

COMPARING TWO GENRES OF LIFE WRITING: A
STUDY OF HALEY'S *THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF
MALCOLM X* AND MARABLE'S *MALCOLM X:
A LIFE OF REINVENTION*

BY

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A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for
the degree of Master of Human Sciences in
English Literary Studies

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ABSTRACT

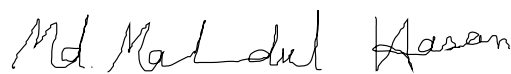
This qualitative study attempts to compare and contrast Alex Haley's *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* and Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*, and evaluate the representative images of Malcolm X as portrayed in each book under the framework of narrative theory. This is achieved by examining the narrative strategy each author employs in constructing their text and discerning the 'identity' of Malcolm X. The study also questions the narrative truth of both the texts and explores the authors' lives and careers in order to determine the veracity of the overall narrative of each book. This study finds that the authors' portrayal of Malcolm X did not differ much from each other, except that concerns the final stages of his life. Sensibilities of each author were found to be embedded into their narratives and especially in their respective portrayal of the final identity of Malcolm X. This is because they project their own political ideologies and personal ideas onto their interpretation of Malcolm X's ideological trajectory towards the end of his life. This study identifies life experiences, financial difficulties, marketing goals, and image management on the part of Alex Haley as influences over his narrative of Malcolm X's life. Conversely, it considers personal experiences, political affinity to Democratic Socialism, and marketing strategies on the part of Manning Marable as factors that influenced his narrative constructions of Malcolm X's identity. Additionally, the findings reveal that each author's narrative agendas contribute to the *fiction* of non-fictional historiographic narratives as theorised by narratologist Hayden White. Lastly, while both narratives are not entirely *factual*, they represent the *truth* of Malcolm X's life and legacy in their own way.

خلاصة البحث

تحاول هذه الدراسة النوعية القيام بمقارنة وتباين السيرة الذاتية لمالكولم إكس للكاتب أليكس هالي ومالكولم إكس لمانينغ مارابل: حياة إعادة الابتكار، وتقييم الصور التمثيلية لمالكولم إكس كما هو موضح في كل كتاب في إطار نظرية السرد. يتم تحقيق ذلك من خلال فحص استراتيجية السرد التي يستخدمها كل مؤلف في بناء نصه وتمييز "هوية" مالكولم إكس. كما تبحث الدراسة أيضاً عن الحقيقة السردية لكل من النصوص وتستكشف حياة المؤلفين ومهنتهم من أجل تحديد صحة من السرد العام لكل كتاب. وجدت الدراسة أن تصوير المؤلفين لمالكولم إكس لم يختلف كثيراً عن بعضهم البعض، باستثناء ما يتعلق بالمراحل الأخيرة من حياته. يتم تضمين حساسيات كل مؤلف في رواياتهم وخاصة في تصوير كل منهم للهوية النهائية لمالكولم إكس. وذلك لأنهم يعرضون أيديولوجياتهم السياسية وأفكارهم الشخصية على تفسيرهم لمسار مالكولم إكس الأيديولوجي نحو نهاية حياته. تحدد الدراسة تجارب الحياة، والصعوبات المالية، وأهداف التسويق، وإدارة الصور من جانب أليكس هالي. على العكس من ذلك، فإنه يأخذ في الاعتبار التجارب الشخصية، والتقارب السياسي مع الاشتراكية الديمقراطية، واستراتيجيات التسويق من جانب مانينغ مارابل. تؤثر هذه العوامل على بناياتهم السردية لهوية مالكولم إكس. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تكشف النتائج أن الأجناس السردية لكل مؤلف تساهم في تخيل الروايات غير الخيالية كما افترضها عالم السرد هايدن وايت. أخيراً، في حين أن كلتا الروايتين ليستا واقعيتين تمامًا، إلا أنهما تمثلان حقيقة حياة مالكولم إكس وإرثه بطريقتيهما الخاصة.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion, it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Human Sciences in English Literary Studies.



