Kazi : Conceptualizations of Labor in a Charismatic Movement among Swahili-Speaking Workers.
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Résumé

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It will be easier to judge the empirical basis and theoretical goals of this essay if we start out by determining the major coordinates of our present approach to the problem of labor orientations. Most of what we have to say by way of illustration or documentation results from earlier fieldwork among Swahili-speaking industrial workers in the copper...
mining towns of South Katanga (Democratic Republic of Zaire). While conceptualizations of industrial labor, of the social relationships it entails, of the rewards and frustrations it creates could not escape our attention, the main interest was in the study of an enthusiastic religious movement. Unavoidably our expectations were directed toward the “extraordinary.” We focused on forms of social interaction and formulations of social orientation which did not simply reflect the everyday routine in the labor settlement. Adopting a modified version of what we felt was the most powerful theory of the extraordinary in social life, we made an attempt to understand the movement as a charismatic phenomenon, in Max Weber's own words a “great revolutionary force” in societies which are still bound by tradition (1964: 182). Our study dealt with the general problem of sociocultural change and with the more specific one of the transformations occurring in a society on its way toward an industrialized nation-state. But in its scope it was limited to what we thought was a key symptom of change, certainly not its most momentous aspect, but one which offered a privileged approach given the research economy and techniques of anthropological fieldwork. This should not give the impression that our work was predetermined by whatever established procedures of the craft we commanded. On the contrary, questions such as the nature of our data, and the objectivity of our ethnographic work became major problems of investigation. In fact, problems of this kind will be some of the main topics of discussion in this paper. For reasons which we cannot argue in the present context, we became increasingly aware of the crucial importance of language communication. On the level of methodology and research techniques, this turn to language was probably necessitated by the specific political and social situation which made it all but impossible to orient our observations on established structural-functional views of social anthropology, much less on extensive surveys based on statistical-quantitative operations. In more concrete terms, the years 1966 and 1967 marked a period of dramatic confrontation between the Congolese government and the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, a protracted struggle aggravated by the adventures of one Colonel Schramme and the desperate left-overs from the Katanga secession. Although fortunately more than half of the eighteen months spent in Katanga passed in the calm before the storm, martial law and hysterical and sometimes tragical outbreaks of fear and frustration accompanying the decreed nationalization of the copper mines (in

We realize that labor experiences may vary a great deal with different activities (assembly line, operating machinery, maintenance, toolmaking, and so forth), but for the present purposes we are unable to deal with these distinctions. Similarly we do not propose a strict definition of “work” or “labor” because this would entail theoretical considerations which are outside the scope of this paper. We use a number of current concepts to designate labor orientations. Each of them should be understood in its context. We make no attempt to construct a rigid analytical frame or terminology.
January 1967) were the background for a period of research in which we were all but forced to regard the problem of communication itself as a central issue. Nothing in the subsequent development of the Third World has convinced us that this theoretical preoccupation which was derived, in part at least, from social and political necessities, has been misguided. To the extent that it has become all but impossible to conduct anthropological studies only in the framework of mechanistic or probabilistic explanations of society we see a growing need for what we might call a communicative approach: a view of social scientific activity as a critical interpretation1 of social reality inasmuch as it is shared by observed and observers. We feel that a paradigm in which social science had come to rest on the assurance of given data and the implicit objectivity of the logic of inquiry has lost its foundations. What is left are the labors of interpretation and it may be appropriate to take up that task with the interpretation of labor. If that is an accurate assessment of the situation, then we might expect the contributions of anthropology to labor studies in Africa to inaugurate a trend away from a focus on the motivation of industrial workers toward an understanding of the communicative processes which produce industrial labor, its social structures and cognitive orientations, as a way of life. Communication rather than motivation will then be the focus of inquiry provided one keeps in mind that communication is no more a synonym for consensus than a “way of life” necessarily means a “way of good life.”

