

FINAL REPORT
TO
THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

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Project director: JOHANNES FABIAN
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¹Since the project was started, the former province of Katanga has become the region of Shaba. The name of the country was changed from Congo to Zaire.

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A. BACKGROUND

The prehistory of this project may be situated in three contexts:

1. Theoretically and methodologically, it has grown out of the author's concern with humanistic alternatives to an anthropology which has increasingly come under the influence of a misguided scientism.¹

2. Within these overall aims it was decided to direct research to a human phenomenon of presumably universal significance--work in its various forms--and to situate our critical discussion in a relevant subdiscipline of the social sciences (industrial sociology) which, perhaps more than others, has been stressing a "scientific" (most often, quantitative, operational) approach to its subject matter.²

3. Following a long-established and well-founded practice in anthropology, it was decided to raise the problem of "work" in a foreign cultural context. The choice of the area, of the medium of communication (Shaba Swahili), and of the forms of work to be studied, was determined by the author's competence acquired during earlier extended field work in the Shaba region of Zaire.³

¹These were discussed in a programmatic paper, "Language, History, and Anthropology," Philosophy of the Social Sciences, I (1971), 19-47; see also Bob Scholte, "Discontents in Anthropology," in Social Research (1972).

²A summary critique of industrial sociology in Africa may be found in the author's "Kazi: Conceptualizations of Labor in a Charismatic Movement among Swahili-Speaking Workers," Cahiers d'etudes africaines (1973): .

³See, among others, Jamaa: A Charismatic Movement in Katanga (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971).

Given the historical and intellectual background just described, the objectives of this project differ in terms of their immediate and long-term importance:

1. Research among Swahili-speaking workers was to produce ethnographic material which would lend itself to interpretation in terms of methods commonly reserved to the humanities (semantics, text interpretation, the identification of "literary" structures in the expression of ideas, the interplay between these structures and a specific cultural content, etc.).

2. The project was to demonstrate the possibility of a "communicative" field methodology in an area which seems little suited to intensive, participant, and language-oriented ethnography (work, especially in modern plants).

3. The project was to show the utility and fruitfulness of methodological approaches derived or developed from current work in sociolinguistics and anthropological linguistics.

4. Ultimately, of course, the aim is not only to advance theoretical and methodological discussion in current anthropology, but to contribute substantive findings, a cultural vision of work and industrial labor whose structures and content may or may not confirm experiences in our own society.

Anticipating the report which is to follow, we may state that objectives (1) and (2) have been met with full success. Objective (3) can be realized as soon as first reports can be published, while objective (4) can only be the result of a long-term effort and a final synthesis of particular findings.

As was to be expected, some of the activities proposed

in the application had to be modified in response to concrete working and living conditions, to the researcher's linguistic and communicative competence, and to the development of unforeseen possibilities. All this will be explained in detail in the following section.

B. PROJECT ACTIVITIES

NOTE: Revised period: September 30, 1972-September 30, 1973. Due to travel arrangements regarding project-related stopovers in Europe, the actual dates of departure to and from Zaire were August 27, 1972 and August 19, 1973, respectively.

Schedule of Project Activities in Zaire

October: Mostly spent on assuring housing and means of transportation, bureaucratic formalities, polishing up Shaba Swahili. Began taped interviews with clerks and domestics (Project A).

November: Beginning of focused work with local artists in Lubumbashi (Project I). November 3-7, first exploratory visit to Kolwezi; Nov. 27-30, second visit to Kolwezi, pilot work at MTK, copper smelting (Project IV). Began course in sociolinguistics at the National University.

December: Contacts and exploratory work at the GCM (Gecamines, copper mining company) Lubumbashi (including negotiation of free access to all installations). Working out of a detailed research plan, deciding to limit research to selected domains of "work." It was also decided not to pursue the possibilities at the GCM Lubumbashi. Work in this factory was done by an anthropology student under my direction.

January: Continued work with Lubumbashi artists. First contacts and soon intensive work with a group of semi-professional actors (Project II). Although contacts with this group continued throughout the research period, they were most intensive in January. The last week of that month was spent on transcribing one of their sketches (see Text 11 in catalog of materials).

February 1-20: Feb. 2-5, visit to Kolwezi, meeting with local management of GCM, visits to mines and factories, arrangements for housing. About one week of work devoted to observations and interviews on recent developments in the Jamaa movement (Project B). One full week assembling material on a theme of urban folklore, Mamba Muntu, followed up throughout research period (Project C).

February 20-April 8: Work on third major project, language and communication in two workshops (carpentry and wood carving) at Lubumbashi (Project III).

April 9-July 8: Move to Kolwezi, determine choice of a modern factory, work on fourth major project, language and communication in a hydrometallurgical plant, MTK Kolwezi (Project IV). During that time further work on Projects I, B, and C.

July 10-August 19: Back in Lubumbashi. Follow-up work on Projects I, II, and III. Review of notes and material. Preparation for return to National University of Zaire, Lubumbashi Campus, in Fall, 1973.

Description of Project Activities. 1: Introduction Remarks

In order to explain the description which is to follow, I shall briefly recall the purpose of the project as formulated in the application. I will then discuss the reasons which led me to concentrate on the areas of research which turned out to be feasible, given the local conditions.

Initially, the project was defined as an investigation of "labor consciousness," an inquiry into "orientations toward industrial labor among Swahili-speaking mine workers in Shaba." Subsequently, as can be expected in any fieldwork aiming at a broad range of phenomena, certain limitations and modifications imposed themselves in the interest of a successful execution of the project. Briefly, these were the following:

1. Copper mining is the dominant economic activity in Shaba. The entire working population of this area is directly or indirectly tied to this primary industry. However, given the aims of investigation (to study cultural orientation toward labor via Shaba Swahili), it was decided to broaden the basis of inquiry by including artistic, craft, and industrial work. The purpose of this was to gain a comparative perspective by assuring a maximum of contrast between the chosen forms of work. This resulted in a division of research into the four major projects (Projects I-IV) to be described below.

2. At the same time, the research economy of an intensive anthropological approach (participant observation, prolonged personal contacts with key informants, acquisition of a high degree of communicative competence) made it necessary to focus

activities on persons, groups, workshops, and factories which, in terms of size and complexity of work organization, represent feasible tasks. It turned out that, among the available kinds of work, mining itself had to be excluded because of the enormous size of possible sites, a low social density of the working population, and a presumably low ethnographic yield within the objectives of our project.