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Md. Mahmudul Hasan
Supervisor

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

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Signature


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I dedicate this dissertation to my parents and to those who are not afraid of taking detours in life.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

When one thinks of biographical and autobiographical accounts, one does not think of one genre being very different from the other except in authorship. An autobiography, being an introspective report of a person's own life, is written by the person themselves and a biography, by a third person. When writing an autobiography, no matter how unbiased a person tries to be about their life story, certain things may be missed out during the narration process. A biography, however, written by a third person, sometimes offers a completely new perspective on the subject's life and personality and sheds light on certain aspects of their life that they might have otherwise left unmentioned—intentionally or unintentionally.

This research will focus on Alex Haley's *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965) and Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (2011). It will analyse how the outlook on a person, and the interpretation of their identity, can differ in accordance with an autobiographical and biographical point of view. It will point out the variables and factors that make the story take on varying meanings and affect the interpretation of the text by the reader. In the case of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, the text was not entirely written by Malcolm X himself, nor was it written by a third-person author, it was dictated to Alex Haley (1921–1992) by Malcolm X (1925–1965) in a series of in-depth interviews conducted from 1963 to 1965, in the run-up to Malcolm X's assassination. Because the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* was written by Alex Haley, and narrated by Malcolm X, they both shared the authorship and authority over the content and narrative of the book. Initially, Haley was seen as a mere ghost-writer for the text, but eventually scholars and critics came to regard him as a significant

collaborator owing to his crucial contributions to the text and a significant amount of control he exerted over *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*.

As for the selected biography, I chose Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* for a number of reasons, the primary one being the extensive range of scholarly documents and archives he had access to for his research on Malcolm X. The array of content and material he had at his fingertips far outstripped that available to other biographers of Malcolm X. Markedly, Marable was able to call upon the combined works of dozens of writers who engaged in researching the history of Malcolm X over the past 50 years. He met several people who knew Malcolm X, including those who had not spoken with previous biographers of the black power leader. He used the FBI files that had been in the past restricted to the public and, most notably, had complete access to the Malcolm X Collection, now housed at the Schomburg Centre for Research in Black Culture in New York. Marable's synthesis draws heavily on previous research but he also performs new interviews (including two rare interviews with Louis Farrakhan [1933–], who succeeded Malcolm X as Minister of NOI's Harlem Mosque), provides fresh readings of government and law enforcement archives, and uses the letters and travel books of Malcolm X. Marable's *A Life of Reinvention* is partially a personal philosophical tale but, most of all, a political manifesto.

Generally, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* is considered a definitive account of the life of Malcolm X and his journey towards his final identity – El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. However, according to many scholars of African American Studies, including Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Cornell West, and Michael Eric Dyson, Marable's biography unquestionably expands on and even replaces the earlier iconic work on Malcolm X. In this book, Marable attempts to de-mystify and humanise the icon Malcolm X has become, especially by distinguishing between the public record available on Malcolm

X (including *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*) and the truth behind it. Like several other Black Americans entering into adulthood in the wake of the civil rights movement, Marable was influenced by black nationalism and the idea that progress of African-Americans within American society would only come from black unity. What really caught Marable's attention, enough to fire off his activist blood, was the mystery surrounding the events of 21 February 1965, when Malcolm X was shot down in a rally at the Audubon Ballroom in Washington Heights.

Three men were charged and convicted of the crime – all members of the Nation of Islam. Yet something about the assassination did not sit right with Marable. Marable embarked on a mission to discover the facts about Malcolm X's life and death and succeeded in providing a more detailed account of the philosophy, religious views and personal life of Malcolm X, as well as his role in the civil rights movement and the circumstances of his assassination. His research culminated into the initiation of the Malcolm X Project at Columbia University and ultimately the publication of his book. In *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*, Marable argues that the development of Haley's autobiography followed a pre-conceptualised narrative of a small-town black man fulfilling the American dream despite the odds set against him. He says that *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* makes an icon of Malcolm X, concentrating mostly on his humble and unorthodox beginnings. This is a valid point as almost half of the book focuses on only Malcolm X's early years.¹

