argument has been given in support)

Excuse:

No excuses have been used.

Denial:

No denials have been used.

Concession:

One concession has been used (two arguments)

Overview of reproach 5 of interview 2:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: concession is the most effective account because it acknowledges the blame and the right to reproach.

Least effective account: the justification of higher values with focus on transcendence is the least effective account because of its attempt to put everything in a different context and a totally different frame of reference.

b. ***Argumentation:***

The accounts used are the same or rather equal in terms of persuasiveness because there is not that much difference in the number of arguments provided in their support.

c. ***Politeness:***

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of higher values with focus on transcendence.

Concession is the least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face.

INTERVIEW 3

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS									TOTAL	
1. Minimization	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	2.3	3	4	5		Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits			2 (1)							1	2
1.2 Future benefits	2 (1)			2 (1)	2 (1)		2	1		5	9
2. Self-fulfillment											
2.1 Self-development											
2.2 Self-fulfillment											
3. Derogation of victim											
3.1 Reciprocity											
3.2 Derogation of victim											
3.3 Attack the accuser											
4. Comparisons											
4.1 Differentiation								1		1	1
4.2 Past negative circumstances											
5. Higher authority											
5.1 Loyalty	2 (1)					1				2	3
5.2 Higher authority											
6. Higher values											
6.1 Fairness											
6.2 Facework											
7. Bolstering											
TOTAL: Justification	2		1	1	1	1	1	2		9	
Arguments	4		2	2	2	1	2	2			15

INTERVIEW 3

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS									TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	**1.1**	**1.2**	**2.1**	**2.2**	**2.3**	**3**	**4**	**5**		**Excuse**	**Arguments**
1.1 No knowledge											
1.2 Ignorance											
2. **Responsibility**											
2.1 Horizontal											
2.2 Vertical	2 (1)									**1**	**2**
3. **Causal excuse**											
3.1 Alternative											
3.2 Null cause		1		3 (1)						**2**	**4**
4. **Volition**											
4.1 Compulsion											
4.2 Impairment											
5. **Agency**											
5.1 Joint production											
5.2 Amnesia											
6. **Mitigation**											
6.1 Scapegoat											
6.2 Sad tale											
6.3 Present adverse conditions			3 (1)	7 (1)	3 (1)	4	2	4		**6**	**23**
6.4 Past adverse conditions			1							**1**	**1**
TOTAL: Excuse	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**		**10**	
** Arguments**	**2**	**1**	**4**	**10**	**3**	**4**	**2**	**4**			**30**

Interview 3

Reproach 1

The hospital infrastructure, development and maintenance are not up to standard:

Justification:
Two types have been used:

1. Minimization of undesirable consequences: the interviewee argues that there will be future benefits (two arguments are provided in support)
2. Higher authority with focus on loyalty (two arguments are given in support)

Excuse:
One excuse has been used:

1. Responsibility through the diffusion of responsibility (two arguments are given in support)

Denial and concession:
No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.1 of interview 3:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: the justification of higher authority with focus on loyalty is the most effective account.

Least effective account: the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences because it focuses on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

There is no most persuasive account because all the accounts that have been used have low number of arguments provided in their support.

c. Politeness:

The two justifications that have been used are the most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse that has been used in this reproach.

Reproach 1.2

The R10m that has been utilized by the department in upgrading hospital infrastructure in the Province:

Justification, denial and concession:
No justification, denial or concession has been used.

Excuse:
One type of excuse has been used:
Causal excuse with focus on null cause (one argument has been given in support)

Overview of reproach 1.2 of interview 3:

a. ***Effectiveness:***

Most effective account: The causal excuse with attention to null cause is the most effective account because it provides a source which should bear causality for the failure event.

b. ***Argumentation:***

The account used is the least persuasive because it has a lowest number of arguments given in its support, i.e. one.

c. ***Politeness:***

The interviewee has used only the least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face, i.e. the excuse with focus on null causal excuse.

Reproach 2.1

There is massive shortage of specialized healthcare workers in the country:

Justification:
Minimization of the undesirable consequences with focus on present benefits (two arguments) is the only justification that has been used.

Excuse:

One type of excuse has been used:

1. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (three arguments have been given in support of this) and past adverse conditions (one argument is provided)

Denial and Concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2.1 of interview 3:

a. effectiveness:

Least effective accounts: the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences with focus on present benefits is the least effective account followed by the excuse on mitigation of blame through present and past adverse conditions.

b. argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the excuse with focus on the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because it has the highest number of arguments that have been provided in its support, i.e. three arguments.

Least persuasive accounts: the excuse of the mitigation of the blame through past adverse conditions and the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefits are the least persuasive because they have low number of arguments that are given in their support.

c. politeness:

The most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse because it lessens the level of face threat against the hearer.

Reproach 2.2

World Health Organization (WHO) report on problems that lead to the migration of nurses:

Justification:
Minimization of the undesirable consequences with focus on future benefits (two arguments have been given in support of this) is the only justification that has been used.

Excuse:
Two types of excuse have been used:

1. Causal excuse with focus on null cause in which an alternative source is provided to take causality and responsibility for the failure (three arguments have been given in its support)
2. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (seven arguments have been given in support of this)

Denial and Concession:
No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2.2 of interview 3:

a. effectiveness:

Causal excuse with focus on the null causes is the most effective account.

Least effective accounts: the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences with focus on future benefits is the least effective account followed by the excuse on mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions.

b. argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the excuse with focus on the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because it has the highest number of arguments that have been provided in its support, i.e. seven arguments.

Least persuasive accounts: the other two accounts (excuse of the null cause and minimization of the undesirable consequences through future benefits) are the least persuasive because they have low number of arguments that are given in their support, i.e. two and three arguments respectively.

c. politeness:

The most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences through future benefits.

The least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face are the two excuses that have been used; causal excuse and mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions.

Reproach 2.3

Problems that lead to the migration of doctors to render their services in countries where they get better salaries:

Justification:
Minimization of the undesirable consequences with focus on future benefits (two arguments have been given in support) is the only justification that has been used.

Excuse:
One type of excuse has been used:
Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (three arguments have been given in support of this)

Denial:
One denial has been used.

Concession:
No concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2.3 of interview 3:

a. effectiveness:

Least effective accounts: denial is the least effective account and the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences with focus on future benefits is also not an effective account. This is followed by the excuse on mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions.

b. argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the excuse with focus on the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because it has the highest number of arguments that have been provided in its support, i.e. three arguments.

Least persuasive accounts: the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences through future benefits is the least persuasive account because it has a low number of arguments that are given in its support, i.e. two.

c. politeness:

The most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences and the denial.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse that mitigates the blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions.

Reproach 3 is concerned with the shortages of medicine in the healthcare centers: There is a shortage of medicine in healthcare centers:

Justification:
Only one justification has been used: higher authority through an appeal to loyalties (one argument has been given in support)

Excuse:

Mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions is the only type of excuse that has been used (four arguments have been provided in its support)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 3 of interview 3:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: justification of higher authority with focus on loyalties is the most effective account.

Least effective account: the excuse of the mitigation of the blame through appealing to present adverse conditions is the least effective account because it focuses only on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the excuse with the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because it has the high number of arguments that have been provided in its support, i.e. four arguments.

Least persuasive account: the justification of higher authority with focus on loyalties is the least effective account because it has the low number of arguments.

c. Politeness:

The justification of the higher authority with focus on loyalties is the most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation to the accuser's face.

The excuse that mitigates the blame through present adverse conditions is the least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face,

Reproach 4 deals with primary healthcare:
There are concerns with the primary healthcare and services it renders:

Justification:

Minimization of the undesirable consequences through future benefits (two arguments) is the only justification that has been used.

Excuse:

Mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions (two arguments) is the only type of excuse that has been used.

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 4 of interview 3:

a. Effectiveness:

All the accounts that have been used in this reproach are the least effective in the sense that they both have a narrow focus based on the consequences of the reproach both positive (minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal that there will be future benefits) and negative (mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions)

b. Argumentation:

The accounts that have been used are both equal in terms of effectiveness in the sense that they have the same number of arguments that have been provided in their support.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences through appealing to future benefits.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation is the excuse with focus on the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions.

Reproach 5 deals with infant mortality and poverty:
There is high infant mortality rate and malnourished children as a result of poverty:

Justification:

Two types of justification have been used:

1. Minimization of undesirable consequences in that there will be future benefits (one argument has been given in support of that)
2. Comparisons through differentiation (one argument has been given in support)

Excuse:

Only the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions has been used (four arguments have been given in support of it)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 5 of interview 3:

a. Effectiveness:

All the accounts that have been used are the least effective because they have a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach: minimization of undesirable consequences through future benefits, comparisons through differentiation and the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions.

b. Argumentation:

Mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because it has a high number of arguments that have been provided in its support, i.e. four arguments.

c. Politeness:

The most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face are the two justifications used with minimization of the undesirable consequences being the most threatening because of its focus on the consequences of the reproach by highlighting that there should be future benefits within the situation.

The least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse that mitigates the blame through appealing to the present adverse conditions.

INTERVIEW 4

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS									TOTAL	
1. **Minimization**	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	2.3	3	4	5		Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits											
1.2 Future benefits							2			1	2
2. **Self-fulfillment**											
2.1 Self-development											
2.2 Self-fulfillment					2 (1)					1	2
3. **Derogation of victim**											
3.1 Reciprocity											
3.2 Derogation of victim											
3.3 Attack the accuser											
4. **Comparisons**											
4.1 Differentiation								1		1	1
4.2 Past negative circumstances											
5. **Higher authority**											
5.1 Loyalty											
5.2 Higher authority											
6. **Higher values**											
6.1 Fairness					1					1	1
6.2 Facework											
7. **Bolstering**											
TOTAL: Justification					2		1	1		4	
Arguments					3		2	1			6

INTERVIEW 4

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS								TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	2.3	3	4	5	Excuse	Arguments
1.1 No knowledge										
1.2 Ignorance			1						**1**	**1**
2. **Responsibility**										
2.1 Horizontal										
2.2 Vertical					2 (1)			1	**2**	**3**
3. **Causal excuse**										
3.1 Alternative										
3.2 Null cause		4 (1)				1	2		**3**	**7**
4. **Volition**										
4.1 Compulsion										
4.2 Impairment										
5. **Agency**										
5.1 Joint production										
5.2 Amnesia										
6. **Mitigation**										
6.1 Scapegoat										
6.2 Sad tale										
6.3 Present adverse conditions			1	3 (1)		3	2	2	**5**	**11**
6.4 Past adverse conditions										
TOTAL: Excuse		1	2	1	1	2	2	2	**11**	
Arguments		4	2	3	2	4	4	3		**22**

Interview 4

Reproach 1.1

The hospital infrastructure, development and maintenance are not up to standard:

Justification, excuse and denial:
No justification, excuse or denial has been used.

Concession:
One concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.1 of interview 4:

a. Effectiveness:

The interviewee has employed only the most effective account: concession.

b. Argumentation:

No arguments or reasons have been provided in support of the account that has been used.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used only the least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face, i.e. concession.

Reproach 1.2

The R10m that has been utilized by the department in upgrading hospital infrastructure in the Province:

Justification and denial:
No justification or denial has been used.

Excuse:
One type of excuse has been used: causal excuse with focus on the null cause (four arguments have been given in support of this)

Concession:

One concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.2 of interview 4:

a. Effectiveness:

The interviewee has employed only the most effective accounts: concession and an excuse that focuses on the null cause.

b. Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the excuse that focuses on the null cause is the most persuasive because of the high number of arguments that have been given in its support, i.e. four arguments.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used only the least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face, i.e. concession and the excuse that focus on null causes in which the accused highlights that the act in question was not his job and thus provides another source which should bear causality and responsibility for the failure event.

Reproach 2.1

There is massive shortage of specialized healthcare workers in the country:

Excuse:

Two types of excuse have been employed:

1. Defeasibility: they had no knowledge (one argument has been given in support)
2. Mitigation of blame: the interviewee focused on the present adverse conditions (one argument has been given in support of this)

Denial:

One denial has been used.

Concession:

One concession has been employed.

Overview of reproach 2.1 of interview 4:

a.   Effectiveness:

Most effective account: concession is the most effective and the excuse with focus on defeasibility that the interviewee and his department had no knowledge is also an effective account.

Least effective account: denial and the excuse that mitigates the blame because of its narrow focus which is on the consequences of the reproach.

b.   Argumentation:

Least persuasive account: all the accounts that have been used by the interviewee in this reproach are not persuasive because of the low number of arguments that are given in their support.

c.   Politeness:

The interviewee has used the least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face, i.e. concession and the excuse.

Reproach 2.2

World Health Organization (WHO) report on problems that lead to the migration of nurses:

Justification and denial:
No justification or denial has been used.

Excuse:
Only one excuse has been used:
Mitigation of blame: the interviewee focused on the present adverse conditions (three arguments have been given in support of this)

Concession:
One concession has been employed with four arguments in support of it.

Overview of reproach 2.2 of interview 4:

a.   Effectiveness:

Most effective account: concession is the most effective account.

Least effective account: the excuse that mitigates the blame is the least effective account because of its narrow focus which is on the consequences of the reproach (present adverse conditions)

Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: concession is the most persuasive account because of the high number of arguments provided in support of it, i.e. four arguments followed by the excuse that mitigates the blame due to present adverse conditions with three arguments given in support.

b.   Politeness:

The interviewee has used the least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face, i.e. concession and the excuse.

Reproach 2.3

Problems that lead to the migration of doctors to render their services in countries where they get better salaries:

Justification:
Two types of justification have been used:

1. Self-fulfillment: self-fulfillment (two arguments)
2. Higher values with focus on fairness which is based on moral principles (one argument has been provided in support of this)

Excuse:
Only one excuse has been used:
Responsibility: the interviewee decided to vertically diffuse responsibility (two arguments have been provided in support of this)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2.3 of interview 4:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: the justification with focus on higher values of fairness because of its basis on moral principles that moral standards ought to be applied in the interests of greater societal fairness is the most effective account.

Least effective account: the excuse that diffuses responsibility is the least effective account. The justification of self-fulfillment is also the least effective account because of its basis which is the desire to satisfy one's own needs.

b. Argumentation:

All the accounts that have been used are not very persuasive because of the low number of arguments that are given in their support.

c. Politeness:

The most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of self-fulfillment.

Least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse because it lessens the amount of face threat on the receiver.

Reproach 3 is concerned with the shortages of medicine in the healthcare centers:

There is a shortage of medicine in healthcare centers:

Justification, denial and concession:

No justification, denial or concession has been used.

Excuse:

Two types of excuses have been used:

1. Causal excuse with focus on the null cause in the sense that the act in question was not the interviewee's fault (one argument was given in support of this)

2. Mitigation of blame with focus on present adverse conditions (three arguments have been given in support)

Overview of reproach 3 of interview 4:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: the causal excuse with focus on the null cause in which the interviewee introduces another source which should bear causality and responsibility for the negative act is the most effective account.

Least effective account: the excuse that mitigates the blame through appealing to present adverse conditions is the least effective account because of its narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

The accounts that have been used are the same in terms of persuasiveness because they have an almost equal number of arguments that have been given in their support which is very low.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used only the least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face.

Reproach 4 deals with primary healthcare:

There are concerns with the primary healthcare and services it renders:

Justification:
One type of justification has been used:
Minimization of the negati*ve* consequences: there will be future benefits (two arguments have been given in support)

Excuse:
Two types of excuse have been used:

1. Causal excuse with focus on the null cause (two arguments have been provided to support this)

2. Mitigation of the blame with an appeal to present adverse conditions (two arguments have been given in support of this)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 4 of interview 4:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: the excuse with focus on the null cause is the most effective account because the interviewee does not only argue that the failure event was not his fault, but also provides a source that should bear causality and responsibility for it.

Least effective account: justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences is the least effective account because of its narrow focus based on the consequences of the reproach, which in this case is the argument that there will be future benefits. The excuse that mitigates the blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions is the second least effective account because it also focuses more on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

All the accounts that have been used have the same number of arguments that have been given in their support, i.e. two arguments for each account. However, since it is a low number, it can then be argued that all these accounts are not very persuasive.

c. Politeness:

The most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences by arguing that there will be future benefits.

Least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse that focuses on null causes and the excuse that mitigates the blame through present adverse conditions.

Reproach 5 deals with infant mortality and poverty:

There is high infant mortality rate and malnourished children as a result of poverty:

Justification:

Only type has been used: comparisons through differentiation (one argument has been given in support of this)

Excuse:

Two types of excuse have been used:
1. Responsibility: vertical diffusion of responsibility (one argument has been given in support)
2. Mitigation of the blame with focus on present adverse conditions (two arguments have been provided in support)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 5 of interview 4:

a. Effectiveness:

All the accounts that have been used are not very effective because they focus more on the consequences of the reproach both negative (mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions and vertical diffusion of responsibility) and positive (comparisons through differentiation)

a. Argumentation:

The accounts that have been used are not very persuasive because they have a very low number of arguments that have been given in their support, i.e. 1 and 2 respectively.

b. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of comparisons with focus on differentiation.

Least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face are the two excuses that have been used because in its nature an excuse lessens the seriousness of the threat particularly against the accuser's face.