3. Initially it was planned to carry out research only in Lubumbashi, the capital of the Shaba region. Most of the work on Projects I-III was done in that city, while Project IV led to the choice of the "Société Metallurgique de Kolwezi" (cited from now on as MTK), a hydrometallurgical plant near Kolwezi producing zinc and a number of other non-ferrous metals. That choice was determined by several factors, among them easy access through contacts dating from my earlier field work in that area, a relatively small size (about 600 workers), and a modern continuous-process technology. It was found that this would provide maximum contrast to the work of artists and artisans studied in Projects I-III.

4. Throughout this year I have been accompanied by my wife, Ilona Fabian, a Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology at The University of Chicago. Projects I and C have been carried out in collaboration with her. While our approaches to these matters do not coincide, findings relevant for these projects have resulted from a cooperative effort.

5. Some time and energy was spent on a number of side projects (A, B, C) whose connection with the overall project will be explained presently.

Project A: Concepts of work among domestic personnel and clerks. This was an obvious choice during the first two or three months before other contacts could be established. Information gathered among these persons (some of it recorded) proved useful in the exploratory phase of our work. Later on, I decided to abandon this line of inquiry as being too complex and too marginal to the aims of the main project.

Project B: Some follow-up work on new developments in the Jamaa movement which had been the object of fieldwork in 1966-67. The time spent on this minor project was justified by its direct importance for the present research project. As I pointed out in my application, it was through the Jamaa movement that I had my first extended contacts with the working population of Shaba. In a publication which was a preparatory step toward my present work, I analyzed Jamaa doctrinal orientation toward work as one possible form of labor consciousness (cf. above, page 1, note 2). Frequent contacts with most of my earlier informants have confirmed the importance of this religious ideology as a source of innovative orientation toward industrial work and its concomitant life style.

Project C (in collaboration with Ilona Fabian): This was an attempt to tap an indirect source of information related to the major projects. As indicated in the application, some data were to be sought in the forms and imagery of urban folklore. Since extended work in this area would constitute a separate project, it was decided to concentrate on one complex of pictorial representation accompanied by beliefs and oral accounts. This turned out

to be quite interesting and fruitful. The motif chosen was that of the mamba muntu (a sort of fishwoman), which appears in the form of naive oil paintings which I found in at least half of the workers' households I visited. The highly standardized pictorial symbolism and the accompanying oral lore remain to be analyzed in detail. However, it is already clear that the mamba muntu complex has a direct bearing on the conceptions we try to discern in our project. Ideologically, it is situated between traditional beliefs in the ambiguous power of spirits and magic protection, and the expectations of material wealth characteristic of a modern cash economy.

Description of Project Activities. 2: Four Major Sub-Projects

Project I: Artists (in collaboration with Ilona Fabian)

Presumably, one of the ingredients of any theory of work is a notion of creative production. In an attempt to gather information on this aspect, we selected a number of local painters, all of them former members (or their students) of a Lubumbashi art school founded in the early Fifties. The artists we were able to locate (some of them highly successful nationally and internationally) belong to an older generation of Africans who had made or begun their careers in colonial times and are now experiencing a certain decline. All of them have strong roots in the tradition and are more at ease in Swahili than in French, though Swahili is not their native language. Since it took some time to find these men and win their confidence, work on Project I was carried out

sporadically throughout the year. We had intensive contacts with ten persons.¹

Project II: Actors

The "Group of Mufwankolo" is a loose association of semi-professional actors. It was discovered through a weekly TV program, largely improvised sketches of about one hour, treating situations of daily life in urban Shaba. It was immediately clear that these sketches represented an extraordinary source of documentation, not only of the linguistic forms of Shaba Swahili, but also of the life style, orientations, and consciousness of the local population. Unfortunately, a very bad sound system made direct recordings in the TV studio next to impossible; nor did the studio keep any videotapes. It was necessary, therefore, to work through notes and some recordings at home and at rehearsals.

I may add in this context that, through this group, I gained access to the phono archives of the Voix du Zaire (the official broadcasting company). There I copied several interviews (in Swahili) from a weekly "Magasine des metiers" (i.e., interviews with workers of different trades). Unfortunately, only part of the tapes could be located and some of these were badly recorded.

Project II involved intensive contact with some 15 persons.

Project III: Artisans

Our work with artists had provided first contact with the workshop of Chenge Brothers, one of whom was a painter and the other a sculptor and producer of decorative furniture. The

¹In this report, "intensive contact" means repeated encounters with a person, varying in length, context, and purpose, and resulting in extensive notes and/or tape-recorded conversations.

latter was chosen for research. During the period of intensive investigation, Chenge employed 15 workers, carpenters, and wood carvers. For comparative purposes, about a third of the time allotted to Project III was spent in a similar workshop which, however, depended on the social work program of the Gecamines and was run on quite different principles. Nine craftsmen and apprentices were employed there.

Research in both workshops was conducted according to the following schedule:

1. Introduction to the operation, organization, machines, tools, materials, and products, by the owner or supervisor.

2. Following the line of production from raw material to finished product by spending half a day with each of the workers at his working place (or following him through the shop), watching, asking simple questions, taking part in conversations with workers. During this phase only written notes were taken.

3. Recording with two or three workers of each section (carpentry and carving) a full explanation similar to the one mentioned above under (1).

4. At this point, I went back to the starting point of phase (2), again spending some time with each worker in order to establish a brief biographical file (including data on language acquisition--all of the workers were multilingual). Also during this phase I took extensive notes on patterns of communication between workers, and between workers and supervisors.

5. Continue recording as in phase (3), but now with emphasis on the individual's work history and his reflections about work in general.

6. Conclude with a social gathering outside the work context with the aim of observing interaction in an informal situation and eliciting reactions, opinions about the researcher's work.

All communications, except some in phase (1), were in Swahili. After a short period of adjustment the workers were cooperative, interested in my work, and completely open in conversation. Total number of persons with whom I had intensive contact was 25.

