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Titel des Vorhabens	Language, Gender and Sustainability. A pluridisciplinary and comparative study of development communication in traditional societies.

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Report 2003 – 2006

LAGSUS I

Original purpose and current context

In taking up the challenge of a longstanding blind spot in interdisciplinary cooperation, concerning a field of inquiry and practice of recognized global interest, the LAGSUS research group has initiated a number of parallel longitudinal studies in different regions of the world (Ivory Coast, Namibia, Indonesia, and Uganda) and in broadly comparable cultural and sociolinguistic settings. The main objectives were (i) to derive, from well-documented case studies, a general paradigm of the relevance of language to development; (ii) to investigate conceptual, discursive and interactional processes associated with the operational phases of development programs and study the effects of their outcome; (iii) to integrate gender aspects of communication and changing gender-roles as a semi-independent variable at the macro- as well as at the micro-societal levels; (iv) to assess and document the role of traditional or recently acquired communicative expertise of local communities in monitoring processes relevant to sustainability.

At the time of launching the project, studies focusing on the nexus between language, development and sustainability were – in terms of their reception - peripheral at best (C. Robinson 1996; Proceedings of the conferences organized by the British Council since 1993; the series on "Langue et développement" directed by R. Chaudenson): the categories of language and language diversity were virtually non-existent in mainstream research and debate on issues of development. After three years since its beginnings, there are indications that the topic is moving from the periphery closer to the centre, mainly as a side-effect of the increasingly radical shift of interest to the "local" in the think-tanks of the major players, as a corollary of the commitment to implement the MDG. Evidence for this trend comes, among other sources, from the World Congress on Communication for Development convened by the World Bank and FAO in October 2006 (www.devcom.org). There, the „identification of communication tools" has been promoted to an official task of participatory research at the grassroots level. This tallies rather well with the purpose and concept of LAGSUS.

At the other end of the spectrum, the generally unspectacular presence of LAGSUS research in remote host environments has served as a lacmus test producing more than casual evidence for the claim that the closer one moves to the local sites of research, the more natural becomes the relevance of a language-sensitive approach to development, both in the eyes of the target communities and those interacting with them as experts or administrators.

Overview of scientific results

What may count as *scientific* evidence, whether hypotheses or conclusions, is necessarily based on the collection of data, their analysis and interpretation. Language – mostly, but not exclusively, the local language, and moreover language in action, i.e. situated discourse – is not only itself a primary research focus of LAGSUS, but is also its primary research *tool*. Local language epistemology is the point of departure of a coherent methodology developed as part of the project (T. Bearth, local language hermeneutics, LLH, draft version). The need for language epistemology is highlighted by the correlation between topic shift on the one hand, and switch between languages on the other in flat bilingualism, e.g. LLNP local languages and Bahasa Indonesia, as pertinently observed by the sociologist (R. Döbel).

For ease of exposition, we will first present some hypotheses which have been corroborated by means of analysis of language data, and which seem to apply pervasively, before turning to issues of methodology and insights tied to individual projects. The first three points address broader concerns of development, the following ones have more to do with the domain of communication for development. Not unexpectedly, the interpretans „poverty" - besides „trust" and „power" - provides the most plausible hermeneutic key to local development discourse in all communities, by virtue of the wide range of its applications and of its explanatory power. While explicit statements to this effect are the exception and mostly obtained via interviews in the sociological strand, the presumption of poverty is the underlying presupposition validating arguments carrying no explicit reference to it. E.g. as a Herero case study shows, economic progress may, paradoxically, generate social inequality and lead to behaviour on the part of local agents which then threatens social cohesion, on which in turn further progress hinges. By contrast, Tura recordings from the ongoing conflict with its devastating effects on local economies correlates well with the notion of „secondary poverty", described by the people themselves in terms of lack of options, rather than as a social problem, except in terms of its effects on gender relations (Bearth et al., forthc.). The observation of local discourse over an extended period permitted (a) to test the relevance of the notion in terms of broadly recognized indicators, (b) to define it by the range of phenomena to which it is locally applicable (**local descriptors**), (c) to identify it in terms of its local speech correlates (stereotypes, proverbs, designators, etc.), and (d) to elaborate, in a reflexive phase of LLH, strategies of poverty alleviation in harmony with people's own views and preferences. To sum up, LAGSUS research suggests that a locally sustainable approach to the question of poverty, as proposed e.g. in the MDG philosophy, needs to compute broadly accessible indicators as well as locally recognized sets of descriptors. Access to the latter, because of their oblique relation to the interpretans, is hard to imagine without some kind of explicitly language data-based research (not to be confounded with „subjective" poverty).