Decades after Malcolm X's assassination, a diary he kept chronicling his travels abroad in 1964 was found in the possession of the Shabazz family estate. The diary,

¹ Haley had, from the very beginning, insisted on Malcolm X narrating his own life's history. He wanted to tell a 'story' because he believed that no other man's life fully represented the essence of what it meant to be coloured in America. However, Malcolm X had initially agreed to participate in this project solely for the sake of promoting the Nation of Islam. He wanted the book to be a testament to Elijah Muhammad's teachings, not about his own life as it later became.

which was published in 2013, provides a record of his trips, contacts, and public events in Africa and in the Arab world. These records were discovered in 2003 and were loaned to the Schomburg Center in 2003 by the daughters of Malcolm X for a period of 75 years. Manning Marable (1950–2011) used this collection as an important reference while writing his biography *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* to shed a better light on the life of Malcolm X.

Marable was also able to gain access to the original manuscript of Alex Haley's *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* containing omitted chapters as well as detailed corrections by Haley and counter-corrections by Malcolm X. These unpublished writings and the manuscript had originally been part of Alex Haley's estate and surfaced at an auction held by the estate of Alex Haley in 1992. But these manuscripts, which included the three "missing chapters," were not immediately made available to the public because they were purchased by a prominent Detroit attorney, Gregory Reed, for more than \$100,000 (Schuessler, J., 2018). Reed kept the manuscripts locked away in a safe until he filed for bankruptcy in 2002. These manuscripts were later auctioned at Guernsey's, an auction house based in New York City. The auction house held the "African American Historic and Cultural Treasures" auction in July 2018. It is from this auction that the Schomburg Centre obtained the "lost chapters."

These chapters provide researchers a significant glimpse into the editing process of the book and minds of both men competing over the control of the content. The back-and-forth annotations seen on the manuscript suggest that Haley often attempted to "soften X's words or his views," and that "Haley urges him to pull back on the soapbox pronouncements or to tone down the fierce denunciations of white people" (Solly, 2018). For example, Malcolm X added "Eventually my mother suffered a complete nervous breakdown" in the manuscript and mentioned the decision of the judge who

declared his mother unfit to take care of her children in a disapproving tone (Malcolm X and all his siblings were placed under the full authority of a white judge in Lansing). On himself and his siblings being declared “state children” Malcolm X commented, “A white man in charge of a black man’s children! Nothing but legal, modern slavery!” (Schuessler, 2018). As seen in the manuscripts Haley added to this: “however kindly intentioned” – a softening that was included in the final published book (Haley, 1965, p.21).

According to Guernsey’s, Haley allowed the book’s editors to delete three chapters from the final text despite having promised Malcolm X before his death that these would be included. Jennifer Schuessler of The New York Times calls attention to the flawed understanding of some readers of The Autobiography of Malcolm X owing to these eliminations, and identifies how Schomburg’s newly acquired original manuscripts show the hypocrisies of white America and “delusions of ‘integrationist’ blacks ... who seek its acceptance” (Schuessler, 2018). The text of the three left out chapters supports her opinion, as Malcolm X clearly writes, “We are like the Western deserts; tumbleweed, rolling and tumbling whichever way the white wind blows. And the white man is like the cactus, deeply rooted, with spines to keep us off” (Solly, 2018). The Autobiography of Malcolm X is known to have made Malcolm X seem like an evolving integrationist, someone who came to accept white America in its entirety, but the omitted chapters show Malcolm X’s enduring resentment towards the injustice black Americans had suffered at the hands of the white population. Had the chapters remained in the final text, the interpretation of Malcolm X and his final identity would have been slightly different. So, pertinently, the question of Malcolm X’s true identity arises.