Project IV: Hydrometallurgical Operators

MTK, despite its relatively small size, is the most important producer of zinc by electrolysis in Africa. Copper (smelting) and cadmium (electrolysis) are side products of the principal process. Through contacts which date from my earlier stay in Shaba, I was assured of full cooperation by the management. Some of its representatives, especially M. Joseph Dassas, director of the hydrometallurgical section, and Citoyen Mwamba Bingwa, at that time in charge of the workers' settlement and the office of labor relations, have given considerable time and energy to this project. I should like to acknowledge their generous assistance, as well as that of other members of the management.

To assure comparability of results, the same basic approach was taken at MTK as in the workshops at Lubumbashi. However, the size and complexity of a modern plant made necessary certain choices and limitations. They also implied considerable effort on the part of the researcher to grasp the functions of installations and processes which make up the work environment in this plant.

First it was decided to exclude all maintenance workers

workers from our project. While these, as in any modern plant, make up a majority of employees, most maintenance workers must, in terms of training and skills, be counted as craftsmen (at MTK they were electricians, plumbers, toolmakers, mechanics, carpenters, and others).

But even among production workers a certain selection had to be made. The final choice fell upon one crew of hydrometallurgical operators who are employed in the continuous-process part of the factory. Their task is to work for, and control, the treatment of the mineral from its arrival in a solid form to the purified solution which then undergoes electrolysis. Our information on this phase of the process was completed, although on a less intensive basis, for copper smelting, for the electrolysis of zinc and for the smelting of zinc cathodes and the casting of ingots as the finished product.

Another important difference between the small workshops (especially the one owned by Chenge) and the MTK factory had to be taken into account. In the former, workers were together only during working hours; afterwards workers returned to houses in separate parts of the city. MTK, following a long established policy of the GCM, houses practically all of its workers in a company town. In this settlement, MTK owns the houses, maintains basic services, elementary schools, an infirmary, a social center, subsidized shops, and a central office whose function, among others, is to watch over public order, mete out punishment for transgressions at work or in the settlement, distribute work clothes and equipment, and serve as a kind of court for litigation

("palabres") among workers and their families. I was given permission to assist at, and tape, the palabres. I was able to get records on more than 300 cases constituting, to my knowledge, an unprecedented body of data.

In the factory itself, research proceeded as follows:

1. Introduction by supervisors to hydrometallurgical process ("flow sheet") and overall organization of personnel (organigram, composition of work crews, definition of functions and activities).

2. Begin work in production, following both the line of command and the flow sheet of the process. In this initial phase, the relevant part of the factory was toured once with each of the four highest-level Zairois supervisors. Each of them was asked to explain installations and processes (in Swahili). At this point only written notes were taken.

3. Having spent about a week getting acquainted not only with the factory but also with basic terminology and communication in French and Swahili, I went back to the beginning of the process and recorded explanations given by one worker in each of the major subsections. All of this work was concentrated on the part of the plant in which the workers' tasks consist essentially of watching, feeding, and regulating hydrometallurgical processes. Later on, some intensive interviews were conducted in the electrolysis section and at the copper and zinc furnaces.

4. At this point I shifted my activities from work in the factory to conversations with (mostly) the same workers in their homes. Again I met with unexpected openness and cooperation.

The recordings which resulted in this phase will probably be the most important part of my data.

5. Apart from the palabres recorded twice a week, additional sources of information were found in the personal files of the workers who volunteered recorded conversations. Quite interesting were also several celebrations during my stay at MTK (a farewell party for retirees, the twentieth anniversary of the company, and a social gathering with the crew with which I had been most closely associated). Finally, I should mention that, throughout all of the phases described above, I remained in daily contact with supervising personnel, who were eager to provide me with necessary explanations concerning technology, tasks, and the problems of individual workers.

Project IV involved intensive contacts with at least 50 persons, bringing the total number of "informants" for Projects I-IV and A-C to about 100.

C. RESULTS

Introductory Remarks

The activities just described were undertaken to provide an empirical basis for a humanistic approach to an area of inquiry hitherto dominated by sociological and psychological studies. As I have argued elsewhere, studies of this kind usually employ quasi-scientific methods and techniques; they tend to limit themselves to measuring (and possibly predicting)

the importance of cultural orientations, among other motivations, for the performance of workers. The underlying model is one in which "culture" is treated as an input variable, being of interest only insofar as it has a measurable effect on the productive output of a given working population. Things cultural are considered, as it were, only from the outside (i.e., in terms of their effect); they are usually separated from their context, since they have to be "gathered" as countable units. Frequently, this methodological bias may have ideological overtones, such as in the cases in which "culture" has been treated as a disturbing element, an obstacle to faster industrialization and modernization.

Our project was not devised to contest directly operational validity and pragmatic usefulness of productivity studies among African workers. But it makes a strong claim for the viability of alternative approaches. The alternative we have been considering was to study "culture," not primarily as an element of motivation, but as a product of human activities. In our search for "orientations toward labor," then, we have been looking not so much for attitudes and opinions but rather for results, objective manifestations of the workers' attempts to make sense of their activities and their experience.

Therefore, it was crucial for us to gain access to the kind of human action and expression which would provide us with objective evidence for a worker's "consciousness." It was found that such access could be gained through a study of communication, most importantly through language in action. Concretely, this meant that our field research concentrated on Shaba Swahili as it is

used in communication at and about work in specific social and technological contexts. Our project was to produce adequate information allowing us to identify the elements, structures, and cultural content of orientations towards work. To conform with the theoretical aims envisaged, the methods of analysis will be qualitative (semantics and text interpretation), even though the sheer bulk of the material we gathered certainly permits some quantitative operations. Emphasis on a qualitative approach implied that we took great care to collect our material in situ, i.e., in appropriate and accepted communicative situations, minimizing as much as possible the role of direct and task-specific questioning. No attempt was made to apply survey techniques (such as the distribution of questionnaires) or similar methods of extensive data gathering.

Given these precisions concerning our aims and methods, we may now report on results by answering the following questions:

- What kind of "data" did the project yield (results as material recorded)?
- What do these data represent (results as documents)?
- What do these data suggest (results as tentative conclusions)?