1. Social cohesion turns out to be of paramount importance as a pre-condition not to development per se, but to its sustainability (in the sense of lasting, compatible, and self-reproductive effects). Local understanding – and by extension, mutual translatability - of the latter notion is constrained by this pre-eminence of the social, which in turn is identified with concrete solidarity groups, e.g. clanic structures, rather than with abstract society. A main contention is that the fulfilment of certain conditions of social cohesion may take precedence over other considerations, such as economic expediency, or ecological concerns.

2. Ecological sustainability as an autonomous category of reasoning definitely appears to have no footing in local concepts of development and moreover stands little chance to gain ground as a value or goal in itself in the short run, a conclusion supported by RD's comparative inquiry (S-6 Annual Report 06, p.7) – unless it can be mentally and practically subsumed under an extended notion of ownership. Ownership – with a sporadic religious connotation – is as a rule mediated by codes intimately bound up with local language, and its sustainability (in the sense of duration, lasting effects beyond the present generation) appears to be contingent on language perpetuation. Convergent evidence in support of these claims comes – via various channels - from the diagnostic environments of LLNP (Indonesia) and PNMS (Ivory Coast), but also from Herero grassroots development organisations.

   Data containing comments on apparent failure to live up to ecological imperatives also serve as a *caveat* against misunderstanding the LAGSUS hypothesis to the effect that sustainability would follow automatically from choosing the right communicative strategy, or from associating ecological principles with local terminology: *People are forced to use resources beyond recognized limits and despite observing negative environmental effects, such as the deterioration of grazing in communal Omatjete area,* says RD concerning Herero, and as TB puts it *that this is what poverty means,* referring to the destruction of oil palm groves in Tura area. People know but they have strong reasons not to do what they know. (See also Baluli: charcoil exploitation. LLNP: negotiation on *rotan* (=rattan).)

3. The theorem of communicative sustainability was tested and consolidated in a variety of field situations, and proven to be fruitful as an explanatory and practical tool, though subject to caution in terms of its methodology and validation. While the Ivorian crisis provided an optimal testing ground for its validity („vacuum test") as a factor to be reckoned with in the absence of externally supported development aid, the usefulness of the concept could also be demonstrated in the context of terminological innovation and (nature) conservancy (Indonesia). In the Herero context communicative sustainability is understood to be closely tied to language choice (Herero, Afrikaans, English), and sustainable processes of institutional development.

4. At the outset, successful negotiation of issues arising from the initiation and implementation of development processes seemed to be a rather obvious ingredient of communicative sustainability. The more it is the case that a community relies on orality as its only resource of negotiation and decision-taking, the stronger their tendency to rely on highly formalized discourse procedure as a condition for successful negotiation. However, this axiom must be relativized; its validity depends on the unbroken vitality of local institutions of decision-making (Tura: the Kono, documented in several facets; Indonesia, assu-

ming for argument's sake that the Soharto ban on local institutions is to be considered as merely episodic, the Musyawarah). Where traditional societies were dislogded or their structures crushed through violent forms of domination (Herero, Baluli), procedural infrastructure – the need for which remains as a condition of survival of collective forms of human existence - becomes itself open to borrowing, makeshift strategies, and on-site negotiation (the latter particularly well described for Herero), or becomes a strategic objective of expert intervention (communication as a learning process and as a development goal, Baluli).