With these broad, programmatic suggestions we do not wish to imply that anthropological problems and insights have had no influence on labor studies in Africa. Psychologists, for instance, have had to take into account cultural factors in their adaptations of projective tests to African subjects. The persistence of traditional beliefs and patterns of organization among migrant or urbanized industrial workers has been the object of very large number of sociological studies.2 In retrospect, we choose the term “interpretation” for two reasons: a) in order to define our approach in contrast to the notion of “explanation” in the paradigm of logical positivism; b) to indicate its affinity to “critical” and “hermeneutic” approaches to social reality (see Bubner et al. 1970, Radnitzky 1968; see also Fabian 1971b).

2. It is impossible to support these observations with adequate bibliographical documentation. We shall limit ourselves to a brief selection of references: Smith (1968) is the author of a useful survey paper on industrial sociology in Africa in which he notes the predominance of a social anthropological perspective in an earlier phase (p. 83) as well as the temptation to blame social anthropologists for the fact that industrialization has largely been treated in terms of its impact on “traditional” society, rather than in its own terms (p. 94). Among the works of that earlier period are the studies by Orde-Browne (1933), Moore (1948) and Mitchell (1961). The role of industrialization in a wider context of socio-cultural change has been examined in Bertiaux (1953) and Forde (1956). Still unsurpassed in its scope and ambitious intentions is the collection of essays published by Présence Africaine (1955). Psychological research on African workers was reviewed by Hudson (1958). The problem of adapting projective tests is treated by Ombredane (1969) and, for the region in which our own work was carried out, by Leblanc (1960). More recent examples may be found in the work by Binet (1967, 1968) and Grant and Shepers (1969). Among case studies of motivation and productiv-
however, we perceive two major flaws which, in our opinion, have severely restricted our understanding of industrialization as a process of sociocultural change.¹

The first one derives from the fact that "cultural factors" (assuming that these are customarily assigned to the professional domain of anthropology) have almost exclusively been treated as part of the motivational input in the behavior of African workers.² A vast majority of labor studies has been concerned with such problems as variation in productivity, causes for absenteeism, patterns of occupational stability and migration, and so forth. Given these aims, it seems to be perfectly legitimate to view African conceptualizations of work, contractual relationships, expected rewards, and so forth, as variables among others and to adopt a theoretical frame in which elements of the cultural system penetrate into individuals and society through the processes of internalization and institutionalization. The problem is, and this is the second major flaw we perceive, that we begin to have our doubts whether such an analytical scheme is sufficiently guarded against ideological interests and possible distortions. Its core is a view of cultural factors as an input into behaving organisms or functioning society. Even if it is acknowledged that this formulation is metaphorical (while the operations are thought to be logically defendable) one cannot fail to recognize that it fits quite neatly another basic assumption guiding much of the work on modernization and industrialization in (former) colonial countries. We are thinking of the idea that the clash between African and Western cultures occurs asymmetrically. In both cases, i.e. in theories viewing culture as input as well as in colonial ideologies, the logical structure of the argument is the same: culturally conditioned motivations are seen to penetrate an actor or a social system from the outside, which in turn presupposes that they can be isolated as discrete elements whose influence on the output can then be measured. Similarly the impact of Western civilization is felt to affect African society as an outside force. In its grosser forms this appeared as the doctrine of racial and cultural superiority. Its more subtle forms are still around, perhaps no longer as political programs, but

¹ It should be pointed out that we restrict our observations to studies which consider the role of culture in labor orientations. We are not concerned with the vast and diffuse literature in which anthropologists have examined (and deplored) the consequences of industrialization for traditional societies. A classic in this genre is Davis (1967, first published in 1933), but similar views have been expressed more recently (e.g. by Mwele Kyabutha 1967).