Malcolm X was, and still is, a different man to different people depending on their own ideologies. Integrationists, those who followed the popular opinion of Dr

King, saw Malcolm X as adopting Dr King's "non-militant" ideology before his untimely demise. For others, those who continued to be ostracised and marginalised, he was always a symbol of resistance. But with symbolism and labelling came the erosion of the fullness of his identity. Some tend to secularise him completely, intentionally erasing his Muslim identity, while others emphasise his religious identity too much and end up depoliticising him. This was a tension that Malcolm X noted in his own life, saying: "For the Muslims, I'm too worldly. For other groups, I'm too religious. For militants, I'm too moderate, for moderates I'm too militant. I feel like I'm on a tightrope" (Religious Revolutionist 1998). There needs to be a clear-cut understanding of Malcolm X's various phases in life and his true identity. One cannot take up the task of pin-pointing his ideology because he himself said that he could not point to his exact "philosophy" in an interview held towards the end of his short life (Haley, p. 286). But one can attempt to deconstruct his multiple identities as presented in various narratives, focusing primarily on the most popular narratives of his life, including Alex Haley's autobiography and Manning Marable's biography, and eliminate distorted interpretations surrounding his final identity.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

To this day, various parties within and outside the political system – the liberals, republicans, the moderates, the extreme leftists, the liberal radicals, and Islamic radicals to name a few – claim Malcolm X as one of their own. More than 930 books, 370 films and documentaries, and 350 sound recordings on the life and impact of Malcolm X have been produced till date, with overlapping or diverging narratives and multiple representative images. Because of his high market value, Malcolm X has been used in

a variety of political contexts, Alex Haley's autobiography and Manning Marable's biography being primary examples.

The various narratives of Malcolm X's life, or any individual's life, are possible because of the phenomenon of "transposability of the plot," a phrase coined by Narratologist Chatman (1978). He claims that narratives are structures that are independent of any medium and the same story can be told in a variety of ways, across a variety of forms and media, and even across genres. Based on this rule of narrative theory, I will study Malcolm X's life and identity as represented in two of the most definitive works on his life, his autobiography co-authored by Alex Haley and his most famous biography authored by Manning Marable.

It is impossible to separate the identity of Malcolm X and the publication both books from the history of racial subordination of African Americans in the United States. Slavery was legal in America before the American Revolution against British colonisation in the late eighteenth century (1775 – 1783). The American declaration of Independence which pronounced 'all men equal' stirred hope in many African American slaves but abolition of slavery was a slow process. Despite the abolition of slavery and legal gains for African Americans in the nineteenth century, most continued to live under enforced racial segregation, in conditions of poverty and inequality, especially in schools, in the workplace, and in people's social networks, with white supremacists denying them their hard-won political rights and freedoms. The twentieth-century civil rights movement emerged as a response to the unfulfilled promises of emancipation. Some civil rights movement leaders turned to direct action and nonviolent civil disobedience to demand their legal rights. In 1955, Rosa Parks (1913–2005) famously refused to vacate her seat on the bus for a white person which sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968) emerged as a leader

of the boycott movement, which was the civil rights movement's first mass direct action and provided a blueprint for activists' campaigns across the whole country. The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was the largest civil rights protest in US history, and contributed to the successful implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Aiken, Salmon, & Hanges, 2013).

Although comprehensive civil rights legislation represented a major victory for the civil rights movement, the white power structure remained obstinate in the South. Some black activists became disgruntled with the insufficiency of the nonviolent civil disobedience. Therefore, a more militant variety of civil rights activism emerged, one of whose most influential proponents was Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little. He advocated black self-reliance, cultural pride, and self-defence in the face of racial violence, an ideology of self-determination that came to be known as Black Power.

Malcolm X's life perfectly symbolised the struggle for African-American identity in a country known for its oppressive racial apparatus. The struggle for African-American equality and justice continue to this day, with people of colour still facing racial profiling, police brutality, murder and inequality in the United States criminal justice system. The mass Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests that broke out in the US symbolise the frustration against the sense of paralysis that an oppressed population feels. Malcolm X was one of the strongest voices against this systemic racial injustice against the African-American community. He was a visionary who believed that the problem of racism is so deeply rooted in the fabric of society that it would take radical steps to make any progress. Malcolm X said in a TV interview in March 1964,

I will never say that progress is being made. If you stick a knife nine inches into my back and pull it out six inches, there's no progress. If you pull it all the way out, that's not progress. Progress is healing the wound that the blow made. And they haven't even pulled the knife out much less

heal the wound. They won't even admit the knife is there. ("Chickens Coming Home to Roost | Malcolm X", 00:53 – 01:16).