INTERVIEW 5

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS								TOTAL	
1. **Minimization**	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	2.3	3	4	5	Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits							2	1	2	3
1.2 Future benefits						2	2		2	4
2. **Self-fulfillment**										
2.1 Self-development										
2.2 Self-fulfillment										
3. **Derogation of victim**										
3.1 Reciprocity										
3.2 Derogation of victim										
3.3 Attack the accuser			2 (1)		1				2	3
4. **Comparisons**										
4.1 Differentiation										
4.2 Past negative circumstances										
5. **Higher authority**										
5.1 Loyalty										
5.2 Higher authority										
6. **Higher values**										
6.1 Fairness										
6.2 Facework										
7. **Bolstering**										
TOTAL: Justification			1		1	1	2	1	6	
Arguments			2		1	2	4	1		10

INTERVIEW 5

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS								TOTAL	
1. Defeasibility	**1.1**	**1.2**	**2.1**	**2.2**	**2.3**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**Excuse**	**Arguments**
1.1 No knowledge										
1.2 Ignorance										
2. Responsibility										
2.1 Horizontal										
2.2 Vertical										
3. Causal excuse										
3.1 Alternative										
3.2 Null cause		4 (1)							1	4
4. Volition										
4.1 Compulsion										
4.2 Impairment										
5. Agency										
5.1 Joint production										
5.2 Amnesia										
6. Mitigation										
6.1 Scapegoat										
6.2 Sad tale										
6.3 Present adverse conditions	3 (1)						2		2	5
6.4 Past adverse conditions										
TOTAL: Excuse	1	1					1		3	
Arguments	3	4					2			9

Interview 5

Reproach 1.1

The hospital infrastructure, development and maintenance are not up to standard:

Justification, denial and concession
No justification, denial or concession has been used

Excuse
One type of excuse has been used:
Mitigation of the blame with focus on the present adverse conditions (three arguments have been given in support of this)

Overview of reproach 1.1 of interview 5:

a. *Effectiveness*:

Least effective account: the excuse that mitigates the blame is the least effective account because it has a narrow focus that is based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. *Argumentation*:

The interviewee has used a persuasive account which has three arguments that have been given in its support (mitigation of blame though present adverse conditions)

c. *Politeness*:

The interviewee has used only the least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face because an excuse has a potential to lessen the seriousness of the face threat against the recipient.

Reproach 1.2

The R10m that has been utilized by the department in upgrading hospital infrastructure in the Province:

Justification, denial and concession

No justification, denial or concession has been used.

Excuse

One type of excuse has been used:

Causal excuse with focus on the null cause (four arguments have been given in support)

Overview of reproach 1.2 of interview 5:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: the excuse of the null cause is the most effective because it provides an alternative source that should bear causality and responsibility for the undesirable act.

b. Argumentation:

The interviewee has used a persuasive account with four arguments.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used only the least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face because an excuse has a potential to lessen the seriousness of the face threat against the recipient.

Reproach 2.1

There is massive shortage of specialized healthcare workers in the country:

Justification:

Only the derogation of the victim where the accuser is attacked (two arguments have been given in support of this)

Excuse and concession:

No excuse or concession has been used.

Denial:

One denial has been used.

Overview of reproach 2.1 of interview 5:

a. *Effectiveness*:

The interviewee has used only the least effective accounts: denials and justification of the derogation of the victim where the accuser is attacked as the worst account.

b. *Argumentation*:

All the accounts that have been used are the least persuasive because they have the lowest number of arguments given in their support, i.e. two arguments for the justification with focus on the derogation of the victim where the accuser is attacked.

c. *Politeness:*

The accounts that have been used by the interviewee are the most threatening with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face.

Reproach 2.2

World Health Organization (WHO) report on problems that lead to the migration of nurses:

***Justification, excuse and concession*:**
No justification, excuse or concession has been used.

Denial:
One denial has been used.

Overview of reproach 2.1 of interview 5:

a. *Effectiveness*:

The interviewee has used only the least effective account: denial.

b. *Argumentation*:

There were no reasons provided in support of this account and it is the only account that has been used.

c. Politeness:

The account that has been used by the interviewee is the most threatening with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face.

Reproach 2.3

Problems that lead to the migration of doctors to render their services in countries where they get better salaries:

Justification:
Only the derogation of the victim where the accuser is attacked (one argument has been given in support of this)

Excuse and concession:
No excuse or concession has been used.

Denial:
One denial has been used.

Overview of reproach 2.3 of interview 5:

a. *Effectiveness:*

The interviewee has used only the least effective accounts: denial and justification of the derogation of the victim where the accuser is attacked as the worst account.

b. *Argumentation:*

The accounts used are not persuasive because they have the lowest number of reasons given in their support, i.e. one argument for the justification with focus on the derogation of the victim where the accuser is attacked is the second and no arguments have bee provided in support of the denial.

c. *Politeness:*

The accounts that have been used by the interviewee are the most threatening with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face.

Reproach 3 is concerned with the shortages of medicine in the healthcare centers: There is a shortage of medicine in healthcare centers:

Justification:

Only the minimization of the undesirable consequences due to the fact that there will be future benefits (two arguments have been given in support of this)

Excuse, denial and concession:

No excuse, denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 3 of interview 5:

a. Effectiveness:

The account used is the least effective because it has a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

The account that has been used is not that persuasive because of the low number of arguments that have been given in its support, i.e. two arguments.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification that minimizes the negative consequences by appealing to the future benefits.

Reproach 4 deals with primary healthcare:

There are concerns with the primary healthcare and services it renders:

Justification:

Only one justification has been used: minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefits (two arguments) and future benefits (two arguments have been given in support)

Excuse:

Only the mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (two arguments have been given in support of this)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 4 of interview 5:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Both accounts that have been used are least effective because of their narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach both positive (justification: minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefits) and negative (excuse: mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions).

b. *Argumentation:*

All accounts are equal in terms of persuasiveness because they have the same very low number of arguments that have been given in their support, i.e. two arguments respectively.

c. *Politeness:*

Justification is the most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face, and the excuse is the least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face because the excuse reduces the level of seriousness of face threat particularly against the recipient (accuser).

Reproach 5 deals with infant mortality and poverty:
There is high infant mortality rate and malnourished children as a result of poverty:

Justification:
Only the minimization of the undesirable consequences with focus on the present benefits is used (one argument is given in support of this)

Excuse and concession:
No excuse or concession has been used.

Denial:
One denial has been used.

Overview of reproach 5 of interview 5:

a. Effectiveness:

Accounts used are both least effective: justification that minimizes the undesirable behavior and the denial.

b. Argumentation:

Both accounts are least persuasive because they have a very low number of arguments that have been given in their support.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used only the most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face.

INTERVIEW 6

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS								TOTAL	
1. **Minimization**	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	2.3	3	4	5	Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits				3 (2)				1	**3**	**4**
1.2 Future benefits			1	1	1	2	2		**5**	**7**
2. **Self-fulfillment**										
2.1 Self-development										
2.2 Self-fulfillment										
3. **Derogation of victim**										
3.1 Reciprocity					1				**1**	**1**
3.2 Derogation of victim										
3.3 Attack the accuser										
4. **Comparisons**										
4.1 Differentiation										
4.2 Past negative circumstances										
5. **Higher authority**										
5.1 Loyalty										
5.2 Higher authority										
6. **Higher values**										
6.1 Fairness	1								**1**	**1**
6.2 Facework										
7. **Bolstering**										
TOTAL: Justification	**1**		**1**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**10**	
Arguments	**1**		**1**	**4**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**		**13**

INTERVIEW 6

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS									TOTAL	
1. Defeasibility	1.1	1.2	2.1	2.2	2.3	3	4	5		Excuse	Arguments
1.1 No knowledge											
1.2 Ignorance		2 (1)	1							2	3
2. Responsibility											
2.1 Horizontal											
2.2 Vertical	1									1	1
3. Causal excuse											
3.1 Alternative											
3.2 Null cause		2　(1)		1				1		3	5
4. Volition											
4.1 Compulsion											
4.2 Impairment											
5. Agency											
5.1 Joint production											
5.2 Amnesia											
6. Mitigation											
6.1 Scapegoat											
6.2 Sad tale											
6.3 Present adverse conditions	1		3 (1)	3 (2)	1	2		2		7	12
6.4 Past adverse conditions					1					1	1
TOTAL: Excuse	**2**	**2**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**1**		**2**		**14**	
Arguments	**2**	**5**	**4**	**4**	**2**	**2**		**3**			**22**

Interview 6

Reproach 1.1

The hospital infrastructure, development and maintenance are not up to standard:

Justification:
The interviewee has used only higher values with focus on societal fairness (one argument has been given in support)

Excuse:
Two types of excuses have been used:

1. Diffusion: vertical diffusion of responsibility (one argument has been given)
2. Mitigation with attention to present adverse conditions (one argument has been given in support of this)

Denial and concession:
No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.1 of interview 6:

a. Effectiveness:

The justification of higher values with focus on fairness is the most effective in the sense that different standards ought to be applied when evaluating this situation. The excuses are not very effective.

b. Argumentation:

All the accounts that have been used are not that persuasive because they have very low number of arguments that have been given in their support.

c. Politeness:

The accounts that have been used are the least threatening with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face including the justification of higher values because of its focus on societal fairness.

Reproach 1.2

The R10m that has been utilized by the department in upgrading hospital infrastructure in the Province:

Justification, denial and concession:
No justification, denial or concession has been used.

Excuse:
Two types of excuses have been used:

1. Defeasibility with focus to ignorance (two arguments have been tendered in support of this)
2. Causal excuse of the null cause (two arguments have been given in support)

Overview of reproach 1.2 of interview 6:

a. Effectiveness:

The excuse of null cause is the effective account because it provides a source whish should bear causality and take responsibility for the failure event. The excuse of defeasibility through an appeal of ignorance as the main cause of the failure event is regarded as effective.

The other account is not very effective because it has a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach (minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefits)

b. Argumentation:

The accounts are not that persuasive because they have very low number of arguments that have been given in their support.

c. Politeness:

The accounts that have been used are the least threatening with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face.

Reproach 2.1

There is massive shortage of specialized healthcare workers in the country:

Justification:

One type of justification has been used:

Minimization of the negative consequences: future benefits (one argument has been given in support of this)

Excuse:

One type of excuse has been used:

Defeasibility: plea of ignorance (one argument has been given)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2.1 of interview 6:

a. Effectiveness:

The excuse of defeasibility through an appeal of ignorance as the main cause of the failure event is regarded as effective.

The justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences through future benefits is not a very effective account because it has a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

All the other accounts are not very persuasive because they of the low number of arguments that are given in their support.

c. Politeness:

Least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face are the excuses that have been used.

The justification is the most threatening with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face.

Reproach 2.2

World Health Organization (WHO) report on problems that lead to the migration of nurses:

Justification:

One type of justification has been used:

Minimization of the negative consequences: present benefits (three arguments have been given in support of this) and future benefits (one argument)

Excuse:

Two types of excuse have been used:

1. Causal excuse with focus on the null cause (one argument)
2. Mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions (three arguments)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2.2 of interview 6:

a. Effectiveness:

Excuse of the null cause is the most effective because an alternative source is provided that should bear causality and responsibility for the failure event in question.

The justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences and the excuse of the mitigation of the blame are the least effective account because of their narrow focus which is basically on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

Mitigation of blame with focus on the present adverse condition and the justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences through present benefits are the most persuasive accounts because of the highest number of arguments that have been given in its support, i.e. three arguments respectively.

All the other accounts are not that persuasive because they have low number of arguments that are given in their support.

c. Politeness:

Least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face are the excuses that have been used.

The justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences is the most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face.

Reproach 2.3

Problems that lead to the migration of doctors to render their services in countries where they get better salaries:

Justification:

Two types of justification have been used:

1. Minimization of the negative consequences: future benefits (one argument has been given in support of this)
2. Derogation of the victim: reciprocity (one argument has been given)

Excuse:

One excuse has been used:

1. Mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions (one arguments have been given in support) and past adverse conditions (one argument)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2.3 of interview 6:

a. Effectiveness:

Least effective account: the two justifications: the derogation of the victim where the accuser is attacked and the minimization of the undesirable consequences are the least effective accounts followed by the excuse of the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions.

b. Argumentation:

All the accounts are not that persuasive because they have low number of arguments that are given in their support.

c. Politeness:

Least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face are the excuses that have been used.

The two justifications used are the most threatening with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face.

Reproach 3 is concerned with the shortages of medicine in the healthcare centers:

Justification:
Only the minimization of the undesirable consequences has been used: there will be future benefits (two arguments)

Excuse:
Only one type has been used: mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions (two arguments have been given in support of this)

Denial and concession:
No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 3 of interview 6:

a. Effectiveness:

Both accounts are least effective because they have a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach, both positive (justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences in that there will be future benefits) and negative (the excuse that minimizes the blame by appealing to present adverse conditions).

b. Argumentation:

Both accounts are least persuasive because they have a very low number of arguments that have been given in their support, i.e. two arguments for each account.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification that minimizes the negative consequences of the act in question.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is an excuse because an excuse minimizes the seriousness of the face-threat against the recipient, which in this case is the accuser/reproacher.

Reproach 4 deals with primary healthcare:

Justification:
Only one type has been used: minimization of the undesirable consequences by arguing that there will be future benefits (two arguments have been given in support of this)

Excuse and concession:
 No excuse or concession has been used.

Denial:
One denial has been used.

Overview of reproach 4 of interview 6:

a. Effectiveness:

Both accounts that have been used are least effective in the sense that they pose a great face threat against the reproacher especially denial.

b. Argumentation:

The accounts that have been used are both least persuasive because of the low number of arguments that have been given in their support.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used only the most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face, with denial as number one on the list of most threatening accounts.

Reproach 5 deals with infant mortality and poverty:

Justification:
Only one type of justification has been used: minimization of the negative

consequences in that there are present benefits associated with the act (one argument has been given in support of this)

Excuse:

Two types have been used:

1. Causal excuse with focus on the null cause (one argument has been given in support)
2. Mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions (two arguments have been provided in support of this)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 5 of interview 1:

a. *Effectiveness:*

Most effective account: the excuse with focus on null cause is the most effective because it has a courtesy to provide an alternative source which should bear both causality and responsibility for the failure event in question.

The least effective account: the justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences and the excuse that mitigates the blame because they both have a narrow focus based only on the consequences of the reproach, both the positive (justification of the minimization of the consequences) and negative (the excuse of the mitigation of blame).

b. *Argumentation:*

All the accounts that have been used are not that effective because they have a very low number of arguments that have been given in their support, i.e. one argument for the minimization of the undesirable consequences and the causal excuse, and two arguments for the mitigation of the blame.

c. *Politeness:*

An excuse is the least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face because it has a potential to reduce the seriousness of the face-threat especially against the reproacher.

Justification is the most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face.

5.3.2.2 Summary of the interviewee

Interviewee	Concession	Excuse	Denial	Justification	TOTAL
1	-----	7 (19)	-----	12 (21)	19 (40)
2	3 (10)	12 (22)	1	12 (13)	28 (45
3	-----	10 (30)	1	8 (14)	19 (44
4	3 (5)	11 (22)	1	4 (6)	19 (33)
5	-----	3 (7)	4	6 (10)	13 (17)
6	1	14 (22)	1	10 (13)	26 (35)

Concessions and denials:

The interviewees did not concede or deny many of the reproaches that have been leveled against them. Interviewees 2 and 3 have conceded three times with ten and five arguments respectively in support of those concessions and this is regarded as a sign of politeness on their part. However, interviewee 5 has denied four times and that is not a good sign because denial poses a major threat against the accuser's face.

Justification:
Interviewee 1 has twelve justifications and twenty-one arguments.
Interviewee 2 has twelve justifications with thirteen arguments.
Interviewee 3 has eight justifications and fourteen arguments.
Interviewee 4 has four justifications and six arguments.
Interviewee 5 has six justifications and ten arguments.
Interviewee 6 has ten justifications and thirteen arguments.

Effectiveness:
The most effective interviewees are 1, 2 and 6 judging by the number of justifications that have been used. Interviewees 1 and 2 have twelve justifications, interview 6 has ten. The other three justifications are not that effective because they have a low number of justifications, i.e. 8, 4 and 6 respectively.

Argumentation:
Interviewee 1 is the most persuasive because it has the highest number of arguments that have been given in its support, i.e. twenty-one (21) arguments. In the second place are interviewees 3, 2 and 6 with fourteen arguments for interview 3 and

thirteen arguments for both interview 2 and 6. The other interviewees are least persuasive because of the low number of arguments that have been given in support of the justifications they used.

Politeness:

The focus on politeness issues is on interviewees 1, 2 and 6 because they have tried so much to satisfy the interviewer and as a result they have used more justifications and provided a lot of arguments in support of them, i.e. interviewee 1 used twelve justifications and gave twenty-one arguments in their support, interviewee 2 also used twelve justifications with thirteen arguments and interviewee 6 used ten justifications and provided thirteen arguments in support of them.

Excuse:

Interview 1 has used seven excuses and nineteen arguments.
Interview 2 has used twelve excuses and twenty-two arguments.
Interview 3 has used ten excuses and thirty arguments.
Interview 4 has used eleven excuses and twenty-two arguments.
Interview 5 has used three excuses and seven arguments.
Interview 6 has used fourteen excuses and twenty-two arguments.

Effectiveness:

The most effective interviews are of interviewee 6 with fourteen excuses followed by interviewee 2, 4 and 3 with twelve, eleven and ten excuses respectively.