² This applies even to approaches which stress the importance of the cultural factor. A recent example is De Coster (1970).
Certainly as a theoretical bias. On the whole it remains characteristic of modernization studies to picture the process as unidirectional and asymmetrical or to confuse real asymmetry with illusionary asymmetry. Real asymmetry is obvious in such areas as technological known-how and the control of capital investment. It is largely imaginary if predicated on the intellectual and moral foundations of an emerging modernity. Malinowski, who is by no means above suspicion when it comes to connections between colonial domination and social theory and to whom asymmetrical relationship was self-evident, had seen at least that much:

“If we are to lead the African in the common enterprise of a satisfactory and harmonious transformation; if the African is to cooperate with the European under the terms of the Dual Mandate in exploiting the continent for the world, it is not enough if we supply the spiritual substance and expect the African to give the Marxian quota” (Malinowski 1945: 71).

That was said a generation ago; ever since it has been asserted by Africans and non-Africans alike (except, of course, the idea of a mandate). Occasionally we find ambitious schemes which maintain that African workers modernize in a dialectical process that can no longer be fitted into old theories of acculturation and functional culture change. But when it comes to empirical implementations, we see little progress over previous work.¹

We think that anthropology will make a significant contribution to our understanding of industrialization only if it succeeds in demonstrating that the “cultural factor” in labor orientations must be approached in its own right and its own terms. This will entail, above all, a trend away from viewing culture as motivational input and a factor in productivity to culture as the product of processes of communication. Methodologically it will shift the focus on the role of language, not only in the transmission but also in the articulation and constitution of culture and knowledge. In ways which will be explained as we go on, the emerging field of sociolinguistics or anthropological linguistics offers the best theoretical and methodological prospects for such an enterprise.²

Surprisingly enough, Malinowski, who is now recognized as a precursor to these fields, also found a programmatic formulation concerning our

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¹ For example, the study of wage earners in Senegal by Fougeyrollas (1967).

² Literature explicitly or implicitly associated with this trend is growing rapidly. In our view, it is characteristic of “sociolinguistics” that it does not really constitute a new discipline covering a newly discovered empirical domain, but rather a highly fertile hybrid of theoretical concerns deriving from linguistics, anthropology (and a number of other social sciences), combined with critical reevaluation of the epistemological foundations of social scientific research. General formulations as well as specific studies may be found in Gumperz and Hymes (1964), Lieberson (1967), Fishman (1971), Fishman et al. (1968). A critical historical study of the role of linguistics in US anthropology has been published by Hymes (1970). The same author shows the relevance of this approach to other styles of research (1969). Only in passing we may note that, as is the case with many other “modern” trends, the “ethnography of speaking” had been formulated in its major elements in the thirties (see Weisgerber 1959).
specific problem, that is, the understanding of industrialization as a productive process rather than as an epiphenomenon of economic impact and cognitive dislocation. As might be expected, we find these gems in a rubble of outrageous functionalist schemes and when we now conclude these introductory remarks with some rather extensive quotations, this should not be taken as an endorsement of, or a relapse into, the sins of our ancestors:

"Take such a typical product of change such as a big industrial enterprise—an African gold or copper mine. Can we envisage it in terms of a mixture, a juxtaposition or assortment of 'partially fused elements' from Europe and Africa? Obviously not. It is a new type of enterprise, organized by Western capital and European initiative but working in exotic surroundings and with African labor. Imagine an assortment of elements 'borrowed' from the Western civilization: the mining plant—the tools, trucks, and rails; the machinery for pounding the ore; the various engineering appliances—all dumped on the veldt or in the jungles. Imagine whole regiments of African labor driven toward it, as well as a contingent of skilled European workmen and engineers planted there. All this juxtaposed, mechanically put together, does not yet constitute a mine or factory. It can only be regarded as a set of conditions necessary but not sufficient for the creation of this industry. Where 'borrowing' ends, culture change begins. The translation of financial and engineering plans into an organization of African labor for the exploitation of African resources is a new process, a genuine process of contact and change. . .