Taking this a step further, it seems that not all communities have a priori a positive approach to their own language as the default development language. This led to propose a dichotomic typology of speech communities in terms of language preferences in the context of development. Extroversion vs. introversion, however, must be understood to be alternative strategies for the same purpose: reducing communicative dependency.

5. Collective self-regulation in the social domain draws primarily on culture-specific, highly conventionalised interactional resources (e.g. the Kono in urban and rural Tura [Bearth & Fan 2006; Bearth 2007];Musyawarah, Indonesia [Wickl, passim; I-4, 12-14 for a comparison]), but has also been identified as a privileged domain of borrowing and innovation (Herero, RMB, H-5: write ups and prepublications). Social cohesion needs to be defined in terms of locally accepted dominance relations, not of Western notions of equality, notwithstanding the latter's growing influence on emerging national societies. The Kono, for instance, is an elaborated and highly formalized age- and gender-sensitive protocol transmitted as part of early socialisation, which efficiently ensures full hearing for all stakeholders, from the youngest to the oldest, yet sets the stage for the latter's final word which, interpreting the consensus, is considered to be binding. Similarly, practitioners of Musyawarah, hailed as an alternative model of democracy and less formally constrained than Kono (Panel at the University of Tadulako, Sept. 6, 2006), may not, in their own understanding, be held accountable in terms of egalitarian democratic rule (RD, S-6 Annual Report 2006, p. 6). The question to what degree leadership quality is bound up with democratic rule might find its linguistic procedural correlate here.

6. Sustainable media as a factor of communicative sustainability in its own right was brought to attention in connection with the introduction of the written mode of communication in a variety of contexts, and for quite different reasons (*Herero*: minutes, accountancy; *Tura*: planning and management of microprojects; *Baluli*: official recognition of the language and its use in school as a factor of endogenously motivated development). The functionally motivated adoption of writing in the local language in an environment exclusively used to oral communication may have „Freirian" effects on the perception of the function and status of the languages themselves, on empowerment of those who speak them, and in terms of redefining the roles of expert and actor(J. Baya, Paper on Action-Research). We propose the variable „Sprachhoheit" to describe some of these effects.

7. To sum up those results which are most apt to generalization, one could further generalize by stating that taking language into account both as a tool for development research, and as a means of promotion

of innovation, local participation becomes less theoretical, more practical. Put simply: participation comes to life.

Longitudinal studies: a methodological asset

The project offered the almost unique possibility of collecting and analysing data illustrating processes of communication for development over a prolonged period of time, while at the same time reflecting the communicative aspects, and the views of the local people of these processes. The researchers were able to collect data from the same or similar settings, under conditions which were controlled and allowed to minimize research-induced bias, and at successive stages of local macro-processes identified as such by the people. This had two important consequences: 1. It allowed to screen off casual, situationally variable evidence from entrenched attitudes and their local language-coded stereotypes. Thus, the expression meaning "There is no alternative" in Tura could have been a spontaneous outcry of desperation and helplessness. However, its almost predictable recurrence across the society in the typical context of the alienating palm tree exploitation, as well as its repeated occurrence over time, justify its classification as a local stereotype. From, perhaps, a symptom of a momentaneous emotional state in face of a dismaying situation, it had acquired the status of one of those sentences – metaphors? - by which people live (Lakoff), which are not only used for commenting, but to justify behaviour.

The provision made for parallel longitudinal studies allowed to take a diachronic view by comparing successive contextual states, and thus to correlate change of behaviour with the way people reflect on these changes. Through people reflecting on their own situation a bit more systematically – a clear benefit of the interview methods -, one gets a glimpse of what change means to them. With increasing time horizon, chances increase for researchers to come across genuine situations of crisis, with their increased diagnostic value (Project description). The methodical choice to include a focus on deflected speech (speech not specifically designed for research) allows however to shortcut this "rule" as numerous examples (eg. from Herero) show. Spontaneous talk about sorcery, for instance, usually occurred under very particular circumstances (Tura).