Narrating one's experience with candour still remains one of the most powerful tools of protest and healing trauma wounds. Although there are many non-fictional literary accounts of black Americans narrating their first-person experiences of personal struggles and achievements, covering issues ranging from social issues and discrimination to police-violence and slavery in America, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* stands out as one of the most stimulating and impressive.

Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* is another brilliant narrative of Malcolm X, built upon an array of chronologies tracing the genealogy of the biographical subject, youthful stunts, childhood disposition, friends and acquaintances. The abundance and careful deliverance of rich information makes Malcolm X's childhood and adolescence almost perceptibly tangible. The narrative is structured keeping the history of African-American oppression in mind. The black urban culture, politics and economic condition of the time of Malcolm X's entry into manhood are woven together in fine complexity into the story without losing emphasis on his individual actions, his family and associates.

Narrative theory can be used to understand the various social and personal identities of an individual in a given narrative, and provide answers for narrative-to-narrative identity variability. The purpose is to analyse the books written by Alex Haley and Manning Marable on Malcolm X's life and understand the identity development of Malcolm X in both narratives. There will also be an attempt to shed more light on the motive behind each narrative used by the authors of both the primary texts because narrative inherently implies motive.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

When one reads about Malcolm X, there is only so much one can deduce about the man who in many ways changed the face of the civil rights movement not just in America but across the world. Malcolm X remains to this day an elusive and enigmatic figure despite all that has been said and written about him. Many things have been said about him and he has been given many titles from a delinquent to a militant, from a racist to a revolutionary humanist. He has been surrounded by myths and inconsistencies from the very beginning and there have been many attempts to fit his life into elaborate biographies.

The problem arises when one reads each narrative and gets different impressions of Malcolm X's life and identity. Why are two books written about the very same person so distinct, sometimes even in aspects of factual information? Scholars have spoken about the differences in factual information in both texts and certain dissimilitude in the representation of certain events, particularly those involving aspects of Malcolm X's personal life, yet what remains to be mentioned is the difference in narrative style.

The narratives that either of the books follow, the autobiography by Haley or the biography by Marable, remain to be deconstructed and discussed. Narrative theory is an important tool that has not been used to dissect the different structures and narratives that these books follow. This keeps us from important insights into the understandings of both scholars, Haley and Marable alike, and the motivations behind their narratology.

While there have been innumerable discussions and a legion of research on Malcolm X's life history and identity development, what remains to be illustrated is how narrative theory can inform our understanding of his social and personal identities. Unlike a purely historical approach to a life that focuses solely on factors influencing

an individual's growth and development, a narrative approach focuses on the stories around which an individual develops their personal and social identities. In Malcolm X's case, without considering the variety of narratives that shaped his many identities, one cannot fully appreciate his significance as a person. These narratives can be found scattered throughout his autobiography and many biographies which have not been studied in an isolated manner.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the problem statement stated, this research will attempt to address the following questions:

- 1- Why is the difference in the narrative and content of the biography and autobiography of Malcolm X important?
- 2- What does the presentation of transitions and images created in the biography and autobiography tell us according to narrative theory?
- 3- What do the similarities or dissimilarities in the concluding images as a civil rights leader, black nationalist and prophetic martyr of the subject (Malcolm X) in both the texts reveal about the subject and the authors?

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- 1- To examine differences in the narrative and content of the autobiography and biography of Malcolm X.
- 2- To observe all the transitions and images of Malcolm X through an autobiographical lens, and contrasting them with those observed through a biographical lens, using narrative theory.