What really takes place is an interplay of specific contact forces: race prejudice, political and economic imperialism, the demand for segregation, the safe-guarding of a European standard of living, and the African reaction to all this. To approach any one of the large autonomous industrial enterprises in Africa with the conception of a 'mixture' would lead us to give up the study of process at the very point where it really becomes significant. . .

The task of the fieldworker cannot consist in disengaging and reasserting the Black and White elements of the imaginary conglomerate, for the reality of culture change is not a conglomerate, nor a mixture, nor yet a juxtaposition of partially fused elements" (Malinowski 1945: 23-24).

Once again we emphasize that we have no use for the wider theoretical frame in which these perceptive observations appeared. In his urge to "naturalize" the processes of change by pressing them into a scientistic scheme of functional explanations, Malinowski indeed contributed to the colonialist conviction that such change was necessary, inevitable, and predetermined in its direction. He was among those who gave anthropology the collaborateur image which has made it all but anathema among African scholars of the postcolonial period. Most of that damage remains to be undone. We hope that a new approach which is communicative rather than manipulative, and that down to the core of its epistemological assumptions, will be able to integrate insights that have proved valid in an enterprise that can be shared by defensive former colonizers and aggressive new independent scholars.
II

In this section we intend to picture the ethnographic context of our present concern with labor consciousness. We shall do this in terms of a number of perplexing observations. From there we will go on to present and analyze language material with the aim of identifying the major components of the semantic field of kazi, Swahili for "labor," and a number of related terms as they appear in the standardized doctrine of the movement we studied. First, however, we will have to sketch in the briefest possible way the field situation in which we made our observations.

Our project was the study of the religious movement known as the Jamaa (Swahili for "family"). Founded by a Belgian missionary, Placide Tempels, it first became recognized as such in the early 50s at Ruwe, one of a number of labor settlements surrounding the mining center of Kolwezi. At the time of our fieldwork in 1966-67, the Jamaa had spread beyond Katanga, mainly into the Kasai region. In the Kolwezi area it probably had passed its peak. According to our observations about one percent in a population estimated at 130,000 were actively involved in the movement; many more had marginal contacts as former or prospective members. The movement is organized in local groups usually attached to a Catholic mission parish. In the mid 60s an organizational separation from the mission church had not yet occurred. With the exception of a few teachers, small merchants, and office clerks, all male members were employed as industrial workers by the Union Minière. Membership is restricted to adult and married Christians and is intertribal. Katanga Swahili is used in public meetings of the groups.1 It was the language in which the founder formulated his message.

Roughly half of the eighteen months of fieldwork was spent in the Camp of Musonoi, the largest of the settlements near Kolwezi, the other half in the city itself. In frequent visits to Lubumbashi, Likasi, and up-country Katanga we sought to put our observations in a wider perspective. While our attention was focussed on a religious, charismatic phenomenon, we took care to learn as much as possible about the everyday world of the typical Jamaa member, his relationship to his job and his employer. We had frequent occasions to discuss the social policies of the company with representatives of the management, the technical staff, and the social services.2

Our observations concerning labor orientations were gathered on a

1. On Katanga Swahili, see Polomé (1963, 1967, 1968); also Fabian (1971a: 130, note 8).
2. Our monograph on the Jamaa movement may be consulted for background material on the history of social policies in Katanga, on the present organization of the workers' settlements, and on some statistics concerning demography, ethnic composition, mobility, and professional ranking (Fabian 1971a: 51-66, 211-215).
day-to-day basis, most of them in situations ranging from casual conversations to formal instructions in Jamaa doctrine. Others were culled from company publications and sociological literature. In retrospect they seem to offer a perplexing picture of seemingly unresolved contradictions.