At least in all African settings, the research project was perceived as functional and consequently was adopted by local bodies (Herero: institutional, Baluli: language development; Tura: development in defiance of crisis). This, while being critically reflected at the level of the research team (observer's paradox; ethical implications of LLH), inevitably also led to a re-conceptualization in terms of action-research associated with collaborative reflexion at the grassroots (papers by Reinald Döbel and Joseph Baya). The effects of this collaborative research, the processes associated with it, and their implications for development communication are a main focus of the write-ups for publication. In addition to the convergent results outlined in points 1-8 above, some significant results reflect the particular set-

tings of the individual subprojects, or the methodological choices of the research teams assigned to those projects.

The *Herero case study*, with a strong concentration on a single location, is strategically situated in time and space. It is able to document, through long-term observation and interaction with local actors, the effects of foreign development intervention, and the appropriation and transformation of knowledge imparted originally by development agencies, among them GTZ. The analysis of naturally occurring speech which allows the reconstruction of local perception of these processes, has been translated into an innovative methodological approach (papers by Rose Marie Beck and Tjeripo Musutua). Its second focus is on the local farmers' association operating in the same area. From the angle of the communicative sustainability hypothesis, it is of interest that while also being in part a product of the previous externally supported intervention, it has become the point of departure of a significant local development initiative originating with the target community. LAGSUS researchers, while documenting this process and analysing it, have themselves been solicited by both agencies for monitoring these processes from a communicative angle.

The *Indonesian site around the LLNP* benefitted from the complementary viewpoint of the sociologist, and from a primarily sociolinguistic inquiry. Focusing on awareness of environmental issues via questionnaires on key terminology, the latter is suggestive of a correlation between terminology rooted in the local language vs. terms introduced via the Bahasa Indonesia speaking park management and other agencies on the one hand, and popular awareness of ecological issues on the other. It is hoped that an in-depth study having the dynamic multi-layered language situation in its scope will shed further light on these issues and will be able to meet some of the expectations which have been set in a LAGSUS type approach both on an international and local level (cf. I-4, pp. 4-12; 17), as testified by the massive attendance of the Conference devoted to the subject in September 2006 (cf. I-4).

The *Baluli sub-project*, an offshot of the Ivorian war (dislocation of the main field researcher to *Uganda* in 2003), was a decisive addition to the sample on at least the following accounts:

1. It represents the opposite from Tura in terms of the communicative dependency paradigm. Without it, there would not have been a single clear-cut case illustrating the type of triadic communication constituted via translation by two interlocking dyads (expert-translator dialog and translator-local actor dialog). There is an implicit equivalence postulate concerning the immediately succeeding moves between alternating dyads; it is on the presumption that this postulate is correct that probably 90% of development communication in multilingual Africa rests. It took two visits by the linguist to start documenting the questionability of this postulate with authentic data, for the simple but crucial reason that Luruli, the language of the Baluli, had only re-emerged after a century of sub-colonization by the Baganda; the detour via language analysis and training in the newly devised orthography to ensure transcriptional capacity was a prerequisite to deal with the issue of translation.

2. On the other hand, the unlimited support by the Nakasongola district authorities reflected a perception of language development and sustainability which brought to the fore a factor which is less prominent in the context of the other subprojects but must be added to the central paradigm: Language as a symbol of identity and as a factor of societal cohesion constitute ingredients to communicative sustainability in their own right which cannot be reduced to aspects of the communicative function of language.

3. The main researcher, being fully employed by an NGO, could only devote his spare time to research, which explains that his thesis will only now be written as he leaves the field. Yet, contrasting his previous home experience in Tura as an expert who is at the same time a "child of the village", with the classical experience of the expert bound to rely on translation, results, among other things, in a significant contribution to the role of language in development communication from the perspective of everyday agricultural extension work (Fan 2007, in Afrika im Wandel).