- 3- To analyse the various concluding images of the subject (Malcolm X), as a civil rights leader, black nationalist and prophetic martyr, in both the texts and identify what the similarities or dissimilarities reveal about the subject and the authors.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research will adopt a qualitative method that incorporates an intensive textual analysis. Data collection will involve intense library research in which materials such as books, documents, theses, dissertations and journal articles will be consulted. This research will be based on the critical examination and textual analysis of two major texts, Alex Haley's *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* and Manning Marable's *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*.

In order to achieve the objectives of this thesis, two approaches will be used: descriptive and comparative. By using a descriptive approach, the researcher will review and analyse the content of the biography and autobiography separately, using narrative theory as the tool for analysis. The comparative approach is used to analyse the two texts, with supportive context and scholarly evidence from relevant academic articles and other research works, and deduce conclusions on the basis of the identified differences and similarities in their narratologies. The study of the two primary texts will be based on narrative theory.

Narrative theory mainly entails a series of approaches to texts which can be classified as narrative, in part or in whole. Narratology is the systematic analysis of any given narrative for the purpose of discovering its basic structure and its way of influencing readers, as demonstrated by postclassical narratologists. Tzvetan Todorov

coined and used the term *narratologie* (narratology) in his 1969 *Grammaire du Décaméron*, using the suffix ‘logy’ to signify the ‘science’ or ‘study’ of narrative.

Under the theoretical framework based on the principal premise of narrative theory, the purpose of this study is to illustrate the way scholars interpret Malcolm X’s story in his autobiography and his biography (written by Marable) through clinging to an underlying and implicit model of narrative, to see the differences in Marable’s and Haley’s narrative and assess the authors’ lives to find reasons behind their separate narratives.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to conduct a narratological study of the chosen autobiography and biography, one must understand narratology as a science. It was originally developed as a formal study of narrative structures primarily within poetics and fictive works. Narratologists such as Vladimir Propp (1895–1970) and Tzvetan Todorov (1939–2017) explain how the essence of a story emerges from its general structure (its language) rather than from individual stories’ isolated themes. Since narrative is different from ‘story’ or ‘plot’, and implies the showing or telling of stories, narratological study deals with the language and mode chosen for delivery. In *Narrative Discourse* (1980), Gerard Genette provides his guidelines for systematic narratological analysis of literature, which set the foundation for future scholars of narratology.

Narrative theory has developed over time, and narratological categories have been derived so that the application of narrative theory is not limited to fictional narratives alone. Studies in fictionalisation in writings of history and non-fiction were developed by theorists like Paul Ricoeur (1913–2005), Dorrit Cohn (1924–2012) and Michel de Certeau (1925–1986). With further developments in narratology by these

literary narratologists, narratological categories and theoretical concepts derived from the narratological analysis of fictional texts were transferred for the examination of factual narratives. Narrative theory was further expanded into the realm of film and psychology by scholars and theorists like Seymour Chatman (1928–2015) and Peter Brooks (1938–).

Historian Hayden White (1928–2018), one of the most influential theorists of narratology and history, set the standard for studying the representation of truth in postmodern non-fiction narratives, especially historical narratives. According to White's Narrative theory, the narrative form of any discourse is a vehicle, or medium, for transporting a meaning or message, and is devoid of any truth-value. The content, which can be extracted from a narrative account in a dissertative format, is a function of the aim or intent of the author of the discourse which in turn can determine the accuracy of the narrative. Therefore, a discourse may be factually accurate but the dissertative interpretation of facts by the author which is represented in narrative form may be misguided or even invalid. His narrative theory can be used to study the authorial intent and representation of reality in non-fiction narratives claiming to be 'truthful' including sub-genres of biography and autobiography. Brook (1984) and Derrida (1976), whose concepts White (1989) used to build his theory, consider narratives as structures designed and shaped with an intent. Their concepts can be used to further analyse similarities and differences in overlapping narratives and deduce the cause of differences by studying the motivation and impetus behind each narrative.

Narrative theory includes a theoretical approach through acknowledging the design behind texts that affects readers in a specific way, and this can be identified in the words, strategies, and intertextuality of the writing and by getting assistance and input from readers' responses. Examining narratives within text helps us distinguish