Whenever I tried to elicit reactions from Jamaa people by asking focussed questions—such as: what is the meaning and purpose of kazi? why do you want to work in the mines and what do you get out of it?—the answers would invariably project a pessimistic, largely passive attitude. One has to work because one has to eat, and that is all there is to it. Work is hard, wages are low, and the working man never gets his share when big bosses and politicians pocket their money. As to the meaning of it all—didn’t the Bible say that it was part of the curse earned by our first ancestors? Only occasionally did kazi appear as part of positive statements such as in self-categorizations in which workers, calling themselves muntu wa kazi, would with a certain pride point to a contrast between themselves and the masses of unemployed hangers-on, holders of patronage jobs, and others who did not have to work for a living. Older workers might point to the length of their employment, proudly reciting the genealogy of the White supervisors with whom they had worked. Similarly the difference between life in Kinshasa, the political and commercial capital of Zaire, and in Katanga was described to me by several informants as a contrast between the pursuit of furaha, the joys of the big city, and kazi, hard honest work.

The White personnel, which in 1966-67 still occupied all leading positions down to the level of supervisors and foremen, could be expected to react with stereotypic answers whenever I inquired about Black workers, their attitudes toward industrial labor, and their professional competence. A majority of the answers expressed the exasperation of people who had come into leading positions in Africa but had remained completely in the reference frames of their European training and mentality. With unmitigated racism and colonialism they would dismiss my inquiries into African labor consciousness as a hopeless undertaking. Basically, I was told again and again, Africans were a bunch of lazy bastards who would understand only one language—force and material reward. Punctuality, reliability, and professional pride were nonexistent. Of course, almost everyone of these informants would point out that he knew one or two exceptions. Some offered slightly more sophisticated views, among them a sort of leitmotif which will be recognized by anyone familiar with the colonial labor situation. They would point to the fact that many African workers who had attained a considerable level of professional competence would all of a sudden lose interest in their work, forget their skills, and eventually end up as messengers, or even quit work altogether and return to their villages. This was taken as proof that Africans, although able to adapt for a limited time, have essentially no understanding and no use for the values of rational and competitive labor. I do not recall a single instance in which one of my
interlocutors would have been puzzled by the question how a large enterprise managed to operate effectively and on the whole smoothly with a labor force that was thought to be inept and unmotivated, yet without applying outright coercion and without offering extraordinary material rewards. The latter is an important point. Within the span of one generation the mining industry in Katanga has succeeded in switching from a system of semi-forced recruitment to a stable self-propagating labor force in which workers and their families were expected to, and did, join the enterprise for extended periods on the basis of freely accepted contracts. At the time of our fieldwork the system had been working for at least a decade without the use of force.

The situation appears even more complex when one considers that the cynicism expressed by the majority of the White employees is their private reaction. Official policies have been defined in quite different terms and it is these one finds accepted by many old-timers and perceptive administrators, some of whom (especially those who had risen through the ranks in the management of the settlements) have extensive knowledge of African languages, of problems arising out of the clash between traditional beliefs and urban life. Two major ingredients strike me as being characteristic of the official labor policies. In normal times it is not openly admitted that the company is there for the profit it can make. Economic reasons will be called upon only in times of crisis when it becomes necessary to reduce costs. Otherwise the enterprise will present itself to Black and White employees alike always with an image that is larger than life. It is not there to exploit the mineral riches of the area, but claims to be charged with a mission. At one time this was the œuvre civilisatrice, imperceptibly it has changed into the goals of economic independence and national glory. Almost half a century ago a manual on labor regulations in the Congo defined labor as “one of the most efficient means of education and a very powerful agent of civilization” (Heyse 1924: 1, my translation). At the very moment when the Government fought for the nationalization of the mines and for the liberation of Congolese workers from the tyranny of foreign interests, it was propagating ideas which reaffirmed the same crucial role of labor in the attainment of national goals.

1. Recently it has been argued that wage input is the main factor in productivity of African workers (Harris and Todaro 1969). Our case suggests that the specific organization of a work force may have to be considered as an equally important factor (see also Kilby 1967).