The other two interviews are not that effective because they have used a low number of excuses.

Argumentation:

The best interviews in terms of persuasiveness are of interviewee 3 because a fairly high number of arguments have been provided in support of the ten excuses that have been used. This is followed by interviewees 2, 4 and 6 with number of twenty-two arguments. In the last place is interviewee 1 with nineteen arguments.

Interviewee 5 is the least persuasive interview because it has the lowest number of arguments that has been given in support of the three excuses that have been used.

Politeness:

The focus on politeness is on interviews 2, 3, 4 and six with regard to the number of excuses used and arguments given in support of those excuses. However, interview 3 has given the highest number of arguments in support of the ten excuses used, which is basically three arguments for each excuse.

5.3.2.3 The interviewee:

Effectiveness:

The most effective: interviewee no.2 is the most effective with twenty-eight accounts and forty-five arguments he gave in support of them.

Argumentation:

Interviewee no.2 is the most persuasive because he has given more arguments in support of the accounts used, i.e. forty-five. This interviewee is followed by interviewees 3 and 1 with forty-four and forty arguments respectively.

Politeness:

Interviewee no.2 is the most polite with regard to the number of accounts used and arguments given in support of those accounts, i.e. twenty-eight accounts and forty-five arguments.

Interviewee no. 2, 4, 6 and 3 are the most polite with regard to positive accounts:

➢ No.2 has used three concessions (ten arguments) and twelve excuses (twenty-two arguments)
➢ No.4 has used three concessions (five arguments) and eleven excuses (twenty-two arguments)
➢ No.6 has used one concession and fourteen excuses (twenty-two arguments)
➢ No.3 has used ten excuses (thirty arguments)

Interviewee no.5, 1, 2, 6 and 3 are also the most polite with regard to the negative accounts used:

➢ No. 5 has used four denials and six justifications (ten arguments)
➢ No. 1 has used twelve justifications (twenty-one arguments)
➢ No.2 has used one denial and twelve justifications (thirteen arguments)
➢ No.6 has used one denial and ten justifications (thirteen arguments)

➢ No.3 has used one denial and eight justifications (fourteen arguments)

5.3.2.4 Judgment of the interviewee:

Interviewee 2 has provided the best interview because he maintained balance between the highly aggravating and the highly mitigating accounts, i.e. he used fifteen mitigating accounts and thirteen aggravating accounts, all this together give a total of twenty-eight accounts that have been used by the interviewee. The interviewee has been polite and decent enough to try and satisfy the interviewee because he has given a lot of reasons in support of the accounts he used, i.e. forty-five arguments have been given in support of the accounts used. The interviewee seems to be a very good diplomat because he does not want bad publicity and as such he carefully laid all his cards on the table in such a way that they maintain some kind of balance.

In the second place is interviewee 6 with twenty-six accounts and only thirty-five arguments. Interviewees 1, 3 and 4 have the following number of accounts: nineteen with forty, forty-four and thirty-three arguments respectively.

Interviewee 5 is in the bottom of the list with thirteen accounts and only seventeen arguments.

5.3.3. THE REPROACH

5.3.3.1. TOTAL NUMBER OF JUSTIFICATIONS AND REPROACHES [ALL INTERVIEWS]

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS					TOTAL	
1. **Minimization**	1	2	3	4	5	Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits	4	5		2	2	9	13
1.2 Future benefits	6	14	5	11	3	21	39
2. **Self-fulfillment**							
2.1 Self-development							
2.2 Self-fulfillment		3				2	3
3. **Derogation of victim**							
3.1 Reciprocity		1				1	1
3.2 Derogation of victim							
3.3 Attack the accuser		3				2	3
4. **Comparisons**							
4.1 Differentiation		1			2	3	3
4.2 Past negative circumstances		2				1	2
5. **Higher authority**							
5.1 Loyalty	2		1			2	3
5.2 Higher authority	1	1				2	2
6. **Higher values**							
6.1 Fairness	1	1				2	2
6.2 Transcendence		3	1		1	5	5
7. **Bolstering**		1				1	1
TOTAL: Justification	8	22	5	7	7	49	
Arguments	14	35	7	13	8		77

TOTAL NUMBER OF EXCUSES AND REPROACHES [ALL INTERVIEWS]

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS					TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	1	2	3	4	5	Excuse	Arguments
1.1 No knowledge							
1.2 Ignorance	3	2				**4**	**5**
2. **Responsibility**							
2.1 Horizontal							
2.2 Vertical	3	3			1	**5**	**7**
3. **Causal excuse**							
3.1 Alternative							
3.2 Null cause	13	15	1	2	1	**18**	**32**
4. **Volition**							
4.1 Compulsion							
4.2 Impairment							
5. **Agency**							
5.1 Joint production		1				**1**	**1**
5.2 Amnesia							
6. **Mitigation**							
6.1 Scapegoat							
6.2 Sad tale							
6.3 Present adverse conditions	6	29	18	11	9	**26**	**73**
6.4 Past adverse conditions	2	2				**3**	**4**
TOTAL: Excuse	**14**	**26**	**5**	**5**	**6**	**56**	
Arguments	**27**	**52**	**19**	**13**	**11**		**122**

5.3.3.2. The reproaches:

Reproach 1

Hospital infrastructure needs to be renovated and maintained:

Justifications in reproach 1:
Minimization through present benefits (2) and future benefits (3)
Higher authority with attention on higher authorities (1) and loyalties (1)
Higher values with focus to fairness (1)

Excuses in reproach 1:
Mitigation with focus to present adverse conditions (3) and past adverse conditions (1)
Causal excuse with focus to null cause (6)
Responsibility: vertical diffusion (2)
Defeasibility: ignorance (2)

Denials in reproach 1:
One denial has been used.

Concessions in reproach 1:
Two concessions have been used.

Reproach 2

There is massive shortage of specialized healthcare workers:

Justifications in reproach 2:
 Minimization: present benefits (3) and future benefits (10)
Higher authority: higher authorities (1)
Derogation of victim: attack the accuser (2) and reciprocity (1)
Self-fulfillment: self-fulfillment (2)
Higher values: transcendence (4) and fairness (1)
Comparison: past negative circumstances (1) and differentiation (1)

Excuses in reproach 2:
Mitigation of blame: present adverse conditions (9) and past adverse conditions (2)
Causal excuse: null cause (9)

Defeasibility: ignorance (2)

Agency: joint production (2)

Responsibility: vertical diffusion (2)

Denials in reproach 2:

Five denials have been used in this reproach.

Concessions in reproach 2:

Two concessions have been used in this reproach.

Reproach 3

There is a shortage of medicine in the healthcare centers:

Justifications in reproach 3:

Minimization of consequences: future benefits (3)

Higher values: transcendence (1) and loyalty (1)

Excuses in reproach 3:

Mitigation of blame: present adverse conditions (5)

Causal excuse: null cause (1)

Denials in reproach 3:

No denial has been used in this reproach.

Concessions in reproach 3:

One concession has been used.

Reproach 4

The primary healthcare is not in a good especially in rural areas:

Justifications in reproach 4:

 Minimization of blame: present benefits (1) and future benefits (5)

Excuses in reproach 4:

Mitigation of blame: present adverse conditions (4)

Causal excuse: null cause (1)

Denials in reproach 4:

One denial has been used.

Concessions in reproach 4:

One concession has been used.

Reproach 5

There is a high rate of infant mortality and malnourished children in the Province:

Justifications in reproach 5:

Minimization: present benefits (2) and future benefits (3)

Higher values: transcendence (1)

Comparison: differentiation (1)

Excuses in reproach 5:

Mitigation: present adverse condition (4)

Responsibility: vertical diffusion (1)

Causal excuse: null cause (1)

Denials in reproach 5:

One denial has been used.

Concessions in reproach 5:

One concession has been used.

5.3.3.3 Summary of the reproaches

Account	Reproach				
	1	2	3	4	5
Concession	2	3	1	1	1
Excuse	6	25 (49)	6	5	14
Denial	1	5	-----	1	1
Justification	8	26 (34)	5	6	7
TOTAL	18	59 (83)	12	13	23

Reaction against reproaches

Most reaction: reproach 2 has received more reaction from the interviewees, i.e. 59 because the shortage of qualified and specialized healthcare workers is a serious issue not only in the Province, but the country at large.

Less reaction: reproaches 1 and 5 received less reaction, which is 18 and 23 respectively because these issues should be dealt with by the department and politicians claim that these reproaches are the result of ignorance from the departmental officials hence the legislature has made recommendations after visiting and researching about these issues, i.e. hospital infrastructure which is very dilapidated and malnutrition.

Very little reaction: reproaches 3 and 4 received very little reaction from the interviewees, i.e. 12 and 13 respectively because the problem of depot, distribution of medicine to various healthcare centers and the primary healthcare which are not up standard especially in rural areas. The legislators have to see to it that they receive the attention they deserve because they are accountable to the public.

5.3.3.4 Judgment of responses to reproaches:

Concessions: reproach 2 has a fair amount of concessions, i.e. three because the interviewees signify that they acknowledge the fact that there are indeed problems as far as the issue of staffing is concerned especially qualified as well as specialized healthcare workers.

Excuses: reproach 2 has received more excuses in response to it followed by Reproach 5 with fourteen excuses.

Denials: reproach 2 has received more denials (5) because the interviewees did not want to take any causality and responsibility for the reproaches which is in regard to the shortages of qualified doctors and nurses in healthcare institutions.

Justifications: in response to reproach 2, 26 justifications have been used. The interviewees have decided to give more attention to this reproach because the unavailability of qualified and specialized doctors and nurses in healthcare institutions is quite a very sensitive issue not only in the Province but in the country

as well. Thus, justifications have been largely used to minimize the negative consequences surrounding this issue as raised by the reproach.

Overall judgment of reproaches:

Best response: reproach 1 is the best dealt with reproach because interviewees managed to maintain some balance between the highly aggravating and the highly mitigating accounts in response to them, i.e. 28 mitigating accounts (three concessions and twenty-five excuses) and 31 aggravating accounts (five denials and twenty-six justifications) (see the Table above).

Second best response: reproach 5: fifteen mitigating accounts (one concession and fourteen excuses) as well as eight aggravating accounts (one denial and seven justifications) (see the Table above).

Poorest quality of responses: reproaches 3, 4 and 1 have the poorest quality of responses because of a very low number of accounts that have been used by the interviewees in response to these reproaches (see the Table above)

5.3.4. THE ACCOUNT

5.3.4.1. JUSTIFICATIONS AND INTERVIEWS

JUSTIFICATION	INTERVIEWS						
1. **Minimization**	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL
1.1 Present benefits	1	1	1		2	3	**8**
1.2 Future benefits	7	2	5	1	2	5	**22**
2. **Self-fulfillment**							
2.1 Self-development							
2.2 Self-fulfillment		1		1			**2**
3. **Derogation of victim**							
3.1 Reciprocity						1	**1**
3.2 Derogation of victim							
3.3 Attack the accuser					2		**2**
4. **Comparisons**							
4.1 Differentiation		1	1	1			**3**
4.2 Past negative circumstances	1						**1**
5. **Higher authority**							
5.1 Loyalty			2				**2**
5.2 Higher authority	2						**2**
6. **Higher values**							
6.1 Fairness				1		1	**2**
6.2 Facework							
6.3 Transcendence	1	4					**5**
7. Bolstering:		1					**1**
TOTAL:	**12**	**10**	**9**	**4**	**6**	**10**	**51**

EXCUSES AND INTERVIEWS

EXCUSE	INTERVIEWS						
1. **Defeasibility**	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL
1.1 No knowledge							
1.2 Ignorance		1		1		2	**4**
2. **Responsibility**							
2.1 Horizontal							
2.2 Vertical		1	1	2		1	**5**
3. **Causal excuse**							
3.1 Alternative							
3.2 Null cause	4	5	2	3	1	3	**18**
4. **Volition**							
4.1 Compulsion							
4.2 Impairment							
5. **Agency**							
5.1 Joint production		1					**1**
5.2 Amnesia							
6. **Mitigation**							
6.1 Scapegoat							
6.2 Sad tale							
6.3 Present adverse conditions	3	3	6	5	2	7	**26**
6.4 Past adverse conditions		1	1			1	**3**
TOTAL:	**7**	**12**	**10**	**11**	**3**	**14**	**57**

5.3.4.2. The Account

Justifications:

Minimization of blame (30):

a. Present benefits (8)
b. Future benefits (22)

Minimization is the worst justification because it is the most threatening to the hearer's face, but according to the interviewees, this is their best justification. Minimization of the consequences that appeal to present benefits have been used 8 times and those that appeal to future benefits have been used 22 times giving a total of 30 minimizations/ justifications that reframe the consequences of the blame or failure event. What counts most here is that the interviewees have decided to employ more of minimization because they believe it is the best.

Self-fulfillment has been used only twice because self-fulfillment refers to the desire to satisfy one's own needs, and the interviews are focused more on the departmental policies and their implementation. The use of self-fulfillment as an account is thus irrelevant.

Derogation of victim where the interviewee attacks the accuser has been used twice and reciprocity once. This justification is highly threatening to the face of the accuser.

Comparisons (4)
a. Differentiation (3)
b. Past negative circumstance (1)

Higher authority (4)
a. Loyalty (2)
b. Higher authorities (2)

Higher values (7)
a. Fairness (2)
b. Transcendence (5)

Bolstering has been used once only because the reproaches are concerned with the policies and their implementation and not the individual(s) of which bolstering is concerned.

Most effective justification:

The best justification is the one that "appeals to higher authority" and "higher values" with focus to societal fairness and together they give a total of eleven; seven for justifications that appeal to higher values and four for higher authority. However, according to the interviewees the minimization of the undesirable consequences through present and future benefits is the most effective with a total of 30, i.e. eight and twenty-two respectively.

Excuses:

Defeasibility has been used four times. |
Responsibility with focus on vertical diffusion of responsibility has been used five times.
Causal excuse with focus on the null cause has been used 18 times.
Agency with focus on joint production has been used once.
Mitigation of the blame has been used 29 times:

a. Present adverse conditions (26)

b. Past adverse conditions (3)

The mitigating excuses are the most popular excuses among politicians because they have been used 29 times. This is not a problem though because excuses are considered polite because they lessen the amount of face threat against the accuser and/or listener(s).

Volition has not been used by any of the interviewees.

Most effective excuse: The best excuses according to the interviewees are mitigation and causal excuses. They gave a total of 29 mitigating excuses and 18 "null causal excuses". Causal excuses are effective based on the fact that in reality one cannot be held responsible for something that is not his or her job and as a result this excuse is positively perceived. Excuses that focus on mitigating circumstances are more effective when they involve the past than the present. Past mitigating circumstances may be the reason for the problem and thus outside the control of the excuse-giver/ excuse. Moreover, mitigation happens to be the interviewees' best

excuse and a typical political excuse because it somehow reflects people's understanding that real political decisions are constrained by external forces.

Denials:

There are eight denials that have been used.

Concessions:

There are also eight concessions that have been used

5.5.4.3 Summary of accounts:

ACCOUNT	INTERVIEW						TOTAL
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Concession	-----	3	-----	4	-----	1	8
Excuse	7	12	10	11	3	14	57
Denial	-----	1	1	1	4	1	8
Justification	12	10	9	4	6	10	51

Concessions: 8 in total, interviewee 4 employed four concessions which is a half of the total number of concessions used by all interviewees. This is because the interviewee did not want to appear as impolite by denying the reproaches. It seems as if the interviewee was more concerned with preserving the interviewer's face by trying to be honest through acknowledging the failure events and the interviewer's right to reproach.

Excuses: 57 excuses in total have been used by interviewees especially interviewee 6, 2, 4 and 3 who used fourteen, twelve, eleven and ten excuses respectively.

Denials: 8 denials have been used by interviewees. Interviewee 5 has used half the total number of denials and it looks as if he was not concerned with the amount of face threat he was posing against the interviewee because all he was concerned with was to safeguard his own face.

Justifications: 51 total number of justifications used by interviewees especially interviewee 1, 2, 6 and 3 who used almost the equal number of justifications, i.e.12, 10, 10 and 9 respectively.

5.3.4.4 Judgment of accounts

Effectiveness:

Most effective account: According to the interviewees, excuses and justifications are the most effective accounts because they have been used more often than the other two accounts, i.e. 57 excuses and 51 justifications. These accounts are almost equal because the difference is not that much.

Least effective account: Denial and concession are not that effective because they have not been used that much: eight denials, eight concessions. These accounts have been used equally.

Overall: There are four types of accounts that have been used: concession, excuse, denial and justification. These types of accounts are more or less equal in terms of effectiveness.

Politeness:

The most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation are denials and justifications. There are eight denials and fifty- one (51) justifications giving a total of fifty-nine of the most aggravating accounts.

Concessions and excuses are least threatening to the hearer's face because of their high level of mitigation. There are eight concessions and fifty-seven excuses giving a total of sixty-five least aggravating accounts.

However, there are more positive accounts or rather the number of the least mitigating accounts is higher than the most aggravating accounts.