Material Recorded

In fixing results of our research, we followed established anthropological methods by taking written notes (mostly immediately after making observations) and tape-recording communicative exchanges. While the handwritten field notes

(amounting to about 500 pages) are mainly personal documents to be used only by the author, all tape-recorded material is in principle usable by other researchers (linguists, sociolinguists, Swahili specialists, folklorists, etc.). I shall be glad to make these recordings available to qualified persons, provided that I have the opportunity to specify the context of a given recording and to assure the anonymity of my interlocutors. A preliminary catalog of tape-recorded material is appended to this report. Apart from notes and recordings, I have also at my disposal written and published material of importance mainly for the socioeconomic situation of the workers studied (personnel statistics, company regulations, union publications, some photographic records). In view of the possibility of completing this sort of material in the near future, an inventory has not yet been made. Due to lack of time, certain interesting sources such as company publications and archives have not yet been consulted.

Documentation

These data are, in my view, not directly usable or processible in terms of an established operational program. Additional reflection and analysis are needed to determine the character and relative weight of each piece of recorded material. It can be argued, in fact, that such determination (in the form of choice) begins with the production of data, thus making it impossible to distinguish neatly between a phase of mere data gathering and a phase of interpretation. While there is hardly

a sociologist who would deny this as fact, there are still few who accept its theoretical implications.

In an attempt to be explicit about the epistemological conditions of communicative anthropology, we construed, about halfway through the project, a single composite scheme uniting (a) our understanding of "consciousness" as a process of intellectual synthesis, (b) our view of communicative anthropology as an (often abbreviated) learning process, and (c) our view of levels of analysis and presentations of anthropological knowledge gained in the process¹ (cf. Table 1).

This report is not the place to comment at length on theoretical assumptions underlying our composite scheme. Table 1 was included for its usefulness in judging the importance and limitations of our material.

As we see it, the levels distinguished in each of the columns are hierarchically ordered, but not all of them in the same sense. Thus, presumably each level of "consciousness" is included in the following one (starting from the top in column one). This implies the thesis that reflection is unthinkable without communication, which in turn depends on classificatory operations. The phases of the ethnographic learning process (column two) are depicted as being synthetic, i.e., starting with the knowledge of discrete items (terms) and proceeding toward more and more powerful syntheses. In fact, such directionality is determined by the exigencies of anthropological

¹Johannes Fabian, "Recherches sur les problèmes de communication dans le monde du travail," CENTRE DE LINGUISTIQUE THEORIQUE ET APPLIQUEE, Université Nationale du Zaïre, Lubumbashi, Bulletin No. 5 (1973), p. 7.

TABLE 1

"Consciousness": levels of synthesis	Phases of ethnographic learning process	Levels of analysis and presentation
<u>Classification :</u> <u>Knowledge of items</u> naming and classifying objects (e.g., divisions of time, space, places, materials, tools, tasks)	Noting terms signifying places, tools, activities, etc. <u>Problem:</u> Particularity vs. <u>totality</u> of knowledge	Lexicographic survey; semantic analysis of vocabulary and terminology (ethnoscience and cognitive anthropology)
<u>Communication:</u> <u>Communicative competence</u> in interaction	Recognizing communicative events (their distinctive character, relative impor- tance, frequency) <u>Problem:</u> Knowledge and <u>praxis</u>	Sociolinguistic analysis of communicative competence (speech events and components)
<u>Reflection:</u> <u>Existential and</u> historical consciousness	Acquiring linguistic and communicative competence; establishing relationships which permit receiving and noting (by recording or otherwise) the thoughts of a person. <u>Problem:</u> Comprehension of <u>ideas</u> and experiences	Interpretation and critique of texts

learning, which partly relies on established methods of data collection (geared toward "items"), thus gaining time to make the kind of synthetic experiences characteristic of normal learning processes. In reality, ethnographic learning is a two-way process in that it produces knowledge both as a synthesis of piecemeal information and as an analysis of total experience. Finally, with regard to the levels of analysis and presentation (column three) we envisage an analytical approach in the sense that the "text" (the fullest possible document for actual communicative exchanges) will be the basic unit of interpretation. Undoubtedly, it is possible to study cultural knowledge by means of formal semantic analysis of sets of lexical items; much of "cognitive anthropology" and "ethnoscience" has taken this approach in recent years. But we have doubts as to the validity of these procedures. Throughout this project, we have taken care to collect information in the form of texts, i.e., instances of discourse, rather than wordlists or compiled responses to directed questioning.

It must be admitted that our work has not been equally successful on all levels. Our documentation is most complete on the classificatory and reflective levels of consciousness. It is somewhat limited on the level of communicative interaction. Much information relevant to this problem is contained indirectly in almost every document. Nevertheless, for the outsider, which the researcher necessarily remains, it is very difficult to tape in action communicative exchanges related to work (such as orders, reports, and instruction, but including complaints, gossip,

joking, etc.). A notable exception to this rule have been the palabres recorded in the workers' settlement.

Tentative Conclusions

Until the full program of interpretation is carried out, "conclusions" can be offered only in the form of guesses, intuitions, and simple constations. In listing some of them, I shall follow roughly the three levels of analysis and presentation distinguished in Table 1 (right column).

1. A majority of technical terms used in communication at work are of French (and sometimes English) origin. Often they are preserved in their original morphology; phonological changes are more frequent. However, such lexical preponderance seems to have no effect on the importance and viability of Swahili as the language of communication. As far as one can tell, both borrowing and endogenous developments have increased during recent years and our observations indicate a direction toward a more pronounced bilingualism (i.e., a trend in which competence in both languages and the number of competent bilinguals tend to increase).

2. There are indications that the importance of the "foreign" lexicon in the work language is linked to communicative rather than linguistic competence. In many instances, this assumption is easy to verify. Individual speakers very often are able to produce Swahili terms for items which they habitually name in French (this is the case with many tools, materials, and activities). Sometimes, foreign and Swahili terms are used alternately (with alternation rules still to be discovered). In any case,

every speaker we have been in contact with was able to produce circumlocutions in Swahili for any foreign term relevant to his work. It was observed, however, that in naming tools, machinery, and processes the use of metaphoric extension was rare. This will provide an interesting line of inquiry, given the importance attributed by anthropological semanticists to metaphORIZATION as a creative process.

3. Thus, if one would base his view on the lexical record, isolating classificatory aspects of cultural knowledge from a fuller context, the conclusion would have to be that these workers depend on a language built on imported elements, following imposed rules, but almost void of internal creativity. In fact, many foreign and Zairean supervisors who were asked to assess the importance of Swahili in communication at work would express similar views. They, too, would point to the large number of foreign terms as evidence. This negative attitude among educated persons toward a language which has proved vigorous and expansive (and which many of them use exclusively in communicating with their families and relatives) poses in itself an interesting problem. Whatever the reasons for these attitudes, our research strongly confirmed earlier observations of a high degree of variation within Shaba Swahili in terms of context-specific sociolects.