2. The background to these policies as well as their implementation are discussed and documented in Motoulle (1946). The success of the policy of “stabilization” is reflected in the following statistic. In 1956, 30.9% of the workers in Katanga were single, 2.4% were married living separated from their families, 70.2% were married living with their wives, only 1.3% were officially considered polygamous (see Bäck 1959: 209, Table 29). According to our own information, the average duration of a contract among employees of the Union Minière was, in 1965, more than 9 years.

3. A codification of the view of colonization as a “mission” may be found in Rousset (1949). The author was a missionary.
A second characteristic of official labor policies in Katanga, obviously a corollary to the first one, was the all-pervading conviction that relationships between industrial employers and their African employees cannot be limited to the actions and transactions of remunerative labor. In ways which were typical for the early stages of capitalistic expansion in Europe and in the USA the enterprise took charge of all aspects of a worker’s professional and private life. The visible result was the “Camp,” the labor settlement as a total society in which all basic needs were satisfied (and controlled) by the company, including religion since missionaries administering parishes and schools in the settlements were on the payroll of the enterprise. Apart from these palpable forms the idea found expression in many subtle and often emotionally charged ways. Thus it was expected that the White supervisors should know the “psychology” of their employees. They should understand that Africans are in many ways “like children” who seek above all understanding and affection, while professional pride and remuneration are of secondary importance to them. Annoying affairs resulting from magic practices and sorcery accusations were to be handled in a humane way, based on an understanding that these things are important to Africans who should be left free to pursue them as long as they did not interfere with their productivity. Thus in official company documents the overall raison d’être of the industry as well as the essence of labor relationship was, in effect, consistently expressed in the language of moral values, philanthropic aims, and a total theory of history. Looking at these pronouncements from an outside point of view, we are, of course, entitled to maintain that this manifest ideology of labor was used to cover the real relationships. Yet it would be simplistic to overlook the fact that economic reality and ideological superstructure formed an integrated whole, in the minds of those who were involved as well as in the actual efficient operation of an industrial enterprise. To insist on the integration of ideology and praxis as a general scheme does not imply that such a scheme always functions smoothly. After all, what was important to those who made the policies were the effects on the side of the desired industrial output (of which the extraordinarily high remuneration of White personnel was considered a natural complement) while on the moral and “human” side it remained a constant source of friction and frustration: the company may terminate a contract for reasons beyond

1. We should point out that such totalitarian claims on the worker are typical not only of “colonial” enterprises. They may be made in surprisingly similar forms by independent political powers. P. CHARES (1961: 24) quotes from a brochure published by the Moroccan Bureau de la Formation Professionnelle du Ministère des Travaux Publics: “Postulat de base: [..] intégration de la formation à la production. C’est-à-dire que l’ouvrier (ou l’agent à former) ne quitte jamais complètement, ni humainement, ni matériellement, le cycle et l’ambiance de la production.”

2. A prime document for such combination of humanitarian motives and concerns with productivity and output, as well as for the ideological character of “sociological” understanding is SILBERBAUER (1968).
the worker's comprehension or ability to examine. The humane, even affective, relationship that was favored between supervisors and workers was at the same time restricted to their relationships at work and it was flatly contradicted by strict anti-fraternization rules. Until recently the missionary and the administrator of the settlement were the only contacts to the White man's world that an African worker would have outside working hours. And even their roles were more or less limited to official business. It was in this situation of conflicting demands and expectations that the message of the Jamaa movement began to attract enthusiastic followers. It offered a universalistic doctrine of unity and love beyond racial, tribal, and social boundaries. For converted Christians it made it possible to act with conviction and for universal goals without being plagued by doubts whether or not Christianity was not just a matter for the White man. In the concrete situation in which that occurred, and given the concrete problems and contradictions we have tried to sketch, it is surprising that frustration did not turn into rejection. On the contrary, the experience of industrial work, of the complicated processes and organization it involves, of the professional and moral discipline and demands it projects, became a crucial element in the formulation of this new, all encompassing message. At one time a member of the Jamaa flatly declared that the movement was "like the Union Minière." He pointed to the efficient unity based on the cooperation of innumerable people of different origins. And he illustrated this with concrete examples from his experience with White supervisors. All this he told me was basically what the Jamaa sought to realize in its own way. Admittedly this was a rare instance, but partial metaphors and models are constantly derived from the realities of everyday life in an industrial enterprise and incorporated into Jamaa teaching, not only as illustrations and examples, but as constitutive elements of important doctrinal tenets.