5.4. DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
5.4.1 SUMMARY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT INTERVIEWS

Reproach 1.1

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5
1. justification: derogation of victim: attacking the accuser: ➢ The information used by reproachers is not scientific 2. Justification: minimization: future benefits ➢ Department will solve the problem with the cooperation of parents	1. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions ➢ Rate of teenage pregnancy is very high in poor communities ➢ Child support grant does not cater for children 2. Justification: minimization: present benefits: ➢ Program of moral regeneration will help instill moral values in the youth	1. Excuse: Mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ People look at grants as means of fighting poverty 2. Justification: comparisons: past negative circumstances: ➢ In the previous government, child support grant was meant only for Whites and Coloreds 3. Justification: minimization: present benefits: ➢ The grants benefits all children irrespective of color and/or race ➢ Beneficiaries' years have been extended from 6 to 14 years ➢ The grant is meant to ensure that children do not go to bed hungry 4. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ Some people misuse the grant ➢ They buy doctors in order to get access to the grant ➢ They register other people's children as their own to get the grant ➢ Some are believed to be deliberately getting pregnant for this grant 5. Denial 6. Justification: higher values:	1. Justification: minimization present benefits: ➢ Fighting poverty ➢ Ensure that children do not grow in impoverished conditions 2. Concession 3. Excuse: responsibility: vertical diffusion: ➢ Government should strengthen the work done by social workers 4. Concession	1. Denial 2. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ Shortage of staff ➢ Lack of proper management of funds ➢ No departmental offices in most areas ➢ Available offices are not well-equipped 3. Excuse: mitigation: past adverse conditions: ➢ There has been under-expenditure of the child support grant 4. Concession 5. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Social workers have to ensure that the grant serves the purpose for which it is intended 6. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: there is a shortage of social workers

		fairness: ➢ A research through commission of enquiry should be conducted to ascertain whether numbers of teenage pregnancy have increased due to this grant ➢ Grant cannot be terminated because of few corrupt individuals 7. Concession 8. Excuse: mitigation: Present adverse conditions: ➢ The rate of fraud has increased 9. Justification: higher values: Fairness: ➢ Social workers should investigate causes of incidents of fraud within this grant ➢ A means test should be done determine who should benefit and who should not 10. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Department of Social Development should find those that are fraudulently benefiting from the grant ➢ People should report incidents of fraud to the department		

Reproach 1.2

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5
1. Excuse: Causal excuse: null cause: ➢ The problem is with the people who are benefiting from the disability grant when they are not disabled 2. Excuse: volition: impairment: ➢ People fail to follow guidelines and regulations	1. 1. Concession 2. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Problem lies with doctors who act as evaluators of the grant applications 3. Denial 4. Excuse: mitigation: past adverse conditions: ➢ Suspension of fitting beneficiaries due to the large number of fraudulent beneficiaries which had to be removed from the system 5. Justification: Higher values: fairness: ➢ Evaluation of people (applicants) should be done through a means test	1. Concession 2. Justification: minimization: present benefits: ➢ There is a process of re-application to review beneficiaries ➢ Temporal disability grant is reviewed on regular basis to avoid being misused ➢ Food parcels are provided to those families that have been affected by this transformation. 3. Concession 4. Justification: minimization Present benefits: ➢ Beneficiaries were requested to re-apply so that those that are not supposed to benefit can be removed from the list ➢ Those whose applications have been declined are given an option to appeal 5. Justification: derogation of victim: attack the accuser ➢ There are disabled people who have jobs	1. Concession 2. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Department of social development is responsible for evaluation of applications ➢ Doctors who evaluate these applications and/or cases 3. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions ➢ Doctors to evaluate applications are few ➢ They take a long time to process the applications ➢ There is no clear process of dealing with applications ➢ It takes up to three months and more for applications to be processed 4. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Departmental officials and the public are responsible 5. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Department of Social	1. Concession 2. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ The government's policy is to blame for the situation 3. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ Policy on grant is not dynamic to accommodate all kinds of disabilities ➢ Most people were removed from the beneficiaries' list due to the department's negligence ➢ Corrupt departmental officers ➢ Shortage of qualified doctors to deal with the applications of grants ➢ Long waiting periods for approval of grants 3. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ The departmental system lacks capacity to deal with corruption 4. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ There is lack of

		and yet they want to benefit from the disability grant 6. Justification: higher authorities: ➢ According to the constitution, disabled people should be given equal opportunities in work places and if they are working they should not benefit from the disability grant	Development should strengthen its system to curb fraud	management ➢ There are clear policy guidelines regarding beneficiaries ➢ People are dying because certain illnesses are not regarded as fitting for the disability grant

Reproach 1.3

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5
1. Excuse: mitigation of blame: present adverse conditions: ➢ The elderly do not receive their pension fund in dignity 2. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Service providers are responsible for pay-point facilities ➢ Department of Home Affairs is responsible for Identity Documents 3. Justification: minimization: future benefits ➢ Operation Isidima will address the question	1. Concession 2. Justification: minimization Present benefits ➢ Committee members are visiting the pay-points and make recommendations to the department ➢ Social grants are now a responsibility of an independent agent, SASSA 3. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Service providers such as All Pay and	1. Concession ➢ Elderly people are affected by poor conditions in pay-points ➢ There are problems with the actual pay out of the pension money to the elderly 2. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Department outsourced the payment of social assistance grant to service providers ➢ These service providers ado not adhere to the service level agreement entered into with the department	1.Concession 2. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Department should remind people about registering for old-age grant ➢ Service providers do not abide by the service-level agreement entered into with the department 3. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ There are no banks in rural areas ➢ People are always in need of hard cash ➢ People are not aware	1. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ There are no proper pay-points (infrastructure) ➢ Inequality between men and women beneficiaries ➢ People do not have Identity Documents ➢ Most rural people do not know their birth dates 2. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Department of Home Affairs is responsible for Identity Documents 3. Justification: minimization

treatment in respect and dignity of elderly people ➤ Help desks are provided in all pay-points to assist the elderly ➤ Linkage of databases of the departments of Social Development and Home Affairs 4. Denial:	CPS (Cash Paymaster Services) 4. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➤ Pay-points do not have all the proper facilities ➤ There are no toilets and water in some pay-points ➤ People have to travel long distances to get to the pay-points 5. excuse: mitigation: past adverse conditions: ➤ Delays with the processing of applications 6. Denial 7. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➤ Department is negligent ➤ Officials are corrupt	3. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➤ Machines that are used in the pay-points are not in good condition ➤ There is a problem of insufficient funds to cater for all the beneficiaries ➤ The elderly are meant to stand in the same queues with the young mothers ➤ Service providers always arrive late ➤ Beneficiaries do not stick to the time-table because they want to be the first in the line ➤ These is lack of security and as such the elderly are often robbed of their money 4. Justification: minimization: present benefits: ➤ There are different dates for pensioners and child support grant ➤ People are made to remain in their centers ➤ SASSA is now responsible for social grants 5. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➤ The problem should be dealt with by the service provider 6. Concession:	that they can get their money from the bank anytime they want it ➤ There are no proper pay-points 4. Justification: minimization: present benefits: ➤ There are mobile banks in some rural areas 5. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➤ The inefficient of grant pay-out 6. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➤ Government does not remind people about application of old-age grant ➤ Department lacks capacity to deal with pension pay-out in a humane manner ➤ There is no interaction between the department and the public 7. Excuse: responsibility: vertical diffusion of responsibility: ➤ Departments of Social development and Home Affairs are supposed to have healthy interaction and exchange	Present benefits: ➤ Applicants are allowed to bring people to witness that they are indeed old enough to qualify for old-age grant 4. Concession 5. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➤ Department of Home Affairs is responsible for Identity Documents and all the problems to that 6. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➤ Department of Social Development takes a very long time in processing applications for grants 7. Justification: derogation of victim: attack accuser: ➤ The problem of ghost beneficiaries is the result of corruption within the departmental system 8. Excuse: mitigation: past adverse conditions: ➤ The lack of healthy interaction and working relations between the departments of Social Development and Home Affairs

		7. Denial 8. Justification: minimization present benefits: ➤ Help desks have been provided to assist beneficiaries in knowing whether they are in the list or not 9. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➤ Help desks are not stationed in all the pay-points because they move around with the service providers 10. Justification: comparison: differentiation: ➤ There was no communication between the departments of Home Affairs and Social Development to help in updating beneficiaries' list in terms of deaths and births 11. Justification: minimization Present benefits: ➤ There is ongoing interaction through the databases of the departments of Home Affairs and Social Development	information of births and deaths through their databases 8. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➤ There is no communication and/or coordination between the departments of Social Development and Home Affairs ➤ Monies issued by the department never reach their intended beneficiaries ➤ There is no monitoring tin order to minimize and curb fraud	9. Justification: minimization present benefits: ➤ Close coordination and linkage of databases of the departments of Social Development and Home Affairs have been established 10. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➤ Some of the deceased are still on the beneficiaries' list and their pensions are issued monthly 11. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➤ Department of Social Development has to investigate about these ghost beneficiaries

Reproach 1.4

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5
1. Justification: minimization: future benefits: ➢ The elderly are best taken care of in their own homes than in the centers ➢ Community forums have been set up to protect the elderly 2. Justification: higher values: transcendence: ➢ Old-age centers operate mainly through the money paid by pensioners	1. Excuse: defeasibility: plea of ignorance: ➢ Legislators failed to visit these centers 2. Justification: comparison: differentiation: ➢ There are no centers in the previously disadvantaged areas/ rural areas 3. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ Centers are in towns only ➢ They cater for few people ➢ Elderly people are mostly victimized in rural areas and have nowhere to go 4. Justification: derogation of victim: attack accuser: ➢ These centers are subsidized and as such they have no right to demand payment from the pensioners	1. Justification: minimization Present benefits: ➢ R6,7 m has been allocated for the care of the elderly 2. Justification: minimization: future benefits ➢ These centers will be revitalized and developed using the allocated budget ➢ Private companies will be encouraged to donate or sponsor these homes 3. Justification: higher authorities: ➢ Government's support is centered only on the issue of subsidies and not salaries 4. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ The department does not monitor these centers especially those that are funded 5. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ Payments to NGOs are not done in time and that is why pensioners are asked to pay for their stay ➢ Department is not in good standard and it does not have powers over these centers	1. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Government fails to monitor these centers. 2. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ Funds allocated to these centers are insufficient ➢ There is lack of necessary resources ➢ Residents are compelled to paying 3. Justification: minimization: present benefits: ➢ Elderly are better cared for in their own communities than in old-age centers.	1. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ Old-age centers are catered mostly for Whites and Coloreds ➢ There is lack of financial support ➢ Elderly people are victimized because of their pension money 2. Concession 2. Excuse: causal excuse: null cause: ➢ Department of Social Development fails to provide enough funding for the running of the old-age centers

Reproach 2

Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5
1. Justification: minimization: present benefits ➢ An independent agent, SASSA is now responsible for the social grants ➢ Department of Social Development is more focused on social development programs ➢ Awareness campaigns about these issues are being held throughout the Province 2. Justification: minimization: future benefits ➢ The current transformation will return human dignity ➢ Cluster approach will be used for proper training and monitoring of the projects 3. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ The main challenge is people's mindsets; not easy to change	1. Excuse: agency: joint production: ➢ The issue of poverty alleviation involves all government departments 2. Justification: minimization: present benefits: ➢ People are benefiting already from these poverty alleviation programs ➢ Awareness campaigns are taking place to inform people about these programs 3. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ The allocated funds are insufficient and do not cater for the citizens of the Province ➢ Programs sometimes do not serve the purpose as they are monopolized by the few ➢ People are not well-informed about these programs ➢ Poverty alleviation projects are not monitored ➢ Lack of accountability from the department ➢ Public representatives are not doing their job	1. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ Lack of communication between department and the communities ➢ Projects that are run by the National Office but not known to the Province ➢ People are properly trained 2. Justification: minimization present benefits ➢ There are existing farming and agricultural projects ➢ Department is encouraging involvement in seed production and nurseries ➢ Strengthen cooperatives ➢ Align community training with cooperatives ➢ Training and assistance with business plans is provided ➢ Strong interaction with the National Office in poverty alleviation programs ➢ There are outreach programs conducted throughout the Province	No comment	1. Excuse: mitigation: present adverse conditions: ➢ People have to submit professional business plans to get funding ➢ There are few community development workers ➢ There is under-expenditure in the department and funds get rolled over to the following financial year ➢ Department does not focus much on social development ➢ There is no monitoring of the funded projects 2. Justification: minimization future benefits: ➢ Social assistance grants have now been separated from social development

5.4.2 THE INTERVIEWEE

Interview 1

Reproach 1.1

The child support grant:

Justification:

Two types of justification have been used:

- Derogation of victim in which the justifier attacks the accuser (one argument has been given in support of this)
- Minimization of the undesirable consequences has been used with focus on the future benefits (one argument given in support of it)

Excuse, denial and concession:

No excuse, denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.1 of interview 1:

a. Effectiveness:

The interviewee has used only the least effective accounts: the justification of the derogation of the victim in which the accuser is attacked and minimization of the undesirable consequences through future benefits.

b. Argumentation:

The account that has been used is the least effective because it has the lowest number of reasons that are given in support of it, i.e. one reason.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used the most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face: the justification with focus on the derogation of the victim in which the accuser is attacked and the justification of the minimization of the negative consequences of the failure event through an appeal that future benefits are associated with the act.

Reproach 1.2:

The disability grant:

Justification, denial and concession:

No justification, denial or concession has been used.

Excuse:

The excuse that has been used:

- Causal excuse with focus on the null causal excuses (one argument has been given in support of this)
- Volition due to the impairment (one argument is given in support of this)

Overview of reproach 1.2 of interview 1:

a. Effectiveness:

The most effective account: the causal excuse with focus on the null cause is the the most effective because it does not just claim that this was not the interviewee's job but also provides another source which should bear causality and thus take responsibility for the failure event.

b. Argumentation:

The accounts that have been used are not very persuasive because of the low number of arguments given in support, i.e. one argument.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used only the least threatening account with the high level of mitigation against the accuser's face: the causal excuse with focus on the null cause and an excuse of volition with focus on impairment.

Reproach 1.3:

The old-age grant:

Justification:

One justification has been used:

Minimization of the undesirable consequences through future benefits (three arguments have been given in support of this)

Excuse:

Two excuses have been used:

- Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (one reason has been given in support of this)
- Causal excuse: null cause (one argument given in support)

Denial:

One denial has been used.

Concession:

No concession has been used

Overview of reproach 1.3 of interview 1:

a. Effectiveness:

The interviewee has used the most effective account through the excuse of a null cause in which the excuser disconnects himself away from the failure event by introducing a source that should bear causality and responsibility for the failure event.

The interviewee has also used the least effective accounts; denial, the excuse that mitigates the blame through an appeal on the present adverse conditions and the justification of the minimization of the blame through future benefits. This account is ineffective because if has a narrow focus based on the negative consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

The accounts used are not very effective because of the lowest number of arguments given in support.

c. Politeness:

The least threatening account with the high level of mitigation against the accuser has been used through an excuse that mitigates the blame by focusing on present adverse conditions.

The most threatening account with the high level of aggravation against the accuser's face has been used through the justification of the minimization of unfavorable consequences with an appeal to present benefits.

Reproach 1.4:

The old-age centers:

Justification:

Two justifications have been used:

- Minimization of the undesirable consequences with focus on future benefits has been used (two arguments have been tendered in support of this)
- Higher values of transcendence (one reason has been given in support)

Excuse, denial and concession:

No excuse, denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.4 of interview 1:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account is the justification of higher values in which the interviewee proposes another frame of reference for the situation through transcendence.

The least effective account: justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences through future benefits because the account has a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

The accounts used are not very persuasive because they have tendered a low number of arguments that have been given in support.

c. Politeness:

Only the most threatening account with the high level of aggravation against the accuser's face has been used through the justification of the minimization of unfavorable consequences with an appeal to present benefits and through the justification that appeals to higher values with focus on transcendence.

Reproach 2:

Poverty alleviation projects/programs:

Justification:

One type of justification has been used:

a. Minimization of undesirable consequences through present benefits (three arguments have been tendered in support of this) and that there will be future benefits (two arguments have been provided in support)

Excuse:

Only one type has been used, the mitigation of blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions (one argument has been given in support)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2 of interview 1:

a. Effectiveness:

All the accounts that have been used are the least effective because of the narrow focus that they have which is based on the consequences of the reproach both negative (mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions) and positive (minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal on present and future benefits)

b. Argumentation:

The justification of the minimization of unfavorable consequences with an appeal to present benefits is the most persuasive because of the high number of arguments tendered in its support, i.e. three arguments.

The other two accounts are least effective because they have a lower number of reasons given in their support, i.e. two arguments for the justification of the minimization of blame through future benefits and one argument for the excuse of the mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions.

c. *Politeness:*

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences through present and future benefits.

Least threatening account with the high level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse that mitigates the blame by appealing on present adverse conditions.