4. As soon as the mere incidence of foreign terms is recognized as a doubtful criterion, the role of Swahili in communication at work appears in a different light. It has been our experience that workers and many lower-level supervisors

are able to express, and converse about, complex tasks and problems. Not only small workshops but also the highly modernized plant studied in Project IV were able to function smoothly with all communications below the level of production supervisor in Swahili.

5. Thus the functional adequacy of Shaba Swahili as a work language seems to be established. More than that, our initial assumption that this language would constitute a medium of access to work consciousness has certainly been confirmed. At the same time, one must keep in mind that Shaba Swahili only occurs in bi- and multilingual contexts. Its significance as a means of forming and expressing work consciousness, therefore, remains problematic. Some clarification will have to be sought in the history of Shaba Swahili, which remains to be studied. It is my guess that, as an earlier vehicular form of Shaba Swahili underwent a process of creolization, this language has gained cultural importance and weight over and against autochthonous languages and imported French. At the present time, in any case, the choice of Swahili is an object of conscious concern in communication across racial, social, and ethnic boundaries. Often, its choice carries a suggestion of intimacy and informal relationships among people who are strangers by traditional criteria but are united through a common experience of life in the urban-industrial centers of Shaba.

6. Other observations suggest that Shaba Swahili is not reduced to its functional role as a work language. It was found that, at work, there seems to be an inverse relationship between

the quantity and complexity of exchanges and their functional relevance. In other words, work is done and only rarely and briefly talked about; but workers spend much time conversing about matters not related to the work at hand, although it is probably true that some of these topics are reserved to conversation at work (sports, drinking, women, politics).

7. To see language, or speaking, in analogy to work has been part of our Western tradition (such views have been held by Herder, Humboldt, Hegel, Marx, and Husserl, to name only some of the more prominent thinkers). In this respect, our project suggests a line of further inquiry which, however, will have to be taken with great caution. In our conversations at and about work, we found that most workers were activity rather than product-oriented. We have come across dramatic instances of a complete lack of knowledge about, or interest in, the products of work. Carpenters had no idea about the destination and price of the furniture they made; workers at MTK had no idea about the use of zinc. In their reflections, work appeared as a way of life, inherently necessary rather than contingent upon goals or tasks of production. Language and speaking, being as important as they are in Bantu cultures, are closely integrated with work. Orientations of this kind may in part be the result of the all-inclusive labor policies in this area (the company as the exclusive and total provider of income, housing, education, entertainment, etc.). But there are reasons to believe that, when these policies were conceived, the colonizers made use of dominant cultural orientations toward work, orientations in which distinctions between

work and talk, production and communication, achievement and agreement, do not have implicit validity.

8. As I said, this argument must be offered with great caution; it may be misunderstood as being close to colonialist views of the lack of motivation among African workers. It appears in a different light if compared to recent discussions about the loss of "meaning," the "alienation" among industrial workers. Our documents cast much doubt on the validity of recent findings. "Alienation" (however defined and operationalized) will inevitably be found if a study relies on methods of eliciting direct responses to pointed questions. Our work suggests that expressions of discontent must not be confounded with a "loss of meaning." All our texts containing reflections about work show that a given worker may be dissatisfied with his work, or with his existence in general, and still hold highly developed positive moral and cosmological ideas about the role of work in human life.

D. STATUS AND ANTICIPATED DISSEMINATION OF RESULTS

It will be clear from the foregoing sections that our project can be considered completed as far as fieldwork is concerned. Cataloguing, indexing, and transcribing of the material are under way.

As to continuation of the funded activity, I will during the coming year (cf. under E.) be able to check findings,

assure, if necessary, additional information, and prepare first results while teaching courses or seminars in the area of the project. After that, I hope to find funds for several months of uninterrupted reading and writing.

With regard to publications, two invited contributions, one to the World Congress in Anthropology, the other to the International Journal of Sociolinguistics, are now under consideration. I hope to complete one or two smaller papers during the coming year, while the main project is a book on the anthropology of work for which first negotiations have begun with a New York publisher.

I have at this point no intention to publish results other than in scholarly articles and books. All in all, I estimate that work based on the project supported by NEH will continue for about four to five years.

E. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

While working on the project, I kept close contact with the National University of Zaire, Lubumbashi Campus. I volunteered to teach a course on sociolinguistics as a visiting professor. This not only provided contacts with Zairean students and colleagues; it also resulted in additional material relevant to my project. I also directed one "memoir de licence" by a Zairean student on a topic closely related to my project. He and other students have given me valuable research assistance.

I was then named an associate member of the "Centre de linguistique theorique et appliquée at the National University of Zaire; I hope to integrate some of my future work with projects of that research group.

Finally, while working on the project, I was offered and accepted a position as professor and chairman-designate of the departments of Sociology and Anthropology at the National University of Zaire. I will hold this position for a limited time; it is being funded by the Rockefeller Foundation within a program of faculty and curriculum development.

These links with institutions and colleagues in Zaire, and the prospect of continued work in this country will allow me to work toward a long-term project, a research institute devoted to linguistic, social, and cultural studies of non-standard Swahili. While standard or East Coast Swahili has received great attention in recent years, other varieties of that language (spoken by the vast majority of Swahili speakers) remain largely unknown. It is hoped that such an institute would serve to coordinate various efforts now under way separately.

(The following section may serve as the statement on the importance of the project as a contribution to strengthening all aspects of the humanities; cf. instructions for report.)

It is true that the activities funded and their immediate effects regard the situation in the urban industrial regions of Shaba. To be of scientific significance, our findings must be specific. But it is hoped that the project will have the wider impact predicted in the application.

First, our communicative, language-centered approach may set a precedent in the area of industrial sociology and related disciplines. The success of our fieldwork proves that an anthropology seeking to use and develop methods of the humanities is at least worth trying.

Second, all indications are that the humanities will again assume a greater importance as the social sciences have come under severe criticism. Nationally and internationally, anthropology has often played the role of a mediator between these branches of knowledge. By taking anthropological approaches to a substantive issue such as the significance of work, and by seeking insights in cultural contexts other than our own, we may hope to contribute directly to a problem which once again is being raised in our own society.