This brings us to the central problem of this paper which we formulate as two interrelated questions: a) what is the linguistic evidence for the incorporation of an African worker's experience in the doctrine of a charismatic movement (section III)? and b) what are the possibilities and limitations of a sociolinguistic interpretation of religious language with regard to the overall process of the formation of an African labor consciousness (section IV)?

III

Realizing that the term semantics itself poses innumerable problems, we shall use it here to designate a presumed domain of experience, shared by a multitude of individuals, inasmuch as it has found its objectivation in and through language. For epistemological reasons, however, we do not assume that the language-expressions of such a domain can ade-
quately be described in terms of discrete lexical units and their logical relationships, not even if an exploration of these relationships is carried on to the level of syntax. We consider neither words nor sentences to be constitutive and representative of communicative context. That criterion is met only by what we shall call texts. Texts may be defined as the natural product of communicative events, i.e. of recordable instances of a process of language communication. Depending on how a community of speakers defines a communicative situation, the textual products will vary in their recognizable formal features. Identification of such recursive patterns of text production then leads to a differentiation of genres, an operation analogous in importance if not in structure to the distinction of constitutive elements of sounds and utterances. In the present paper we are not able sufficiently to clarify this position, but we should make it clear that we are not proposing an exclusive validity of text interpretation. We do hold that any semantic investigation eventually must be carried to the level of texts. Programmatic limitations to taxonomic or paradigmatic descriptions, sometimes advocated by proponents of “ethnoscientific” formal semantic method, are in our view in serious danger of distorting our perspective on communicative processes. Nevertheless, in actual ethnographic learning processes, lexical items and the recognition of their logical relationships will always constitute an important first step. Also in abbreviated descriptions such as the one which is to follow such terms remain in the foreground. Much of what we will have to say, for instance, will consist of exploration of the various contexts in which we found the term kazi and some of the verbal expressions in which it most often occurs. There is ample evidence that kazi plays an important role in all recognizable genres of Jamaa communication. What such generic differentiation implies for a fuller understanding of labor semantics will have to be examined later. First we shall concentrate on the logical position of the term and concept in the doctrinal system of Jamaa thought.

“Kazi” in Katanga Swahili

In Katanga Swahili the noun kazi may cover a wide range of activities, moods, attitudes, and attributes. According to my observations these are roughly the same as those enumerated in the Oxford Standard Dictionary (p. 181) which also points out that the etymological derivation of the term and, consequently, its exact relationship to a number of similar expressions remain unclear. In some expressions a specific denotation

1. A theory of text interpretation in anthropology is developed in my forthcoming Mawazo, “Essays in Anthropological Interpretation,” Northwestern University Press. See also FABIAN MS.