The Tura project in the context of armed conflict

The Tura project represents doubtlessly the most incisive and fundamental change as compared to the Project description, in terms of the project set-up, its methods and its results. The armed conflict which arose in the very night of the completion of the work plan for Ivory Coast, disrupting the country's unity and - following the evacuation of the senior local researcher by the French intervention force - splitting the homogeneously conceptualised Tura project into three logistically and conceptually distinct research entities - appeared at first as a formidable hindrance to achieving the goals originally set, not least because all organized development work came to an abrupt halt in Western Ivory Coast, where the Tura live. As it were, purely and uniquely viewed from the angle of these very same objectives, what seemed to be a major disaster turned out to be a blessing in disguise in a number of ways:

i. The Tura situation in an initial phase of 1½ years provided a unique frame for an inquiry into the topic of "Development in crisis", while the crisis was on. From various angles a highly undesirable and unexpected situation provided just as unexpected answers to the important question: „What remains of development when its external supports fail, when there are no formal structures left, no experts, no agricultural extension services? When state control and government institutions simply cease to exist?" A stable research framework dating back to pre-war days made it possible to maintain a dialogue with the population practically without interruption, to get a number of first hand accounts of local crisis management and of strategies being developed for coping with the problems of economic isolation, as well as what has come to be known as "local analyses", e.g. of poverty, or of the situation created by the war, its causes, and the perspectives it offered to future-oriented action beyond mere day-to-day survival. (TU-1, TU-10). At this stage, the research was seen by those segments of the population who participated in it as a channel through which their voice could be made heard to the outside world, rather than as a learning opportunity for themselves.

ii. >From the specific angle of the LAGSUS theme, the total vanishing of organized development provided an ideal experimental frame for testing communicative sustainability and its claim according to which the shift from the exogenous to an endogenous "source of development" is decisive for sustainability. Interviews and spontaneous observations during a visit in February 2005 indicated that chances for crisis-resistance of innovations, whether at the conceptual, the practical, or the institutional level, correlated indeed in a significant way with the way in which these innovations had been acquired and locally negotiated in the pre-crisis days.

iii. Concomitant monitoring allowed to observe and describe processes of argumentation conducive to innovation, and thus do document, in *statu nascendi*, crisis as a source of innovation, as a trigger of a learning process, and, concretely speaking, as an eye-opener for the longstanding but previously not seriously envisioned need for agricultural diversification.

iv. The inclusion of the gender dimension reveals a reshuffling of gender roles among the Tura, moving away from the paternalistic and gerontocratic pattern of control, but at the same time leaving completely out from this change the public space. A forthcoming publication will shed light on this question (Bearth et al., forthc.).

The second phase of research on Tura

v. started with a paper which had grown out of the 20 months of contact by the field research team in the rebel-held area, was submitted to the main researchers and approved by them. The paper reflected the changing view of the population on the research, and, among other things, amounted to a call for associating them with the reflection on its assumptions and results;

vi. the result, in short, is a change in the way people view their own situation, the chances for development in spite of the crisis. This has led to a number of new initiatives, among them the almond tree culture; which are subsumed under the project name „Relance".

As a parallel development in the urban diaspora setting, an initiative arose for an innovative cassava project, supported and carried out by a Tura women group near Abidjan, and carried out in cooperation with the CSRS cassava specialist.

To sum up: the first phase of the Tura project offers insights into possible reactions of local communities under the conditions of (and a persisting threat of) armed conflict, into the resources on which local populations may draw for their safety and survival under such circumstances – including those of history, local language, and local knowledge stored in ancestral memory - brief, it provides a view on management under crisis (rather than post-crisis management which is often studied). Its second phase offers a case study for „double-loop" learning (Argyris & Schon 1974), demonstrating how reflexive action-research may lead to question one's own reaction to the dilemmas, and to overcome victim mentality. It also provides an opportunity to catch up with the study of communicative processes associated with operational phases of development programs as originally intended while integrating the lessons of the crisis. Both phases taken together may constitute a useful input to the current discussion

on possible development cooperation with local entities under the „failed state" condition (Klemp 2006).