F. SUMMARY

It has been the aim of this project to collect, by means of language-centered ethnographic methods, evidence for African "labor consciousness." Except for certain modifications due to local conditions and unforeseen possibilities, the project has been carried out as proposed in the application.

During the period of fieldwork in Zaire (October 1972-August 1973), research was focused on several minor and the following four major sub-projects: Artists (referred to as Project I), Actors (Project II), Artisans (Project III), and

Hydrometallurgical Operators (Project IV). Intensive and repeated contacts with more than 100 persons, at work and in their private lives as well, produced the many body of documentation for this study: about 70 tape recordings, each containing one or several communicative exchanges. Among these are explanations of technology and activities, conversations about and reflections on work, and also records of litigation among workers, dramatizations, and some secondary material copied from radio and television. With few exceptions, this material is in Shaba Swahili. Great care has been taken to note the sociocultural context of every document. Other kinds of data (e.g., company publications, statistics, personal files, correspondence) add background information to these oral texts.

Although the task of this project has been to provide empirical evidence, the process of analysis and interpretation is under way. This report contains a proposal for presenting results within a theoretical frame which unites a model of consciousness as a process of intellectual synthesis and a view of ethnography as a learning experience re-enacting that process (cf. Table 1).

Apart from yielding substantive results regarding the content and structures of various manifestations of labor consciousness, the project has produced abundant material for sociolinguistic investigations of the development and present importance of Shaba Swahili. It is planned to publish a small book on the former, while reports on the latter will appear in

the form of papers and articles. Concrete arrangements for both are under way.

A brief statement on the importance of the project as a contribution to strengthening aspects of the humanities may be found in the concluding part of section E of this report.

Having accepted a position at the National University of Zaire, Campus of Lubumbashi, for 1973-74, the author will be able to pursue the project further, and assure any necessary additional information.

APPENDIX TO THE FINAL REPORT

Project director: JOHANNES FABIAN
Project title: LABOR CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG SWAHILI-SPEAKING
WORKERS IN SHABA / REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE

PRELIMINARY CATALOG OF TAPE-RECORDED MATERIALS

Note: This catalog is attached to the final report on a project supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities, Grant RO-6150-72-149. Each entry contains information on the following points:

- Title: Identifies number of "text" as the relevant unit contained in each recording. Some texts consist of distinctive sub-units (e.g. Text 50/1-24). Gives number and side of a tape or cassette (e.g., T1/2 = Tape one, side two; C1/1 = cassette one, side one). Texts as well as tapes are numbered for convenience only. Finally, it identifies the sub-project for which a given recording is relevant (cf. report, pp. 8-ff.).
- R: Gives information for each recording: date, location, approximate length in minutes.
- P: Identifies participants. In all but six of the texts (T65-T70) the author was present.
- S: Notes physical setting.
- C: Identifies code. With few exceptions, this was Shaba Swahili. Variations within Shaba Swahili are not noted.
- T: Briefly indicates the main topic.
- G: Tentatively identifies the genre of a given communicative exchange.

Speakers are not named in this catalog, although detailed information on most of them is available.

Text 1, T1/1, A

R: 28-10-72, Lubumbashi, 60 minutes

P: Domestic worker

S: Room at University Guesthouse

C: Swahili

T: Life and work history, reflections about work

G: Conversation

Text 2, T1/2, I

R: 14-11-72, Lubumbashi, 50 minutes

P: Painter

S: Workers' settlement (KDL), home of P

C: Swahili, some French

T: Life and work history, conception of painting, aesthetics, traditional models

G: Conversation

Text 3, T1/2, III

R: 14-11-72, Lubumbashi, 20 minutes

P: Two house painters

S: Outside University Guesthouse

C: Swahili

T: Small talk

G: Conversation at work

Text 4, T2/1, A

R: 14-11-72, Lubumbashi, 50 minutes

P: Technician, former male nurse

S: Room at University Guesthouse

C: Swahili

T: Life and work history, reflections about work

G: Conversation

Text 5, T2/2, I

R: 8-1-73, Lubumbashi, 40 minutes

P: Painter

S: Home and workshop of P

C: Swahili

T: Life and work history, conception of painting, aesthetics

G: Conversation

Text 6, T3/1, I

R: 21-11-72, Lubumbashi, 60 minutes

P: Painter (same as in Text 2)

S: Room at University Guesthouse

C: Swahili

T: Intensified version of Text 2

G: Conversation

Text 7, T3/2, I and C

R: 17-5-72, Kolwezi, 15 minutes

P: Two painters

S: Home of S (author)

C: Swahili

T: Mamba Muntu

G: Interrogation

Text 8, T3/2, I

R: 17-5-73, Kolwezi, 50 minutes
 P: Painter
 S: Home of S
 C: Swahili
 T: Life and work history, conception of painting, aesthetics
 G: Conversation

Text 9, T3/2, I

R: 2-6-73, Cité Manika, Kolwezi, 45 minutes
 P: Potter (female), her daughter, another female relative, Painter (same as in Text 8) and wife of S
 S: Home of P
 C: Swahili and Kiluba
 T: Life and work history, technical terminology
 G: Interview and conversation

Text 10, T4/1, IV

R: 28-11-72, MTK Kolwezi, 55 minutes
 P: Foreman, copper smelting
 S: Factory, small office near furnace
 C: Swahili
 T: Copper smelting, life and work history, reflections on work
 G: Mixed (interview, explanation, conversation)

Text 11, T5/1, II

R: 30-1-73, Lubumbashi, 60 minutes
 P: Four members (two female, two male) of actors' group
 S: Home of S
 C: Swahili
 T: Work
 G: Improvised dramatization ("sketch")

Text 12/11-4, T6/1, IV

R: 8-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 25 minutes (edited)
 P: Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers and relatives
 S: Office of Chef de Camp, workers' settlement
 C: Swahili, some French
 T: Varied
 G: Palabre

Text 13/1-8, T6/1-2, IV

R: 11-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 70 minutes (edited)
 P: Same as in Text 12
 S: Same as in Text 12
 C: Swahili, French, Tshiluba
 T: Varied
 G: Palabre