5.2.3.1 INTERVIEW 1

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMNETS					TOTAL	
. **Minimization**	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2	Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits					3 (1)	1	3
1.2 Future benefits	1		3 (1)	2 (1)	2 (1)	4	8
2. **Self-fulfillment**							
2.1 Self-development							
2.2 Self-fulfillment							
3. **Derogation of victim**							
3.1 Reciprocity							
3.2 Attack the accuser	1					1	1
4. **Comparisons**							
4.1 Differentiation							
4.2 Past negative circumstances							
5. **Higher authority**							
5.1 Loyalty							
5.2 Higher authority							
6. **Higher values**							
6.1 Fairness							
6.2 Facework							
6.3 Transcendence				1		1	1
TOTAL: Justification	2		1	2	2	7	
Arguments	2		3	3	5		13

INTERVIEW 1

EXCUSE	PREPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMNETS					TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2	**Excuse**	**Arguments**
1.1 No knowledge							
1.2 Ignorance							
2. **Responsibility**							
2.1 Horizontal							
2.2 Vertical							
3. **Causal excuse**							
3.1 Alternative							
3.2 Null cause		1	2 (1)			**2**	**3**
4. **Volition**							
4.1 Compulsion							
4.2 Impairment		1				**1**	**1**
5. **Agency**							
5.1 Joint production							
5.2 Amnesia							
6. **Mitigation**							
6.1 Scapegoat							
6.2 Sad tale							
6.3 Present adverse conditions			1		1	**2**	**2**
6.4 Past adverse conditions							
TOTAL: Excuse		**2**	**2**		**1**	**5**	
Arguments		**2**	**3**		**1**		**6**

Interview 2

Reproach 1.1

The child support grant:

Justification:

One justification has been used: minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal to present benefits (one argument has been tendered in support of this)

Excuse:

Only one excuse has been used: mitigation of blame: present adverse conditions (two arguments have been given in support of this.

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.1 of interview 2:

a. *Effectiveness*:

Both accounts that have been used are the least effective accounts because they have a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach both the positive (minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefits) and negative (mitigation of the blame through an appeal on present adverse conditions)

b. *Argumentation:*

The accounts used are both not very persuasive because they have a low number of arguments that have been given in support of them, i.e. one and two respectively.

c. *Politeness:*

The most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences by appealing to present benefits.

The least threatening account with the high level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse of the mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions.

Reproach 1.2.

The disability grant:

*Justification***:**

Higher values through societal fairness (one reason has been tendered in support of this)

Excuse:

Two excuses have been used:

Causal excuse with focus on the null cause is the excuse (one reason has been tendered in support)

Mitigation of blame through appealing to past adverse conditions (one reason has been given in support of this)

Denial:

One denial has been used.

Concession:

The interviewee has conceded only once.

Overview of reproach 1.2 of interview 2:

a. Effectiveness:

The most effective accounts: concession and the null causal excuse in which the interviewee argues that the act in question was not his job and thus providing an external source which should bear causality for the failure.

Least effective accounts: denial. Mitigation of blame through past adverse conditions is ineffective mainly because of its narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

Both accounts are not very persuasive because they have the lowest number of reasons that have been given in their support, i.e. one reason for each account.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used the least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face: concession and the excuse with focus on the null cause.

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the account of denial.

Reproach 1.3
Old-age grant:

Justification:
Minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal on present benefits (two reasons have been tendered in support of this)

Excuse:
Two types of excuse have been used:

a. 2 causal excuses with focus on the null cause (three arguments have been given in support of this)
b. mitigation of the blame through present adverse conditions (three arguments have been given in support) and past adverse conditions (one argument has been given in support of this)

Denial:
One denial has been used.

Concession:
Only one concession has been given.

Overview of reproach 1.3 of interview 2:

a. Effectiveness:

Concession and the null causal excuse are the most effective accounts because concession acknowledges the failure and the right to reproach whereas the null causal excuse provides a source which should bear causality as well as responsibility for the failure event.

The least effective accounts: denial and an excuse that mitigates the blame through past adverse conditions as well as the justification of the minimization of undesirable consequences through present benefits because they have a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

The excuse of the mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions and that of the null causes are the most persuasive accounts because a high number of reasons have been given in its support, i.e. three arguments respectively.

All the other accounts are least persuasive because they have the lowest number of arguments that are given in their support.

c. Politeness:

The most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face are denial and the justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences by appealing to the present benefits.

The least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face are the concession and the excuse of the null causes and mitigation of blame through present as well as past adverse conditions.

Reproach 1.4
The old-age centers:

Justification:
Two justifications have been used:

a. Comparisons with focus on differentiation (one reason is given in support)
b. Derogation of victim in which the accuser is attacked (one argument is given in support of this)

Excuse:
Two types of excuse have been used:

a. Defeasibility: plea of ignorance (one argument has been given in support)
b. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (three arguments have been given in support)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.4 of interview 2:

a. Effectiveness:

The excuse of defeasibility through a plea of ignorance is the most effective account.

Least effective accounts are the two justifications; comparison through differentiation and derogation of victim in which the victim is attacked as well as the excuse that mitigates the blame through present adverse conditions.

b. Argumentation:

The excuse that mitigates the blame by appealing to present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because of the high number of reasons that have been tendered in its support, i.e. three arguments.

The other accounts; excuse of defeasibility through a plea of ignorance, the justification of comparison through differentiation and the justification of the derogation of victim by attacking the accuser are the least persuasive because of the lowest number of arguments that are provided in their support.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the high level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of comparison with focus on differentiation and mostly the justification of derogation of victim in which the accuser is attacked.

Least threatening accounts with the high level of mitigation against the accuser's face are the two excuses, the one on defeasibility through a plea of ignorance and the one that mitigates the blame by appealing to present adverse conditions.

Reproach 2
Poverty alleviation programs:

Justification:
Minimization of the negative consequences through present benefits (two arguments have been given in support of this)

Excuse:

Two types of excuse have been used:

a. Agency: joint production (one argument has been given in support)

b. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (six arguments have been given in support of this)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2 of interview 2:

a. Effectiveness:

All the accounts that have been used are the least effective because they all focus on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

The excuse of the mitigation of blame by appealing to present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because it has the highest number of arguments that have been tendered in its support.

The other accounts are least persuasive because they have given the lowest number of arguments in support of them.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the high level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification that minimizes the undesirable consequences through an appeal on present benefits.

Lest threatening account with the high level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse that minimizes the blame through present adverse conditions and the excuse of agency in which the interviewee claims that the act was a joint production.

INTERVIEW 2

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMNETS					TOTAL	
. **Minimization**	**1.1**	**1.2**	**1.3**	**1.4**	**2**	**Justification**	**Arguments**
1.1 Present benefits	1		2 (1)		2 (1)	**3**	**5**
1.2 <u>Future benefits</u>							
2. **Self-fulfillment**							
2.1 Self-development							
2.2 <u>Self-fulfillment</u>							
3. **Derogation of victim**							
3.1 Reciprocity							
3.2 Derogation of victim							
3.3 <u>Attack the accuser</u>				1		**1**	**1**
4. **Comparisons**							
4.1 Differentiation				1		**1**	**1**
4.2 <u>Past negative circumstances</u>							
5. **Higher authority**							
5.1 Loyalty							
5.2 <u>Higher authority</u>							
6. **Higher values**							
6.1 Fairness							
6.2 Facework		1				**1**	**1**
6.3 <u>Transcendence</u>							
TOTAL: Justification							
Arguments	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**6**	
	1	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**		**8**

INTERVIEW 2

EXCUSE	PREPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMNETS					TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2	**Excuse**	**Arguments**
1.1 No knowledge							
1.2 Ignorance				1		**1**	**1**
2. **Responsibility**							
2.1 Horizontal							
2.2 Vertical							
3. **Causal excuse**							
3.1 Alternative							
3.2 Null cause		1	3 (2)			**3**	**4**
4. **Volition**							
4.1 Compulsion							
4.2 Impairment							
5. **Agency**							
5.1 Joint production				1		**1**	**1**
5.2 Amnesia							
6. **Mitigation**							
6.1 Scapegoat							
6.2 Sad tale							
6.3 Present adverse conditions	2 (1)		3 (1)	3 (1)	6 (1)	**4**	**14**
6.4 Past adverse conditions		1	1			**2**	**2**
TOTAL: Excuse	**1**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**2**	**11**	
Arguments	**2**	**2**	**7**	**4**	**7**		**22**

Interview 3

Reproach 1.1 A:

The child support grant:

Justification:

Three types of justification have been used:

a. Comparisons to past negative circumstances (one argument has been given in support)

b. Minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefits (three reasons have been tendered in support of this)

c. Higher values with focus on fairness x 2 (four arguments have been given ins support of this)

Excuse:

Two types of excuse have been used:

a. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions x 2 (six arguments have been given in its support)

b. Causal excuse with focus on null cause (two arguments have been given in support of this)

Denial:

One denial has been used.

Concession:

One concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.1 A of interview 3:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: concession as well as the justification of higher values with focus on societal fairness is the most effective account because it argues that the situation should be viewed differently for the benefit of the larger societal benefit. This is followed by the excuse that focuses on the null cause because it provides a source that should bear causality of the act in question.

Least effective account: denial because it denies the act in question and the right to reproach and the other two accounts are least effective because they have a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach both negative (mitigation of blame through an appeal on present benefits) and positive (minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefits and comparison to past negative circumstances)

b. Argumentation:

The excuse of mitigation through an appeal on present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because of the high number of arguments that have been given in its support, i.e. six arguments.

All the other accounts are least persuasive because they have given a low number of arguments in their support.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used both the most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face through justifications and mainly denial.

The least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face has been employed through concession, the causal excuse with focus on null causes.

Reproach 1.2:
The disability grant:

Justification:
Three types of justification have been used:
a. Minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefits (2) (five arguments have been given in support of it)
b. Derogation of victim in which the accuser is attacked (one argument is given in support)
c. Higher authority by appealing to higher authorities (one argument is provided in support of this)

Excuse and denial:
No excuse or denial has been used.

Concession:

Two concessions have been used.

Overview of reproach 1.2 of interview 3:

a. Effectiveness:

Concession is the most effective account because it acknowledges the blame and the right to reproach.

Justification of the minimization of undesirable consequences is the least effective account because of its narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

The justification of the minimization of undesirable consequences through an appeal to present benefits is the most persuasive account because it has a high number of reasons that have been given in its support, i.e. five reasons. The account of concession is the least persuasive because it has a low number of reasons in its support.

c. Politeness:

Least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the concession because it lessens the amount of face threat through the acknowledgment of the blame and the reproacher's right to reproach.

Most threatening account with the high level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of the minimization of blame by arguing that there are actually benefits associated with the situation in question, the justification of the derogation of victim in which the accuser is attacked and the justification that appeals to higher authorities.

Reproach 1.3:
The old-age grant:

Justification:
Two justifications have been used:

a. Minimization of blame through present benefits (3 times) (five arguments have been given in support)

b. Comparison through differentiation (one argument has been given in support)

Excuse:

Two types of excuse have been used:

a. Causal excuse with focus on null cause (twice) (three arguments have been provided in support of this)

b. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (twice) (seven arguments have been tendered in support)

Denial:

One denial has been used.

Concession:

Two concessions have been used with two arguments.

Overview of reproach 1.3 of interview 3:

a. Effectiveness:

Concession is the most effective account followed by the excuse of the null cause because it provides a source that should bear causality for the failure event.

The least effective accounts: denial and the other three accounts because they have a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach both negative (mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions) and positive (minimization of blame through present benefits and comparison through differentiation)

b. Argumentation:

The excuse of the mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because it has the highest number of reasons that have been tendered in its support, i.e. seven arguments.

All the other accounts are least persuasive because they have the lowest number of arguments given in their support.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal that there are present benefits and denial.

Least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the concession and the excuses of null cause and the one that mitigates the blame through present adverse conditions.

Reproach 1.4:
Care of older people: there are very few old-age centers and are not in good condition:

Justification:
Two types of justification have been used:
a. Minimization of undesirable consequences through present benefits (one argument has been given in support) and future benefits (two arguments have been given in support of this)
b. Higher authority: higher authorities (one argument is given in support)

Excuse:
Two types of excuse have been used:
    a. Causal excuse with focus on the null cause (one argument has been given in support)
    b. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (two arguments have been given in support of this)

Denial and concession:
No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.4 of interview 3:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: the excuse with focus on the null cause is the most effective because it provides another course separate from the interviewee which should bear causality for the failure event in question.

Least effective accounts: the justification that appeals to higher authorities; the justification of minimization of blame and the excuse of the mitigation of blame because they both have a narrow focus based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

All the accounts that have been used are least persuasive because they have tendered a very low number of reasons in their support.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face are the justifications that have been used.

Least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the use of an excuse because it has a potential to lessen the amount of face threat.

Reproach 2:
Poverty alleviation projects/programs:

Justification:
Only one justification has been used: the minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal that there are present benefits (seven arguments have been tendered in support of this)

Excuse:
One excuse has been used: mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (three arguments have been given in support)

Denial and concession:
No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2 of interview 3:

a. Effectiveness:

The interviewee has used only the least effective accounts because they have a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach both negative

(mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions) and positive (minimization of the unfavorable consequences through present benefits)

b. Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: justification of the minimization of undesirable consequences through present benefits because it has tendered the highest number of reasons in its support, i.e. seven reasons.

Least persuasive account is the excuse that mitigates the blame through present adverse conditions because of the low number of arguments that have been given its support, i.e. two arguments.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification of the minimization of the unfavorable consequences by appealing to present benefits.

Least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse of the mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions.

INTERVIEW 3

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMNETS					TOTAL	
. **Minimization**	**1.1**	**1.2**	**1.3**	**1.4**	**2**	**Justification**	**Arguments**
1.1 Present benefits	1	5 (2)	5 (3)	1	7 (1)	**8**	**19**
1.2 Future benefits				2 (1)		**1**	**2**
2. **Self-fulfillment**							
2.1 Self-development							
2.2 Self-fulfillment							
3. **Derogation of victim**							
3.1 Reciprocity							
3.2 Attack the accuser		1				**1**	**1**
4. **Comparisons**							
4.1 Differentiation			1			**1**	**1**
4.2 Past negative circumstances	1					**1**	**1**
5. **Higher authority**							
5.1 Loyalty							
5.2 Higher authority		1		1		**2**	**2**
6. **Higher values**							
6.1 Fairness	3 (2)					**2**	**3**
6.2 Facework							
6.3 Transcendence							
TOTAL: Justification	**4**	**4**	**4**	**3**	**1**	**16**	
Arguments	**5**	**7**	**6**	**4**	**7**		**29**

INTERVIEW 3

EXCUSE	PREPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMNETS					TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	**1.1**	**1.2**	**1.3**	**1.4**	**2**	**Excuse**	**Arguments**
1.1 No knowledge					3 (1)	**1**	**3**
1.2 Ignorance							
2. **Responsibility**							
2.1 Horizontal							
2.2 Vertical							
3. **Causal excuse**							
3.1 Alternative							
3.2 Null cause	2 (1)		3 (2)	1		**4**	**6**
4. **Volition**							
4.1 Compulsion							
4.2 Impairment							
5. **Agency**							
5.1 Joint production							
5.2 Amnesia							
6. **Mitigation**							
6.1 Scapegoat							
6.2 Sad tale							
6.3 Present adverse conditions	6 (3)		7 (2)	2 (1)		**6**	**15**
6.4 Past adverse conditions							
TOTAL: Excuse	**4**		**4**	**2**	**1**	**11**	
Arguments	**8**		**10**	**3**	**3**		**24**

Interview 4

Reproach 1.1:

The child support grant:

Justification:

One justification: minimization of undesirable consequences through future benefits (two reasons have been given in support)

Excuse:

One excuse has been used: responsibility through vertical diffusion of responsibility (argument has been given in support)

Denial:

No denial has been used.

Concession:

Two concessions have been used.

Overview of reproach 1.1 of interview 4:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account that has been used is concession because it acknowledges the blame and the right to reproach.

Least effective accounts: justification that minimizes the unfavorable consequences by arguing that there will be future benefits and the excuse that vertically diffuses responsibility.

b. Argumentation:

All the accounts that have been used are least effective because of the low number of arguments that have been given in their support.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against accuser's face is the justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences through future benefits.

Least effective accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face are concession and the excuse that mitigates the blame through present adverse conditions.

Reproach 1.2:

The disability grant:

Justification and denial:

No justification or denial has been used.

Excuse:

Two types of excuse have been used:

a. Causal excuse with focus on null cause (three times) (four reasons have been tendered in support of this)

b. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (four arguments have been given in support)

Concession:

One concession has been given.

Overview of reproach 1.2 of interview 4:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: concession and the excuse with focus on the null causes because it provides a source that should bear causality and take responsibility for the failure event in question.

Least effective account is the excuse that mitigates the blame through an appeal to present adverse conditions because of its focus on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: both excuses that have been used are persuasive because of the high number of reasons that have been provided in their support, i.e. four reasons respectively.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used only the least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face which are the concession and the excuses that appeal to null causes and the one that mitigates the blame through present adverse conditions.

Reproach 1.3:
The old-age grant:

Justification:
Only one justification has been used: minimization of undesirable consequences through present benefits (one argument has been given in support)

Excuse:
Three excuses have been used:
   a. Causal excuse with focus on the null cause (twice) (three arguments have been given in support of this)
   b. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (three times) (ten arguments have been provided in support of this)
   c. Vertical diffusion of responsibility (one reason is given in support)

Denial:
No denial has been used.

Concession:
One concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.3 of interview 4:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: concession and the causal excuse with focus on null cause.

Least effective account: the justification of the minimization of undesirable consequences through present benefits and the excuses of the mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions and that of the diffusion of responsibility.

b. Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the excuse of the mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions because of the highest number of reasons that are tendered in its support, i.e. ten reasons.

Least effective account: all the other accounts that have been used are least persuasive because of the lowest number of arguments that have been given in their support.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification that has been used; minimization of the negative consequences.