Interdisciplinary cooperation

The sociological component contributed in a number of essential ways to orient the research as a whole and to shape its methods and results:

1   The field of hermeneutics, and its specific brand of local language hermeneutics, requires by definition the positioning of terms whose status is independent from the surface of the text and transcript. Thus notions such as trust, which are current in sociology but difficult to assimilate as a category of linguistic analysis, could be accommodated in a natural and necessary way as interpretans, without disturbing the categorial economy of linguistics or discourse analysis.

2   A key contribution was the introduction to Gidden's double hermeneutics, which proved to be an essential prerequisite for working on data from an actor's perspective in a way satisfying both the sociologist and the linguist.

3   In a more generic vein, the sociology component exerted a stimulating function by drawing attention to the relevant issues and sources in the global debate, particularly with reference to the MDG, World Bank policies but also to more local trends. Explicit, theoretically founded guidelines were provided for action-research and reflexivity.

4   In a more pragmatic way, RD provided a methodological framework for mapping social structure, intended as a necessary background for the interpretation of discourse data. His experiment with impromptu child theatre for oblique representation of deep-seated social conflict enters perfectly in line with a methodology of indirect strategies of elicitation, although it could not be capitalized sufficiently by local teams.

The S-component also had an integrating function across the individual projects. Due to the fact that the researcher had repeated access to all subproject settings (except Ivory Coast, so far), he was able to propose non-trivial generalizations on general issues related to poverty, land use, and perception by local people of resources and lack thereof, using mostly data from his own research environment in each location. The latter choice had the advantage of providing independent evidence corroborating or modifying the results of local research, but also had the disadvantage of diminishing opportunities to practice an integrated approach in which participating disciplines work on the same set of data, with the purpose of a methodological merger. Technicalities of linguistic analysis still are a major bogey, and a challenge to both sides.

The partnership with the *Centre Suisse de Recherche Scientifique* (Ivory Coast) provided opportunities to interact with researchers from the natural sciences in the form of

-   colloquia (12 Feb. 2004 on the general theme of the research project; 16 May 2006, on changing gender attitudes in the context of crisis, Bearth et al., forthc.) which became rallying points for researchers from the University of Cocody and Tura civil society;

- consultancy on innovative features of the product in the LAGSUS-monitored women's cassava project in peri-urban zone (AGRA).

Research focusing on villages in the environment of the PNMS led to a reactivation of the structures in charge of developing the Park periphery, in a rather similar concept as the one presiding over the management of the LLNP. Contacts with the direction of the Office of Parks and Reserves in Abidjan, who maintain the link to the EU sponsoring agency, are considered to be mutually profitable, and provide an opportunity to convey findings of the LAGSUS group on communicative sustainability to remote deciders.

Perspectives

Since it has become fashionable to speak of languages as resources among linguists and sociolinguists, with occasional positive echoes from other disciplines, some may say that this is the – ideological or cultural - corner where LAGSUS fits. However, the claim that language must be positively valued for development goes considerably beyond adherence to a culturally and educationally motivated rehabilitation of neglected languages and their potential. Its proof procedures (methodology) and results must in the end be solid enough to stand up against the critical eye of development hard core science, and must enter into their accounts as a (value added / added value) on those factors which count in the eyes of those for whom language per se does not count as a value. Success or failure of the project will therefore ultimately have to be measured in terms of its ability to demonstrate its relevance to the field of application in regard to which its innovative claim has been made, and not to some other field such as, e.g., discourse analysis, education or human resource management. In other words, apart from valid observations which have come our way while LAGSUS subprojects were adopted by local communities, the ultimate yardstick must still be the acceptance and, eventually the adoption, of its core hypothesis as a relevant criterion by the cross-disciplinary body of scientists and practitioners devoted to the cause of local sustainability of global development.

LAGSUS research opened the way to genuine exchange with scholars from other disciplines such as economists, researchers working in the context of ethics (e.g. at the University of Zurich).