Text 14/1-2, T7/1, IV

R: 15-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 15 minutes (edited)
 P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives
 S: Office of Chef de Camp, workers' settlement
 C: Swahili
 T: Fine for negligence, allocation of house
 G: Palabre

Text 15/1-6, T7/1, IV

R: 18-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 30 minutes (edited)
 P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives
 S: Office of Chef de Camp, workers settlement
 C: Swahili, some French
 T: Varied
 G: Palabre

Text 16/1-2, T7/2, IV

R: 25-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 10 minutes (edited)
 P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives
 S: Office of Chef de Camp, workers settlement
 C: Swahili and French
 T: Permit for building church; worker retracts complaint
 G: Palabre

Text 17/1-6, T7/2, IV

R: 29-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 35 minutes (edited)
 P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives
 S: Office of Chef de Camp, workers settlement
 C: Swahili and French
 T: Varied
 G: Palabre

Text 18, T8/1, IV

R: 20-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 45 minutes
 P: Foreman ("lixiviation")
 S: Home of P at workers settlement
 C: Swahili
 T: Life and work history, reflections on work
 G: Conversation

Text 19, T8/2, IV

R: 20-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 45 minutes
 P: Worker (dispatch)
 S: Home of P at workers settlement
 C: Swahili
 T: Life and work history, reflections on work
 G: Conversation

Text 20, T9/1, IV

R: 21-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 45 minutes
 P: Assistant supervisor
 S: Home of P at workers settlement
 C: Swahili
 T: Life and work history, reflections on work
 G: Conversation

Text 21, T9/2, IV

R: 21-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 45 minutes
 P: Assistant supervisor
 S: Home of P at workers settlement
 C: Swahili
 T: Life and work history, reflections on work
 G: Conversation

Text 22, T10/1, IV

R: 25-6-73, Village Tshala near Kolwezi, 35 minutes
 P: Worker, relatives, and friends
 S: Home of P at village
 C: Swahili, some Tshokwe
 T: Life and work history, reflections on work
 G: Conversation

Text 23, T10/1-2, IV

R: 20-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 55 minutes
 P: Worker, later joined by other worker (P in Text 19)
 S: Home of P in Text 19, at workers settlement
 C: Swahili
 T: Life and work history, reflections on work
 G: Conversation, some discussion

Text 24, T11/1, IV

R: 18-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 35 minutes
 P: Foreman, workers
 S: Factory (furnace and adjacent building)
 C: Swahili
 T: Zinc smelting and preparation of zinc powder
 G: Explanation

Text 25, T11/1, IV

R: 26-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 10 minutes (fragment)
 P: Foreman (P of Text 24)
 S: Home of P at workers settlement
 C: Swahili
 T: Reflections on work
 G: Conversation

Text 26, T11/2, IV

R: 15-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 40 minutes
 P: Foreman
 S: Factory (hall of electrolysis, adjacent installation)
 C: Swahili
 T: Electrolysis of zinc
 G: Explanation

Text 27/1-2, T12/1-2, II

R: 18-7-73, Lubumbashi, 100 minutes
 P: Actors' group (same as in Text 11)
 S: Auditorium of American Cultural Center
 C: Swahili
 T: Two plays: Security at Work and The Chief's Daughter
 G: Dramatization (rehearsal)

Text 28/1-2, T13-/1-2, II

R: 1-8-73, Lubumbashi, 90 minutes
 P: Actors group (same as in Texts 11 and 27)
 S: Auditorium of American Cultural Center
 C: Swahili
 T: Two plays (cf. Text 27)
 G: Dramatization (second rehearsal)

Text 29, C1/1, III

R: 3-3-73, Lubumbashi, 45 minutes
 P: Carpenter
 S: Workshop 1
 C: Swahili
 T: Furniture making, reflections on work
 G: Explanation and conversation

Text 30, C1/2, III

R: 10-3-73, Lubumbashi, 45 minutes
 P: Carpenter
 S: Workshop 1
 C: Swahili
 T: Furniture making, reflections on work
 G: Explanation and conversation

Text 31, C2/1-2, III and I

R: 10-3-73, Lubumbashi, 60 minutes
 P: Woodcarver
 S: Workshop 1
 C: Swahili
 T: Woodcarving, reflections on work
 G: Explanation and conversation

Text 32, C3/1-2, I and III

R: 21-3-73, Lubumbashi, 70 minutes
 P: Sculptor, owner of Workshop 1
 S: Office at workshop
 C: French and Swahili
 T: Life and work history, conception of art, organization of his enterprise, explanation of some of his work
 G: Conversation and explanation

Text 33, C4/1, III

R: 26-3-73, Lubumbashi, 30 minutes
 P: Carpenter
 S: Workshop 2
 C: Swahili
 T: Furniture making
 G: Explanation

Text 34, C4/2, III and I

R: 27-3-73, Lubumbashi, 45 minutes
 P: Woodcarver
 S: Workshop 1
 C: Swahili
 T: Woodcarving, reflections on work
 G: Explanation and conversation

Text 35, C5/1, II

R: Ca. 20-3-73, Lubumbashi, 10 minutes
 P: Two actors
 S: Home of S
 C: Swahili
 T: Comments on Text 11
 G: Explanation

Text 36, C5/2, II

R: 23-3-73, Lubumbashi, 45 minutes
 P: Actress and speaker at radio
 S: Home of S
 C: Swahili
 T: Life and work history, reflections on work
 G: Conversation

Text 37, C6/1-2, I

R: 25-4-73, Kolwezi, 70 minutes
 P: Painter
 S: Home of S
 C: Swahili
 T: Life and work history, conception of painting, aesthetics, reflection on work
 G: Conversation

Text 38, C7/1, IV

R: 23-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 25 minutes
 P: Worker ("broyage")
 S: Factory
 C: Swahili
 T: "Broyage," some reflections on work
 G: Explanation and interview

Text 39, C7/1, IV

R: 23-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 20 minutes
 P: Worker ("sulfate ferrique")
 S: Factory
 C: Swahili
 T: "Sulfate ferrique," some reflections on work
 G: Explanation and interview

Text 39A,

R: 24-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 20 minutes
 P: Worker ("densités et debits")
 S: Factory
 C: Swahili
 T: His functions
 G: Explanation

Text 40, C7/2, IV

R: 24-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 25 minutes
 P: Two workers (filtration)
 S: Factory
 C: Swahili
 T: Filtration
 G: Explanation