Least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face are concession and the excuses used; vertical diffusion of responsibility, null causal excuse and the mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions.

Reproach 1.4:
The old-age centers:

Justification:
Only one justification has been used: minimization of the unfavorable consequences through an appeal that there present benefits (one reason has been given in support)

Excuse:
Two excuses have been used:
a. Causal excuse with focus on the null cause (one argument has been given in support)
b. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (three arguments have been tendered in support of this)

Denial and concession:
No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.4 of interview 4:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: causal excuse of the null cause because it provides a source that should take responsibility and bear causality for the failure event.

Least effective accounts: the justification of the minimization of the unfavorable consequences through present benefits and the excuse of the mitigation if blame through present adverse conditions because they have a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

All the accounts that have been used are least persuasive because of the low number of arguments given in their support.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification that has been used.

Least threatening account with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the use of the two excuses because an excuse has a potential to lessen the amount of face threat against the listener.

Reproach 2:
Poverty alleviation projects/programs:

Justification, excuse and concession:
No justification, excuse or concession has been used.

Denial:
One denial has been used.

Overview of reproach 2 of interview 4:

a. Effectiveness:

The interviewee has used the least effective account, denial of the reproach and the right to reproach.

b. Argumentation:

This account is least persuasive because no reasons have been given in support of it.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used only the most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face through denial.

INTERVIEW 4

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMNETS					TOTAL	
. **Minimization**	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2	Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits			1	1		2	2
1.2 Future benefits	2 (1)					1	2
2. **Self-fulfillment**							
2.1 Self-development							
2.2 Self-fulfillment							
3. **Derogation of victim**							
3.1 Reciprocity							
3.2 Derogation of victim							
3.3 Attack the accuser							
4. **Comparisons**							
4.1 Differentiation							
4.2 Social comparison							
4.3 Past negative circumstances							
5. **Higher authority**							
5.1 Loyalty							
5.2 Higher authority							
6. **Higher values**							
6.1 Fairness							
6.2 Facework							
6.3 Transcendence							
TOTAL: Justification	1		1	1		3	
Arguments	2		1	1			4

INTERVIEW 4

EXCUSE	PREPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMNETS					TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2	Excuse	Arguments
1.1 No knowledge							
1.2 Ignorance							
2. **Responsibility**							
2.1 Horizontal							
2.2 Vertical	1		1			2	2
3. **Causal excuse**							
3.1 Alternative							
3.2 Null cause		4 (3)	3 (2)	1		6	8
4. **Volition**							
4.1 Compulsion							
4.2 Impairment							
5. **Agency**							
5.1 Joint production							
5.2 Amnesia							
6. **Mitigation**							
6.1 Scapegoat							
6.2 Sad tale							
6.3 Present adverse conditions		4 (1)	10 (3)	3 (1)		5	17
6.4 Past adverse conditions							
TOTAL: Excuse	1	4	6	2		13	
Arguments	1	8	14	4			27

Interview 5

Reproach 1.1:

The child support grant:

Justification:

No justification has been used.

Excuse:

Two excuses have been used:

a. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (twice) (five reasons have been given in support) and past adverse conditions (one reason in support)

b. Causal excuse with focus on null cause (one argument is given in support)

Denial:

One denial has been used.

Concession:

One concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.1 of interview 5:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: concession as well as the causal excuse with focus on the null cause.

Least effective account: denial and the excuse of the mitigation of blame through present and past adverse conditions because it has a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the excuse that mitigates the blame through present adverse conditions because of the high number of reasons that have been tendered in its support, i.e. five reasons.

Least persuasive account: all the other three accounts, denial, concession and causal excuse of the null cause because low number of arguments has been given in their support, i.e. one.

c. Politeness:

Most threatening account with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the denial that has been used.

Among the least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face are the concession and the two excuses that have been used.

Reproach 1.2:
The disability grant:

Justification and denial:
No justification or denial has been used.

Excuse:
Two types of excuse have been used:
a. Causal excuse with focus on null cause (twice) (two arguments have been given in support)
b. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions(twice0 (eight reasons have been tendered in support of this)

Concession:
One concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.2 of interview 5:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: concession and the null causal excuse in which a source external to the interviewee is introduced to bear causality and take responsibility for the act in question.

Least effective account: the excuse of the mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions because of its narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the excuse with focus on the mitigation of the blame through an appeal on present adverse conditions is the most persuasive because of the high number of reasons that have been provided in its support, i.e. eight reasons.

Least persuasive account: all the other accounts that have been used are least persuasive because they have provided a low number of arguments in their support.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used only the least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face through concession and the excuses which somehow have a potential to lessen the amount of face threat against the accuser.

Reproach 1.3:
The old-age grant:

Justification:
Two justifications have been used:
a. Minimization of the undesirable consequences through present benefits (twice) (two arguments have been given in support) and future benefits
b. Derogation of victim through attacking the accuser (one arguments has been given in support)

Excuse:
Two excuses have been used:
a. Causal excuse of the null cause (three times) (three arguments have been given in support of this)
b. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (three times) (five reasons have been provided in support) and past adverse conditions (one argument has been given in support)

Denial:
No denial has been used.

Concession:
One concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.3 of interview 5:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: concession and the null causal excuse where the interviewee claims that the job was not his and then introduces a source external to him as one responsible for the act in question.

Least effective account: the justification of the derogation of victim in which the accuser is attacked as well as the other two accounts which have a focus that is based on the consequences of the reproach both positive (minimization of undesirable consequences through present benefits) and negative (mitigation of blame through present and past adverse conditions)

b. Argumentation:

Most persuasive account: the excuse of the mitigation of blame through an appeal on present adverse conditions is the most persuasive because it has provided a high number of reasons in its support, i.e. five reasons.

Least persuasive account: all the other accounts that have been used in response to this reproach are least persuasive because of the low number of arguments that they provided in their support.

c. Politeness:

Least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face are the concession and the excuses that have been used because they lessen the amount of face threat against the accuser's face.

The justification that has been used is the most threatening account with the high level of aggravation against the accuser's face.

Reproach 1.4:
The old-age centers:

Justification and denial:
No justification or denial has been used.

Excuse:

Two excuses have been used:

a. Mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions (three reasons have been tendered in support of this)

b. Causal excuse of the null cause (one argument has been given in support)

Concession:

One concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 1.4 of interview 5:

a. Effectiveness:

Most effective account: concession and the null causal excuse because it provides a source that should bear causality and take responsibility for the failure event in question.

Least effective account: the excuse that mitigates the blame through present adverse conditions because of its narrow focus which is based on the negative consequences of the reproach.

b. Argumentation:

The excuse with focus on the mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because of the high number of arguments that have been tendered in its support, i.e. three arguments.

The other two accounts are least persuasive because they have given a low number of arguments in their support.

c. Politeness:

The interviewee has used only the least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser's face through concession and excuses.

Reproach 2:
Poverty alleviation projects/programs:

Justification:

One justification has been used: minimization of the undesirable consequences through future benefits (one argument has been given in support)

Excuse:

The excuse with focus on mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions is the only excuse that has been used (five arguments have been given in support)

Denial and concession:

No denial or concession has been used.

Overview of reproach 2 of interview 5:

a. Effectiveness:

The interviewee has used only the least effective accounts because they have a narrow focus which is based on the consequences of the reproach both negative (mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions) and positive (minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal that there will be future benefits)

b. Argumentation:

The excuse of the mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions is the most persuasive account because of the high number of reasons that have been tendered in its support, i.e. five reasons.

Justification that minimizes the unfavorable consequences is least persuasive because it has provided the lowest number of reasons in support of it.

c. Politeness:

The least threatening account with the high level of mitigation against the accuser's face is the excuse that has been used.

The most threatening account with the high level of aggravation against the accuser's face is the justification that has been used.

INTERVIEW 5

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMNETS					TOTAL	
. **Minimization**	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2	Justification	Arguments
1.1 Present benefits			2 (2)			2	2
1.2 Future benefits			1		1	2	2
2. **Self-fulfillment**							
2.1 Self-development							
2.2 Self-fulfillment							
3. **Derogation of victim**							
3.1 Reciprocity							
3.2 Attack the accuser			1			1	1
4. **Comparisons**							
4.1 Differentiation							
4.2 Social comparison							
4.3 Past negative circumstances							
5. **Higher authority**							
5.1 Loyalty							
5.2 Higher authority							
6. **Higher values**							
6.1 Fairness							
6.2 Facework							
6.3 Transcendence							
TOTAL: Justification							
Arguments			4		1	5	
			4		1		5

INTERVIEW 5

EXCUSE	PREPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMNETS					TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2	Excuse	Arguments
1.1 No knowledge							
1.2 Ignorance							
2. **Responsibility**							
2.1 Horizontal							
2.2 Vertical							
3. **Causal excuse**							
3.1 Alternative							
3.2 Null cause	1	2 (2)	3 (3)	1		7	7
4. **Volition**							
4.1 Compulsion							
4.2 Impairment							
5. **Agency**							
5.1 Joint production							
5.2 Amnesia							
6. **Mitigation**							
6.1 Scapegoat							
6.2 Sad tale							
6.3 Present adverse conditions	5 (2)	8 (2)	5 (3)	3 (1)	5 (1)	9	26
6.4 Past adverse conditions	1		1			2	2
TOTAL: Excuse	**4**	**4**	**7**	**2**	**1**	**18**	
Arguments	**7**	**10**	**9**	**4**	**5**		**35**

5.4.2.2 Summary of the Interviewee:

Interviewee	Concession	Excuse	Denial	Justification	TOTAL
1	__	5 (6)	1	7 (13)	13 (19)
2	3	11 (22)	2	6 (8)	22 (32)
3	4	11 (24)	2	16 (29)	33 (53)
4	4	13 (27)	1	3 (4)	20 (31)
5	4	18 (35)	1	5 (5)	23 (40)

Concessions and denials:

The interviewees have conceded a considerable number of reproaches especially interviewees 2, 3, 4 and 5 who have used almost the equal number which is 4 and 3. The use of concession is considered as a sign of politeness. The interviewees have not denied many of the reproaches that have been leveled against them.

Justification:
Interview 1 has seven justifications and thirteen arguments.
Interview 2 has six justifications and eight arguments.
Interview 3 has sixteen justifications and twenty-nine arguments.
Interview 4 has three justifications and four arguments.
Interview 5 has five justifications and five arguments.

Effectiveness:
Interviewee 3 is the most effective judging by the number of justifications that have been used. Interviewee 3 has sixteen justifications. The other interviewees are not as effective because they have used a low number of justifications.

Argumentation:
Interviewee 3 is the best in terms of argumentation because of the high number of arguments that have been tendered in support of the justifications that have been used. This interviewee is followed by interviewee 1 with thirteen arguments that have been given in support of the seven justifications that have been used.

Politeness:
In terms of politeness, interviewee 3 is still the best because he has gone out of his way to satisfy the interviewer as a result he has used more justifications and

provided more arguments in support of them, i.e. sixteen justifications and twenty-nine arguments.

Excuse:

Interview 1 has five excuses and six arguments.

Interview 2 has eleven excuses and twenty-two arguments.

Interview 3 has eleven excuses and twenty-four arguments.

Interview 4 has thirteen excuses and twenty-seven arguments.

Interview 5 has eighteen excuses and thirty-five arguments.

Effectiveness:

Interviewee 5 has given the most effective interview because he has used more excuses, i.e. eighteen.

Argumentation:

The best interview in terms of argumentation is of interviewee 5 because of the highest number of arguments that have been tendered in support of the eighteen excuses that have been used, i.e. thirty-five arguments.

Politeness:

The most polite interviewee with regard to the number of excuses and arguments given is no. 5; eighteen excuses and thirty-five arguments.

5.4.2.3 The interviewee:

Effectiveness:

The most effective: interviewee no.3 is the most effective because he has used thirty-three accounts and fifty-three arguments in support of them.

Argumentation:

Interviewee no.3 is the most persuasive because he has tendered more reasons in support of the accounts he used. He gave a total of fifty-three arguments.

Politeness:

Interviewee no.3 is the most polite with regard to the number of accounts and arguments provided, i.e. thirty-three accounts and fifty-three arguments.

However, interviewees 5, 4, 3 and 2 are the most polite with regard to positive accounts used:

- ➢ No.5 has eighteen excuses (thirty-five arguments) and four concessions.
- ➢ No.4 has thirteen excuses (twenty-seven arguments) and four concessions.
- ➢ No.3 has eleven excuses (twenty-four arguments) and four concessions.
- ➢ No.2 has eleven excuses (twenty-two arguments) and three concessions.

Interviewee no.3 is also the most impolite with regard to the negative accounts used:

- ➢ Sixteen justifications (twenty-nine arguments) and two denials.

5.4.2.4 Judgment of interviews:

Interviewee no.3 provided the best interview because he has managed to maintain balance between the highly aggravating accounts and the highly mitigating accounts, i.e. fifteen highly mitigating accounts and eighteen highly aggravating accounts which give a total of thirty-three accounts. The interviewee also went out of his way to satisfy the interviewer because he has tendered fifty-three arguments in support of the thirty-three accounts used. The reason for this balance could be that the interviewee is a good diplomat as a result he knows just how to play his cards right whilst trying to avoid bad judgment.

Interviewee no. 5 has used twenty-three accounts and tendered forty arguments in support of them.

Interviewee no2 and 4 are almost the same with twenty-two and twenty accounts and thirty-two and thirty arguments respectively.

Interviewee no.1 has used thirteen accounts and provided nineteen arguments in support of them.

5.4.3 SUMMARY OF JUSTIFICATIONS AND REPROACHES [ALL INTERVIEWS OF DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT]

JUSTIFICATION	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMNETS					TOTAL	
1. Minimization	**1.1**	**1.2**	**1.3**	**1.4**	**2**	**Justification**	**Arguments**
1.1 Present benefits	4 (2)	5 (2)	10 (7)	2 (2)	12 (3)	**16**	**33**
1.2 Future benefits	3 (2)		3 (1)	4 (2)	3 (2)	**7**	**13**
2. Self-fulfillment							
2.1 Self-development							
2.2 Self-fulfillment							
3. Derogation of victim							
3.1 Reciprocity							
3.2Attack the accuser	1	1	1	1		**4**	**4**
4. Comparisons							
4.1 Differentiation			1	1		**2**	**2**
4.2 Past negative circumstances	1					**1**	**1**
5. Higher authority							
5.1 Loyalty							
5.2 Higher authority		1				**1**	**1**
6. Higher values							
6.1 Fairness	4 (2)	1				**3**	**5**
6.2 Facework							
6.3 Transcendence				1		**1**	**1**
7. Bolstering							
TOTAL: Justification	**8**	**5**	**10**	**7**	**5**	**35**	
Arguments	**13**	**8**	**15**	**9**	**15**		**60**

EXCUSE	REPROACH AND NUMBER OF ARGUMNETS					TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	**1.1**	**1.2**	**1.3**	**1.4**	**2**	**Excuse**	**Arguments**
1.1 No knowledge							
1.2 Ignorance		1		1		2	2
2. **Responsibility**							
2.1 Horizontal							
2.2 Vertical	1		1			2	2
3. **Causal excuse**							
3.1 Alternative							
3.2 Null cause	3 (2)	8 (7)	14 (10)	3 (3)		22	28
4. **Volition**							
4.1 Compulsion							
4.2 Impairment		1				1	1
5. **Agency**							
5.1 Joint production				1		1	1
5.2 Amnesia							
6. **Mitigation**							
6.1 Scapegoat							
6.2 Sad tale							
6.3 Present adverse conditions	12 (6)	12 (3)	27 (10)	11 (4)	15 (4)	27	77
6.4 Past adverse conditions	1	1	2 (2)			4	4
TOTAL: Excuse	**10**	**13**	**23**	**8**	**5**	**59**	
Arguments	**17**	**23**	**44**	**15**	**16**		**114**

5.4.3.2. The reproaches:

Reproach 1.1

There are problems concerning child support grant: it is seen as encouraging young girls to fall pregnant and it does not seem to be serving the purpose it is intended for:

Justifications in reproach 1.1:
Five justifications have been used in reproach 1.1
1. Derogation of victim: attack the accuser (one)
2. Minimization: future benefits (two)
3. Minimization: present benefits (two)
4. Comparisons: past negative circumstances (one)
5. Higher values: fairness (one)

Excuses in reproach 1.1:
Three types of excuse have been used.
1. Mitigation: present adverse conditions (six) past adverse conditions (one)
2. Causal excuse: null cause (two)
3. Responsibility: vertical diffusion (one)

Denials in reproach 1.1:
Two denials have been used.

Concessions in reproach 1.1:
Four concessions have been used. In this reproach

Reproach 1.2:
There are problems with the disability grant: those who deserve it do not benefit from it and there are people who benefit even though they are not disabled. The grant is also being mismanaged in the sense that there are disabled people who are working, earning a descent salary and still benefit from the grant:

Justifications in reproach 1.2:
Four justifications have been used.

1. Minimization: present benefits (two)
2. Higher values: fairness (one)
3. Derogation of victim: attack accuser (one)

4. Higher authority: higher authorities (one)

Excuses in reproach 1.2

Three types of excuses have bee used in this reproach:

1. Causal excuse: null cause (seven)

2. Mitigation: present adverse conditions (three) and past adverse conditions (one)

3. Volition: impairment (one)

4. defeasibility: ignorance (one)

Denials in reproach 1.2:

One denial has been used.