Part of this challenge is to communicate some of the insights of LLH in such a way as to make them not only palatable to other scientists but applicable to the vast field of practitioners while making provision for the fact that most of the latter will not be in a position to hire a linguist to assist them ...

Contribution to key issues

The contribution of LAGSUS to the original call pertaining to „Key issues of the humanities" may be summarized as follows:

- *Peripheral society research methodology*: elaboration of a set of guidelines for the interpretation of local analyses and casual interaction, with the specific aim of controlling bias introduced by local speakers and/or by the researchers themselves (LHH);
- *Interdisciplinary dimension*: extensive field testing of an innovative hypothesis at the disciplinary watershed (communicative sustainability);
- *International collaboration*: developing and testing the potential for bridging the interpretative gap between local discourse and global science with the concept and training of local research mediators;
- *Transdisciplinary dimension:* Accreditation of a „soft discipline" in a domain dominated by „hard science" philosophy and methodology.

PUBLIC sphere

Media and press

Namibia. On the occasion of the 1st annual meeting in Windhoek (Namibia): Allgemeine Zeitung Windhoek (26.8.2004): "Sprache siegt an der Basis", New Era (Windhoek) (24.8.2006) "Language Experts Meet in Windhoek.

Switzerland. NZZ am Sonntag (14.11.2004): „Schlüssel zu den Menschen".

Ivory Coast. TV broadcasts, both on May 20, 2006, in connection with the Gender Colloquium of May 18:
- Interview with TB on the purpose of LAGSUS by RTI-chaîne 2.
- TB as „invité du jour" on the question of GENDER by RTI-chaîne 1.

Indonesia. 3rd annual LAGSUS meeting in Palu (Sulawesi): TV broadcasts of the conference, with interviews (Drs Arifuddin Bidin, Vice President of the University of Tadulako, Prof. Dr. Bernd Nothofer). Two articles in *Radar Sulteng* on the 6th and 7th of September 2006.

Data management

Updated inventories are available for Tura, Herero, and Sociology (see documentation for each sub-project in the appendices). Data are classified according to chronology, intermediality (audio, video, etc.) genre (e.g. interviews), and topic. Total hours: 150 (Herero), 60 (Tura).[1]

Given the size of the materials, and the number and variety of the variables bearing on the processing (linguistic competence, familiarity of the researcher with the language, availability of language descriptions, of an approved orthography, of experienced transcription assistance, etc.), the data are selectively dealt with, taking into account their relevance to major hypotheses as they have arisen during

the research. Options include full transcription and translation with interlinearization (for demonstration), object language transcript for cross-checking purposes, and pre-analysis. Pre-analysis is technically speaking an abstract of the researcher's interpretation of a recording, and needs to be submitted to validation.

Local research interface and capacity building

All projects benefitted from the availability of a local research interface: co-researchers who are at the same time speakers of the language, and cognizant about the issues involved in the research. With a major focus on interpretation, this overlapping competence turned out to be an indispensable prerequisite for validating hypotheses about meaning of spoken discourse. At the same time the availability of such competences is a challenge to capacity building which benefits the local community and the academia of host countries.

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Abbreviations

TB	Thomas Bearth
RD	Reinald Döbel
RMB	Rose Marie Beck

I-4, S-6, TU-1 refers to the respective section of the Appendix (I = Indonesia, S= Sociology, TU= Tura/Uganda, H= Herero)

AGRA	Agricultural activity project in Greater Abidjan
CSRS	Centre suisse de recherche scientifique (Abidjan)
LAGSUS	Language, Gender & Sustainability
LE	Language for processing local information
LLH	Local language hermeneutics
LLNP	Lore Lindu National Park
MDG	Millenium Development Goals
PNMS	Parc National du Mont Sangbé
RTI	Radio Télévision Ivoirienne

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[1] Uganda: Approx. 4-5 hrs per week on the field, for purposes of research and documentation.

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