Text 41, C8/1, IV

R: 26-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 15 minutes
 P: Worker (dispatch, same as in Text 19)
 S: Factory
 C: Swahili
 T: His functions, reflections on work
 G: Explanation and conversation

Text 42, C8/1, IV

R: 26-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 15 minutes
 P: Worker (same as in Text 38)
 S: Factory
 C: Swahili
 T: "Flotation," reflections on work
 G: Explanation and conversation

Text 43, C8/1, IV

R: 28-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 10 minutes
 P: Worker ("flotation")
 S: Factory
 C: Swahili
 T: "Flotation," reflections on work
 G: Explanation and conversation

Text 44, C8/1-2, IV

R: 28-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 15 minutes
 P: Worker ("filtre presse")
 S: Factory
 C: Swahili
 T: Filtration, some reflections on work
 G: Explanation

Text 45, C8/2, IV

R: 28-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 5 minutes (fragment)
 P: Worker ("tambour")
 S: Factory
 C: Swahili
 T: "Tambour"
 G: Explanation

Text 46, C8/2, IV

R: 11-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 10 minutes
 P: Worker (filtration), two maintenance men, foreman
 S: Factory
 C: Swahili
 T: Filtration, repair
 G: Explanation and discussion

Text 47, C8/2, IV

R: 11-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 25 minutes
 P: Worker ("purification à chaud")
 S: Factory
 C: Swahili
 T: "Purification à chaud"
 G: Explanation

Text 48, C9/1, IV

R: 11-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 30 minutes
 P: Worker ("purification à froid, same as in Text 23)
 S: Factory
 C: Swahili
 T: "Purification à froid," some reflections on work
 G: Explanation and conversation

Text 49, C9/2, IV

R: 16-5-73, MTK Kolwezi, 40 minutes
 P: Clerk, chief delegate of union
 S: Office at workers settlement
 C: Swahili
 T: Role of the union
 G: Conversation

Text 50/1-24, C10/1-2, IV

R: Cf. Text 13: This is the full recording of the session on
 11-5-73, 90 minutes

Text 51/1-21, C11/1-2, IV

R: 5-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 80 minutes
 P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives
 S: Office of Chef de Camp at workers settlement
 C: Swahili and French
 T: Varied
 G: Palabre

Text 52/1-24, C12/1-2, IV

R: 8-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 60 minutes
 P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives
 S: Office of Chef de Camp, workers settlement
 C: Swahili
 T: Varied
 G: Palabre

Text 53/1-12, C13/1, IV

R: 12-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 45 minutes
 P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives
 S: Office of Chef de Camp, workers settlement
 C: Swahili and French
 T: Varied
 G: Palabre

Text 54/1-17, C14/1-2, IV

R: 15-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 80 minutes
 P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives
 S: Office of Chef de Camp, workers settlement
 C: Swahili and French
 T: Varied
 G: Palabre

Text 55/1-16, C15/1-2, IV

R: 19-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 55 minutes
 P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives
 S: Office of Chef de Camp, workers settlements
 C: Swahili
 T: Varied
 G: Palabre

Text 56, C16/1, IV

R: 20-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 45 minutes
 P: Worker (same as in Text 47); his work
 S: Home of P at workers settlement
 C: Swahili
 T: Life and work history, reflections on work
 G: Conversation

Text 57, C17/1, IV

P: 22-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 45 minutes

P: Foreman

S: Home of P

C: Swahili

T: Life and work history, reflections on work

G: Conversation

Text 58/1-15, C17/2, IV

R: 22-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 45 minutes

P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives

S: Office of Chef de Camp, workers settlement

C: Swahili

T: Varied

G: Palabre

Text 59/1-19, C18/1-2, IV

R: 26-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 60 minutes

P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives

S: Office of Chef de Camp, workers settlement

C: Swahili

T: Varied

G: Palabre

Text 60/1-10, C19/1, IV

R: 29-6-73, MTK Kolwezi, 30 minutes

P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives

S: Office of Chef de Camp, workers settlement

C: Swahili

T: Varied

G: Palabre

Text 61, C20/1, IV

R: 2-7-73, MTK Kolwezi, 45 minutes

P: Worker (same as in Texts 38 and 42), his wife

S: Home of P at workers settlement

C: Swahili

T: Life and work history, reflections on work

G: Conversation

Text 62, C20/2, IV

R: 3-7-73, MTK Kolwezi, 45 minutes

P: Worker (messenger, just retired), several others

S: Outside office of Chef de Camp at workers settlement

C: Swahili

T: Varied

G: Conversation

Text 63/1-26, C21/1-2, IV

R: 3-7-73, MTK Kolwezi, 90 minutes

P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives

S: Office of Chef de Camp at workers settlements

C: Swahili and French

T: Varied

G: Palabre

Text 64, C22/1, IV

R: 6-7-73, MTK Kolwezi, 45 minutes
 P: Foreman (same as in Text 26), several others
 S: Home of P
 C: Swahili
 T: Life and work history, reflections on work
 G: Conversation

Text 65/1- , C23/1-2, IV

R: 6-7-73, MTK Kolwezi, 60 minutes
 P: Acting Chef de Camp (presiding), clerks, workers, and relatives
 S: Office of Chef de Camp
 C: Swahili
 T: Varied
 G: Palabres

Text 66, T14/1, II

R: 1-1973, Lubumbashi, 30 minutes (fragment)
 P: Actors group (same as in Text 11, 27, and 28)
 S: TV studio
 C: Swahili
 T: Play
 G: Rehearsal

Text 67/1-3, T15/1, III and IV

Three interviews copied from Voix du Zaire, "Magazine des metiers,"
 (no date, probably 1971-72)
 P: Reporter and workers
 S: At work
 C: Swahili
 T: Work
 G: Interview

Text 68, T15/2, background material

"Nusu ya saa wa mwanachana" (the half hour of the party member)
 C: "Official" Swahili
 Copied 9-2-73 from Tele-Zaire

Text 69, T16/1-2, background material

"Sisi kwa sisi" (among ourselves)
 C: "Official" and Shaba Swahili
 Copied 9-2-73 from Tele-Zaire

Text 70/1- , T17/1, background material

Popular tunes in Swahili, copied from archives of Voix du Zaire