Concessions in reproach 1.2:

The interviewees have conceded five times in this reproach.

Reproach 1.3:

Old-age grant: pensioners are treated inhumanely in the pay-points, some are removed from the beneficiaries' list without notification and there is mismanagement of the grant because there are those who are deceased, but the money is still be issued on their behalf:

Justifications in reproach 1.3:

Three justifications have been used in this reproach:

1. Minimization: present benefits (seven) and future benefits (one)

2. Derogation of victim: attack accuser (one)

3. Comparison: differentiation (one)

Excuse in reproach 1.3:

Three excuses have been used in this reproach:

1. Mitigation: present adverse conditions (ten) and past adverse conditions (two)

2. Causal excuse: null cause (ten)

3. Responsibility: vertical diffusion (one)

Denials in reproach 1.3:

Two denials have been used in this reproach.

Concessions in reproach 1.3:

Five concessions have been used.

Reproach 1.4:

There are very few old-age centers and pensioners have to pay for their stay in these centers.

Justifications in reproach 1.4:

Five types of justification have been used in this reproach:

1. Minimization: future benefits (two) and present benefits (two)
2. Higher authority: higher authorities (one)
3. Comparisons: differentiation (one)
4. Higher values: transcendence (one)
5. Derogation of victim: attack accuser (one)

Excuse in reproach 1.4:

Three excuses have been used in this reproach:

1. Defeasibility: ignorance (one)
2. Mitigation: present adverse conditions (four)
3. causal excuse: null cause (three)

Denials in reproach 1.4:

No denials have been used in this reproach.

Concessions in reproach 1.4:

One concession has been used in this reproach.

Reproach 2:

There are poverty alleviation programs but they are not accessible to the people:

Justifications in reproach 2:

Only one justification has been used in this reproach:

1. Minimization: present benefits (three) and future benefits (two)

Excuse in reproach 2:

Two types of excuse have been used:

1. Mitigation: present adverse conditions (four)
2. Agency: joint production (one)

Denials in reproach 2:

One denial has been used.

Concessions in reproach 2:

No concession has been used in this reproach.

Summary of justifications in reproaches:

The justification with focus on the minimization of the undesirable consequences through an appeal of present and future benefits seems to be the most popular response to the reproaches.

Summary of excuses in reproaches:

The excuse that mitigates the blame through an appeal on present adverse conditions and the causal excuse with focus on the null cause are the only types of excuse that have been frequently used in response to the reproaches.

5.4.3.3 Summary of reproaches:

ACCOUNT	REPROACHES				
	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	2
Concession	4	5	5	1	—
Excuse	10	13	23	8	5
Denial	2	1	2	1	1
Justification	8	6	11	8	5
TOTAL	24	25	41	17	11

Reaction against reproaches:

Most reaction: reproach 1.3 has received more reaction from the interviewees, i.e. forty-one because the issue of old-age grant is quite a touchy subject especially when it comes to infrastructure and other resources in the pay-points and the issue of "ghost" pensioners (those that are deceased but their pensions are still being paid out).

Less reaction: Reproaches 1.2 and 1.1 have received little response from the interviewees 25 and 24 respectively because they somehow believe that all these

shortcomings are caused by the very same people of which they are intended to benefit.

Very little reaction: reproach 2 has received very little reaction, i.e. eleven (11) followed by reproach 1.4 with seventeen (17). The reason for this is probably due to the fact that the issue of old-age homes is something that the interviewees are not hands-on with as a result they do not even pay visits to the existing homes and this is the reason why they are tongue-tied. As far as reproach 1.4 is concerned, the poverty alleviation programs are almost non-existent, there is little that is being done about the very few that are in operation and it seems as if everything is still on paper and this is the reason why the interviewees had little to say about this problem.

5.4.3.4 Judgment of responses of reproaches:

Concessions: reproaches 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 have received a fair amount of concessions from the interviewees because they believe that there are indeed problems with social assistance grants hence they acknowledge the reproaches and the right to reproach. They acknowledge the fact that these grants are being mismanaged and many people are fraudulently benefiting from them.

Excuses: the hierarchy of excuse begins with reproach 1.3 with a total of 23 excuses followed by reproaches 1.2, 1.1 and 1.4 with 13, 10 and 8 excuses respectively. A very few number of excuses has been used in response to reproach 2, i.e. five (5) excuses only.

Denials: a very low number of denials have been used in response to all the reproaches, i.e. 1 denial for reproaches 1.2, 1.4 and 2 and 2 denials for reproaches 1.1 and 1.3. The two denials were used in response to the reproach that the child support grant is actually encouraging young to get pregnant so that they can get access to the grant and the reproach on old-age grant that some beneficiaries discover on pay-day that they have been removed from the list without notification even though they have been getting the grant.

Justification: reproaches 1.3, 1.1 and 1.4 with eleven, eight and eight respectively have been given more attention by the interviewees probably because they are dealing with social assistance grants which are being desecrated both by the public and allegedly by the departmental officials.

Overall judgment of reproaches:

Best response: reproach 1.4 is the best dealt with reproach because interviews managed to maintain some balance between the highly mitigating and the highly aggravating accounts used in response to them, i.e. nine mitigating accounts and nine aggravating accounts (see Table above). Reproach 3 falls under the category of the best responses even though there are more mitigating responses (28) and very few aggravating responses/ accounts (13)

Second best response: reproaches 1.1 and 1.2 are the second best dealt with reproaches, i.e. fourteen mitigating accounts that have been used and ten aggravating accounts used in response top the reproach for reproach 1.1 and eighteen mitigating accounts and seven aggravating responses for reproach 1.2 (see Table above).

Poorest quality of responses: reproach 2 is the poorest dealt with reproach because of the poor quality of responses as it has the lowest number of justifications and excuses that have been used by the interviewees in response to it, i.e. five only (see Table above)

5.4.4. THE ACCOUNT

5.4.4.1. SUMMARY OF JUSTIFICATIONS IN INTERVIEWS [DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT]

JUSTIFICATION	INTERVIEWS					
1. Minimization	1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
1.1 Present benefits	1	3	8	2	2	16
1.2 Future benefits	4		1	1	1	7 [23]
2. Self-fulfillment						
2.1 Self-development						
2.2 Self-fulfillment						
3. Derogation of victim						
3.1 Reciprocity						
3.2 Attack the accuser	1	1	1		1	4
4. Comparisons						
4.1 Differentiation		1	1			2
4.2 Past negative circumstances			1			1 [3]
5. Higher authority						
5.1 Loyalty						
5.2 Higher authority			2			2
6. Higher values						
6.1 Fairness		1	2			3
6.2 Transcendence	1					1
6.3 Facework						[4]
7. Bolstering						
TOTAL	7	6	16	3	4	36

SUMMARY OF EXCUSES IN INTERVIEWS

EXCUSES	INTERVIEWS					
1. **Defeasibility**	1	2	3	4	5	TOTAL
1.1 No knowledge						
1.2 Ignorance	1	1				**2**
2. **Responsibility**						
2.1 Horizontal						
2.2 Vertical				2		**2**
3. **Causal excuse**						
3.1 Alternative						
3.2 Null cause	2	3	4	6	7	**22**
4. **Volition**						
4.1 Compulsion						
4.2 Impairment	1					**1**
5. **Agency**						
5.1 Joint production		1				**1**
5.2 Amnesia						
6. **Mitigation**						
6.1 Scapegoat						
6.2 Sad tale						
6.3 Present adverse conditions	2	4	7	5	9	**27**
6.4 Past adverse conditions		2			2	**4** **[31]**
TOTAL:	6	11	11	13	18	59

5.4.4.2. The account:

Justifications:
Minimization of blame (23):

c. Present benefits (16)
d. Future benefits (7)

Minimization is the worst justification because it is the most threatening to the hearer's face, but according to the interviewees, this is their best justification. Minimization of the consequences that appeal to present benefits have been used 16 times and those that appeal to future benefits have been used 7 times giving a total of 23 minimizations/ justifications that reframe the consequences of the blame or failure event. What counts most here is that the interviewees have decided to employ more of minimization because they believe it is the best.

Self-fulfillment has not been used most probably because self-fulfillment refers to the desire to satisfy one's own needs, and the interviews are focused more on the departmental policies and their implementation. Thus, the use of self-fulfillment as an account is irrelevant.

Derogation of victim where the interviewee attacks the accuser has been used four times. This is a highly threatening strategy to the face of the accuser.

Comparisons (3)

c. Differentiation (2)
d. Past negative circumstance (1)

Higher authority through an appeal on higher authorities has been used only twice.

Higher values with focus on societal fairness have been used twice. This is the best justification because it tries to reframe moral principles in that different standards should be applied in evaluating the situation for the interest of the greater societal fairness.

Transcendence of higher values has been used once only.

Bolstering has not been used in any of the interviews probably because the reproaches are concerned with the policies and their implementation and not the individual(s) of which bolstering is concerned.

Most effective justification:

The best account is justification that "appeals to higher authority" and "higher values" with focus to societal fairness.

Excuses:
Defeasibility with focus on ignorance has been used once.
Responsibility with focus on vertical diffusion of responsibility has been used twice only.
Causal excuse with focus on the null cause has been used thirteen (22) times.
Mitigation of the blame has been used 31 times:

a. Present adverse conditions (27)
b. Past adverse conditions (4)

The mitigating excuses are the most popular excuses among politicians because they have been used 31 times. This is not a problem though because excuses are still considered polite because they pose very low level of face threat and also because they are employed mostly to preserve the accuser's face.

Volition with focus on impairment has been used once only.
Agency through an appeal on joint production has been used once by any of the interviewees.

Most effective excuse: The best excuses according to the interviewees are mitigation and causal excuses. They gave a total of 31 mitigating excuses and 22 "null causal excuses". Causal excuses are effective based on the fact that in reality one cannot be held responsible for something that is not his or her job and as a result this excuse is positively perceived. Excuses that focus on mitigating circumstances are more effective when they involve the past than the present. Past mitigating circumstances may be the reason for the problem and thus outside the control of the excuse-giver/ excuse. Moreover, mitigation happens to be the interviewees' best excuse and a typical political excuse because it somehow reflects people's understanding that real political decisions are constrained by external forces.

Denials:

There are seven denials that have been used.

Concessions:

There are fifteen concessions that have been used

5.4.4.3 The Summary of the Account:

ACCOUNT	INTERVIEW					TOTAL
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	
Concession	—	3	4	4	4	**15**
Excuse	6	11	11	13	18	**59**
Denial	1	2	2	1	1	**7**
Justification	7	6	16	3	4	**36**

Concessions: There are fifteen in total. All the interviewees have employed almost the equal number of concessions except for interviewee no. 1 who decided not to concede any of the reproaches.

Excuses: there are 59 excuses that have been used by interviewees (see Table above)

Denials: there are only seven denials and the interviewees employed almost the same number of denials. This is a fairly small number probably because interviewees were more concerned with preserving the face of the interviewer.

Justifications: there is a total of 36 justifications that have been used by the interviewees especially interviewee no. 3 who used sixteen justifications which is almost half of the justifications employed by all five interviewees.

5.4.4.4 Judgment of accounts:

Effectiveness:

Most effective account: justifications and excuses are the most effective accounts according to the interviewees because they have been used more often than the other denials and concessions, i.e. 59 excuses and 36 justifications. Excuses are dominant though.

Least effective account: According to the interviewees, denial and concession are not that effective because they have been employed lesser than excuses and justifications, i.e. seven and fifteen respectively. Concessions are better than denials which have been used less than a half of the concessions used.

Overall: There are four types of accounts that have been used by the interviewees: concession, excuse, denial and justification. In terms of effectiveness, excuses and concessions come first to be followed by justifications and denials as less effective.

Politeness:

The most threatening accounts with the highest level of aggravation against the accuser are denials and justifications. There are seven denials and thirty-six justifications, giving a total of forty-three aggravating accounts.

The least threatening accounts with the highest level of mitigation against the accuser are the fifteen concessions and fifty-nine excuses that have been used by the interviewees giving a total of seventy-four mitigating accounts.

5.5 OVERVIEW OF THE POLITICAL ACCOUNTS IN THE INTERVIEWS

The four types of accounts which have been consistently used in the interviews with the three departments, i.e. Education, Health and Social Development, will be compared below to establish what type of account is generally favored by all politicians who were involved in the interviews.

For this purpose, three tables have been drawn. Table 1 represents the justifications, Table 2 the excuses and Table 3 an overview of the four types of accounts. The tables will represent the actual number of accounts which have been used in each department as well as a percentage. Each table will then be analyzed with regard to firstly the vertical number of accounts in each department separately and secondly the horizontal number of accounts across the three departments.

Table 1:

JUSTIFICATIONS

JUSTIFICATION	Education		Health		Social Development		TOTAL	
1. **Minimization**	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.1 Present benefits	10	28.5	8	15.6	16	44.4%	34	27.8
1.2 Future benefits	8	22.8	22	43.1	7	19.4%	37	30.3
2. **Self-fulfillment**								
2.1 Self-development	1	2.8	___	___	___	___	1	0.8
2.2 Self-fulfillment	___	___	2	3.9	___	___	2	1.6
3. **Derogation of victim**								
3.1 Reciprocity	1	2.8	1	1.9	___	___	2	1.6
3.2 Attack the accuser	4	11.4	2	3.9	4	11.1%	10	8.1
4. **Comparisons**								
4.1 Differentiation	1	2.8	3	5.8	2	5.5%	6	4.9
4.2 Past negative circumstances	3	8.5	1	1.9	1	2.7%	5	4
5. **Higher authority**								
5.1 Loyalty	___	___	2	3.9	___	___	2	1.6
5.2 Higher authority	2	5.7	2	3.9	2	5.5%	6	4.9
6. **Higher values**								
6.1 Fairness	5	14.2	2	3.9	3	8.3%	10	8.1
6.2 Facework	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
6.3 Transcendence	___	___	5	9.8	1	2.7%	6	4.9
7. **Bolstering**	___	___	1	1.9	___	___	1	0.8
TOTAL	35		51		36		122	

5.5.1 Vertical analysis: Justifications:

5.5.1.1 Department of Education

The minimization of the undesirable consequences of the failure event is the justification which has been favored in the interviews, i.e. 28.5 % and 22.85. The present and future benefits of the policy will then give 51.3 % of all justifications that have been used in this department.

Two other justifications may be mentioned, i.e. higher values with focus on fairness (14.2%) and derogation of victim in which the accuser is attacked (11.4%)

5.5.1.2 Department of Health

Minimization of the consequences of the failure event has also proved to be quite popular in the interviews especially an appeal to future benefits, i.e. 43.1% and 15.6 for present benefits. This gives a total of 58.7% of the justifications that have been used in this department.

Another justification that is worth mentioning is higher values with attention to transcendence, i.e. 9.8%.

5.5.1.3 Department of Social Development

The justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences of the failure event is the one which has been mostly favored in the interviews, i.e. 44.4% and 19.4%. Focus on minimization has been given to present and future benefits of the departmental policies and together they give a total of 63.8% of all the justifications used in this department.

Justification of the derogation of victim with focus on attack the accuser may also be mentioned, and it has a total of 11.1% which has been used in this department.

Table 2:

EXCUSES

EXCUSE	Education		Health		Social Development		TOTAL	
1. **Defeasibility**	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1.1 No knowledge	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
1.2 Ignorance	1	2.5	4	7	2	3.3	**7**	**4.4**
2. **Responsibility**								
2.1 Horizontal	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
2.2 Vertical	4	10	5	8.7	2	3.3	**11**	**7**
3. **Causal excuse**								
3.1 Alternative	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
3.2 Null cause	13	32.5	18	31.5	22	37.2	**53**	**33.9**
4. **Volition**								
4.1 Compulsion	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
4.2 Impairment	___	___	___	___	1	1.6	**1**	**0.6**
5. **Agency**								
5.1 Joint production	___	___	1	1.7	1	1.6	**2**	**1.2**
5.2 Amnesia	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
6. **Mitigation**								
6.1 Scapegoat	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
6.2 Sad tale	1	2.5	___	___	___	___	**1**	**0.6**
6.3 Present adverse conditions	19	47.5	26	45.6	27	45.7	**72**	**48.7**
6.4 Past adverse conditions	2	5	3	5.2	4	6.7	**9**	**5.7**
7. **Intentions**								
7.1 Lack	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
7.2 Accident	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
7.3 Good intentions	___	___	___	___	___	___	___	___
TOTAL	**40**		**57**		**59**		**156**	

5.5.2 Vertical analysis: Excuses:

5.5.2.1 Department of Education

Mitigation of blame is the excuse which seems to have been favored in the interviews, with a total of 55%: present adverse conditions (47, 5), past adverse conditions (5%) and sad tale (2.5) However, mitigation of blame through present adverse conditions is the most popular excuse because it has been used more frequently than other excuses, i.e. 47.5%.

There are two other excuses that have also been favored in the interviews, i.e. causal excuse of the null cause (32.5%) and responsibility through vertical diffusion (10%).

5.5.2.2 Department of Health

The excuse of the mitigation of blame has again proved to be quite popular in the interviews of the department of Health, i.e. 50.8%: present adverse conditions (45.6%) and past adverse conditions (5.2%).

Two more excuses are also worth mentioning, i.e. causal excuse with focus on the null cause (31.5) and responsibility of vertical diffusion (8.7)

5.5.2.3 Department of Social Development

The mitigation of blame is the excuse which has been favored in the interviews, i.e. 45.7 % and 6.7%. The present adverse and the past adverse conditions will then give 52.4% of all excuses in this department.

One other excuse may be mentioned, i.e. causal excuse with attention to null causes (37.2%)

5.5.3 Horizontal analysis

5.5.3.1 Type of justification:

The minimization of the negative consequences of the failure event has been favored in all three departments, i.e. 58.1%: present benefits give a total of 27.8% and future

benefits give 30.3% of justifications used in interviews of the departments of Education, Health and Social Development.

5.5.3.2 Comparative overview:

The justification of the minimization of the undesirable consequences of the failure event is the most favored justification in the interviews of all three departments (58.1%) because the intention of the interviewees was to reframe consequences of he blame by redirecting the reporacher(s) attention away from the failure itself to the benefits which are in a form of intervention policies and programs implemented by their respective departments and the government as means of addressing the challenges within their departments. Thus, if and when these policies and/or programs are successfully implemented they will lead to future benefits. They somehow offer this as some kind of a consolation prize. The interviewees agree that there are problems within their departments, but do not want to admit that it is bad hence they camouflage them with the appeals on benefits by means of minimizing the consequences.

However, the departments of Education and Social Development have relied more on the minimization that appeals to present benefits, i.e. 28.5% and 44.4% respectively as against future benefits which has been favored more in the department of Health, i.e. 43.1% (see Table 1)

The justification of the derogation of victim: attack the accuser has received some attention, i.e. 11.4% with department of Education and 11.1% in the department of Social Development. Justification of higher values with focus to fairness has also been favored especially within the departments of Education and Social Development, i.e. 14.2% and 8.3% respectively.

5.5.3.3 Type of excuse:

The minimization of the blame is still the most favored excuse in all the departments, 55%. Sad tales have been used 0.6% in the interviews of the departments, present adverse conditions (48.7%) and past adverse conditions that have been used give a total of 5.7%.

One more excuse that needs mentioning is causal excuse with focus on null cause, i.e. 33.9%

5.5.3.4 Comparative overview:

The excuses of the mitigation of blame and causal excuse are the excuses that have been favored in all three departments, i.e. 55% and 33.9 respectively. The causal excuse with focus on the null cause is quite popular because these politicians do not want to take blame for the failure event hence they claim that the act in question is not their and they introduce to us a source which is external from them as the one that should bear causality for the failure event. As for the mitigation of blame, the politicians argue that the situation(s) in question have nothing to do with them (politicians) or their departments instead sad tales, present adverse conditions and past adverse conditions on which they appeal are to blame. The excuse that is aimed at mitigating the circumstances is mostly popular among politicians because they believe that they are actually reflecting people's understanding that real political decisions are indeed constrained by external circumstances.

The mitigating excuse with focus to present adverse conditions is the most favored in all three departments, i.e. 47.5%, 45.6% and 45.7% respectively as compared to the other mitigating excuses (see Table 2)

The vertical diffusion of responsibility has also received a fair share of attention especially in departments of Education and Health, i.e. 10% and 8.7% respectively.

Table 3:

TYPE OF ACCOUNT	EDUCATION		HEALTH		SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT		TOTAL	
Concession	12	12.6%	8	6.4%	15	12.5%	**35**	**10.4%**
Excuse	40	42.1%	57	45.9%	58	49.5%	**155**	**46.1%**
Denial	8	8.4%	8	6.4%	7	5.9%	**23**	**6.8%**
Justification	35	36.8%	51	41.1	37	31.6%	**123**	**36.6%**
TOTAL	95		124		117		336	

5.5.4 Type of account:

5.5.4.1 Vertical analysis:

Within the department of Education the excuse is the most favored account, i.e. 42.1% followed by justification with 36.8%.

In the department of Health, excuse is again the most popular account, i.e. 45.9% and justification is the second most popular account, i.e. 41.1%

The most favored account with the department of Social Development is excuse, i.e. 49.5% and the justification is the second favored account, i.e. 31.6%

5.5.4.2 Horizontal analysis:

Excuses and justifications are the most favored accounts in the interviews, i.e. they have given a total of 278 (82.7%) of all the accounts that have been used (excuse: 46.1%; justification: 36.6%)

These accounts are quite popular among politicians and they work much better for them because they (accounts) are basically employed to reframe the consequences of the act with the ultimate aim of changing negative perceptions about the policies of the department and/or government. Excuses on the other hand are employed to deny any responsibility and/or causal link between the politician and the undesirable outcome of the policy and thereby implying that there is no need for reproach.

5.5.4.3 Comparative overview:

The excuse is the most favoured account in all three departments because it is a typical political account, denying responsibility and/or any causal link with the unpopular policy and/or policy decision(s).

The justification is the second most favored account because it is apparent of the politicians to admit that there are problems concerning the policy and service delivery, but still they (politicians) claim that consequences of the situation in question are not as bad as portrayed by the accuser(s).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Antaki, C. 1990. Explaining events or explaining oneself? In: M. J. Cody, M. L. McLaughlin (eds.): **The psychology of tactical communication.** Multilingual Matters.

Antaki, C. 1994. **Explaining and arguing: the social organization of accounts.** Sage

Austin, J. L. 1956. A plea for excuses. **Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society,** vol. 57.

Austin, J. 1962. **How to do things with words.** Clarendon Press.

Baxter, L. A. 1984. An investigation of compliance-gaining as politeness. **Human communication research**, 10, 427-456.

Bennett, W. L. 1980. The paradox of public discourse: a framework for the analysis of political accounts. **The Journal of Politics,** vol. 42, no. 3.

Benoit, W. L. 1995. **Accounts, excuses and apologies: A theory of image restoration strategies.** State University of New York Press.

Benoit, W. L. 1997. Hugh Grant's image restoration discourse: an actor apologizes. **Communication Quarterly,** vol. 45, no. 3.

Benoit, W. L., Drew, S. 1997. Appropriateness and effectiveness of image repair strategies. **Communication Reports**, vol. 10, no. 2.

Berger, C.R. 1997. **Planning strategic interaction**. Lawrence Erlbaum.

Blumstein, P. W. et al. 1974. The honouring of accounts. **American Sociological Review**, 39, 551-66.

Brown, P., Levinson, S. 1978. Universals in language use: Politeness phenomena. **In E.N. Goody (Ed.), Questions and politeness** pp. 56-289). London: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, P., Levinson, S. 1987. **Politeness: some universals of language use.** Cambridge University Press.

Burke, K. 1970. **Rhetoric of religion.** Berkeley: University of California Press.

Buttny, R. 1993. **Social accountability in communication.** London: Sage.

Clark, H. 1979. Responding to Indirect Speech Acts. **Cognitive Psychology**, 11, 430-477.

Clark, R. A., Delia, J. G. 1979. Topoi and rhetorical competence. **Quarterly Journal of Speech**, 65, 187-206.

Cody, M. J., Braaten, D. O. 1992. The social-interactive aspects of account giving. In: M. J. McLaughlin et al (eds.): **Explaining one's self to others: reason-giving in a social context.** Lawrence Erlbaum.

Cody, M. J., McLaughlin, M. L. 1990. Introduction. In M. L. McLaughlin (Eds), **The psychology of tactical communication (pp. 1-28).** Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Coupland, N. Granger, K., Coupland, J. 1988. Politeness in Context: Intergenerational issues. **Language in Society**, 17, 253-262.

Cupach, W. R., Metts, S. 1994. **Facework.** Sage

Drew, P. 2003. Precision and exaggeration in interaction. **American Sociological review,** vol. 68, 917-938.

Endelman, M. 1977. **Political Language: Words That Succeed and Politics That Fail.** New York: Academic Press.

Goffman, E. 1967. **Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-face Behavior**. New York: Doubleday.

Goffman, E. 1971. Remedial interchanges. In **relations in public: Micro studies of the public order** (pp.95-187). New York: Basic Books.

Gonzales, M. H. 1992. A thousand pardons: the effectiveness of verbal remedial tactics during account episodes. **Journal of language and Social Psychology**, vol. 11, no.3.

Gonzales, M. H., Lovera, M. B., Sullivan, J. L., Chanley, V. 1995. Private reactions to public transgressions: predictors of evaluative responses to allegations of political misconduct. **Personality and social psychology bulletin,** vol. 21(2).

Greene, J. O., Lindsay, A. E. 1989. Encoding processes in the production of multi-goal messages. **Human Communication Research**, 16, 120-140.

Hall, B. J. 1991. An elaboration of the structural possibilities for engaging in alignment episodes. **Communication Monographs,** vol. 58.

Harvey, J. H., Weber, A. L., Orbuch, T. L. 1990. **Interpersonal accounts: a social psychological perspective.** Basil Blackwell.

Holmes, J. 1992. **An Introduction to Sociolinguistics**. London: Longman.

Holtgraves, T. 1989. The form and function of remedial moves: reported use, psychological reality and perceived effectiveness. **Journal of language and social psychology,** vol. 8, no. 1.

Holtgraves, T. 1992. The linguistic realization of face management. **Social psychology quarterly,** vol. 55(20, 141-159.

Kelley, H. H. 1967. Attribution theory in social psychology. In D. Levine (Ed.), **Nebraska symposium on motivation** (Vol. 15, pp. 192-240) Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Kinder, D. R. 1986. Presidential character revisited. In: R. R. Lau, D. O. Sears (Eds.): **Political cognition**. Lawrence Erlbaum.

Kinder, D. R., Abelson, R. P. 1981. Appraising Presidential Candidates: Personality and Affect in the 1980 Campaign. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York.

Lau, R. 1986. Political schemata, candidate evaluations and voting behavior. In: R. R. Lau, D. O. Sears (Eds.): **Political cognition**. Lawrence Erlbaum.

Lau, R. 1990. "Construct Accessibility and electoral Choice." **Political Behavior** 11: 5-32.

Leech, G.N. 1974. **Semantics**. Penguin.

Lim, T.S. 1990. **Politeness Behavior in Social Influence Sutations.** In: J. Dillard (ed.) Seeking Compliance: The Production of Interpersonal Influence Messages. Scottsdale, AZ: Corsuch-Scarisbrick

Lim, T., Bowers, J. W. 1991. Facework: Solidarity, approbation and tact. **Human Communication Research**, 17, 415-450.

Manusov, V. 1996. Changing explanations: the process of account-making over time. **Research on language and social interaction,** vol. 29(2), 155-179.

Manusov, V., Kellas, J. K., Trees, A. R. 2004. Do unto others? **Human communication research,** vol. 30(4), 514-539.

McGraw, K. M. 1990. Avoiding blame: an experimental investigation of political excuses and justification. **British Journal of Political Science,** vol. 20, part 2.

McGraw, K. M. 1991. Managing blame: an experimental test of the effects of political accounts. **American political science,** vol. 85, no. 4.

McGraw, K. M., Best, S., Timpone, R. 1995. "What they say or what they do?" The impact of elite explanation and policy outcomes on public opinion. **American Journal of Political Science**, vol. 39, no. 1.

McGraw, K. M., Hubbard, C. 1996. Some of the people some of the time: individual differences in acceptance of political accounts. In: D. C. Mutz, P. M. Sniderman, R. A. Brody (eds.): **Political persuasion and attitude change.** The University of Michigan Press.

McGraw, K. M., Timpone, R., Bruch, G. 1993. Justifying controversial political decisions: Home style in the laboratory. **Political Behavior**, vol. 15, no. 3.

McLaughlin, M. L., Cody, M. J., French, K. 1990. Account-giving and the attribution of responsibility: impressions of traffic offenders. In: M. J. Cody, M. L. McLaughlin (eds.): **The psychology of tactical communication.** Multimedia Matters.

McLaughlin, M. L., O'Hair, H. D., Cody, M. J. 1983. The management of failure events: some contextual determinants of accounting behavior. **Human Communication Research,** vol. 9(3, 208-224.

Meier, A. J. 2004. Conflict and the power of apologies. **Philologie im Netz,** vol. 30.

Mey, J.L. 2001. **Pragmatics! An introduction.** Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Miller, A. H., Wattenberg, M. P., Malanchuk, O. 1986. :Schematic Assessment of Presidential Candidates." **American Political Science Review** 80: 521-40.

Mills, S. 2003. **Gender and politeness.** Cambirdge University Press.

Morris, G. H., White, C. H., Iltis, R. 1994. "Well, ordinarily I would, but": reexamining the nature of accounts for problematic events. **Research on language and social interaction,** vol. 27(2), 123-144.

O'Keefe, B. J. 1989. The logic of message design: Individual differences in reasoning about communication. **Communication Monographs,** 55, 80-103.

O'Keefe, B. J., Delia, J. G. 1982. Impression formation and message production. In M. E. Roloff & C. R. Berger (Eds.), **Social Cognition and communication** (pp. 37-72). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

O'Keefe, B. J., McCornack, S. A. 1987. Message design logic and message goal structure: Effects on perceptions of message quality in regulative communication situations. **Human Communication Research,** 14, 68-92.

Read, S. J. 1987. Constructing causal scenarios: A knowledge structure approach to causal reasoning. **Journal of Personality and Social Psychology**, 52, 288-302.

Read, S. J. 1992. Constructing accounts: the role of explanatory coherence. In: M. J. McLaughlin et al. (eds.): **Explaining one's self to others: reason-giving in a social context.** Lawrence Erlbaum.

Schlenker, B. R. 1980. **Impression Management.** Monterey: Brooks/Cole.

Schönbach, P. 1980. A category system for account phases. **European Journal of Social Psychology,** 10, 195-200.

Schönbach, P. 1990. **Account episodes.** Cambridge University Press.

Schönbach, P., Kleibaumhüter, P. 1990. Severity of reproach and defensiveness of accounts. In; M. J. Cody, M. L. McLaughlin (eds.): The psychology of tactical communication. **Multilingual Matters.**

Scott, M. B., Lyman, S. M. 1968. Accounts. **American Sociological review,** vol. 33, no. 1.

Searle, J. R. 1979. **Expression and meaning: Studies in the theory of speech acts.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Semin, G. R., Manstead, A.S. R. 1973. **The accountability of conduct: A Social psychological analysis.** New York Academic Press.

Shaver, K. G. 1985. **The attribution of blame: Causality, Responsibility and Blameworthiness.** New York: Springer-Verlag

Smith, E. S., Powers, A. S., Suarez, G. A. 2005. If Bill Clinton were a woman: the effectiveness of male and female politicians' account strategies following alleged transgressions. **Political Psychology, vol**. 26, no. 1

Snyder, C. R. 1985. The excuse: an amazing grace? In B. R. Schlenker: **The self and social life.** McGraw-Hill

Snyder, C. R., Higgins, R. L. 1990. Reality negotiation and excuse-making: President Reagan's 4 March 1987 Iran arms scandal speech and other literature. In: M. J. Cody, M. L. McLaughlin (eds.): **The psychology of tactical communication.** Multilingual Matters.

Sykes, G. M., Matza, D. 1957. Techniques of neutralization. **American Sociological Review**. 22, 644-70.

Tedeschi, J. T., Reis, R. 1980. :Predicaments and Verbal Tactics of Impression Management. In **Ordinary Language Explanations of Social behavior,** ed. Charles Antaki. London: Academic

Thagard, P. 1989. Explanatory coherence. **Behavioral and Brain sciences**, 12, 435-467.

Thompson, D. F. 1980. Moral responsibility of pubic officials: the problem of many hands. **The American Political science review,** vol. 74, no .3.

Turnbull, W. 1992. A conversation approach to explanation with emphasis on politeness and accounting. In: M.L. McLaughlin et al. (eds.): **Explaining one's self to others.** Lawrence Erlbaum.

Ware, B. L., Linkugel, W. A. 1973. They spoke in defense of themselves: On the generic criticism of *apologia*. **Quarterly Journal of Speech**, 59, 273-83.

Weaver, R. K. 1986. The politics of blame avoidance. **Journal of Public Policy,** vol. 6, no. 4.

Weaver, R. K. 1988. **Automatic Government: The Politics of Indexation.** Washington: Brookings Institution.

Weiner, B. 1992. Excuses in everyday interaction. In: M. L. McLaughlin et al. (eds.): **Explaining one's self to others.** Lawrence Erlbaum.

Weiner, B., Figueroa-Munoz, A., Kakihara, C. 1991. The Goals of Excuses and Communication Strategies Related to Causal Perceptions. **Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin**, 17: 4-14.

Wilson, S.R. 2003. Explicating communicative competence as a theoretical term. In: J.O. Green, B.R. Burleson (eds.): **Handbook of communication and social interaction skills**. Lawrence Erlbaum.

Wilson, S. R. 1988. **Construct differentiation, relational priming and communicative goals: a multi-method test of a model of goal formation.** Paper presented to the Ninth Annual Temple University Conference on Discourse Analysis, Philadelphia, PA.

Wilson, S. R. 1990. Development and test of a Cognitive Rules Model of interaction goals. **Communication Monographs**, vol. 57

Wilson, S. R., Putnam, L. L. 1990. Interaction goals in negotiation. In J. Anderson (Eds.), **Communication yearbook 13** (pp. 374-406). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Wilson, S. R., Sabee, C. M. 2003. Explicating communication competencies as a theoretical term. In Greene, J. O., Burleson, B. R. (Eds), 2003. **Handbook of communication and social interaction skills.** Lawrence Erlbaum.

Yule, G. 196. **Pragmatics**. Oxford University Press