2. In formal instructions (see texts below), in informal situations and exchanges (see examples referred to above p. 300), in dream accounts (see FABIAN 1971a: 264-266), in testimony (ibid.: 66-71).
may be due to idiomatic usage, e.g. in the often heard *kazi yako* “that’s your business, it’s up to you, go to hell.” It may also be achieved through a context-specific contrast such as in the opposition between *furaha* and *kazi* (see *supra*, p. 300). But the overwhelming majority of expressions in which *kazi* has a specified meaning is based on complexes formed with the connective particle {a}, especially those which function as characterizations. These may signify a trade or profession: *kazi ya mwalimu* “being a teacher;” a type of employment: *kazi ya Union Minière* “being employed by the Union Minière;” a degree of exertion, effort: *kazi ya nguvu* “hard work.” Similarly we find that most verbal expressions are complex, combining a verb with the noun *kazi* and often adding further specifications through the connective {a}. Examples are *kufanya kazi ya chauffeur* or *kutumika kazi ya chauffeur* “to work as a driver.” According to my observation *kufanya kazi* and *kutumika kazi* are used synonymously, although there might be an emphasis on the actual activity in the former while the latter suggests a state of employment. Occasionally this permits use of the verbal form without further specification such as *unatumika wapi?* “where are you working (employed)?”

This brief sketch would not be complete without observing an important tendency towards a marked contrast between the domain of industrial (manual-productive as well as administrative) and agricultural labor. Despite the fact there is no single lexical item referring exclusively to the activity or profession of industrial labor, specificity may be achieved through contrast with the verb *kulima (shamba)* “cultivate, work the field.”

**Kazi in Religious Language**

Against that general background we shall now attempt to outline the main features of the semantics of *kazi* as they appear in standardized Jamaa doctrine. Given the bulk of source material, we shall have to resort to an abbreviated form of presentation. Building in part on results of earlier attempts at formal analysis of Jamaa doctrinal vocabulary, we will indicate the function of *kazi* and related expressions in a number of major structural foci of doctrine.

1. This is based on *Polomé*’s (1967: 132 f.) categorizations.
2. The verb *ku-haza* which one might be tempted to take as a direct derivation from *kazi* probably is a causative form of *kukaa* (*Oxford Standard Dictionary*: 180). In any case, in our material it seems to occur only in the reflexive form *ku-ji-haza* “to strain oneself, to make an effort,” connoting a moral rather than instrumental attitude.
3. *Kutumika* derives from the basic form *kuluma* which, in Katanga Swahili, appears to be restricted to the connotation “to send” (e.g. *anatuma barua* “he sends a letter”).
4. This contrast is not exclusive to Swahili. In Kiluba, one of the autochthonous languages of Katanga, we find a similar opposition between *ku-ingila* and *ku-dima*, the latter being the same as Swahili *ku-lima* (see *Van Avermaet and Mbuya* 1954: 116 f., 196).
5. *Fabian* 1971a: Appendix III.
Applying a modified technique of componential analysis, we were able to isolate a number of structural components in Jamaa terminology. Our method employed logical devices of opposition, contrast, distribution, and combination. In an attempt to conceptualize the relationship between the resulting classes of concepts, we formulated the following seven structural foci:

a) **Ontology**, the sum of statements about the ultimate principles and sources of being.

b) A class of concepts implying a direct, *mystical* realization of ultimate principles.

c) A *theology*, the doctrine of God, the Virgin Mary, and preexisting "thought-man."

d) A group of *mythical* actors and situations as prototypes and models for the Jamaa.

e) Concepts concerned with the standardized enactment of the mythical models, *ritual*.

f) Terms that signify the internalization and institutionalization of Jamaa doctrine in the *movement*.

g) A group of terms embracing all levels tentatively referred to as *cosmology*.

In the classification on which these distinctions are based we assigned *kazi* to the group of organizational terms in category (f), i.e. those referring to the constitution of Jamaa as a social movement. As will be clear presently, we are now inclined to revise that position and place *kazi* into the category of cosmological terms whose function we sought in providing the temporal and spatial "stage" or "scenery" for all other conceptual categories. *Kazi* would then refer to motion or activity as characteristic of all personal actors in the universe of Jamaa teaching. In interpreting these results we must begin, however, with a negative assertion. *Kazi* is not found among those ultimate principles and concepts whose function we perceive as ontological, as constitutive of being. In Jamaa doctrine this category is clearly dominated by the notion of *mawazo*, literally thoughts, defining both the nature of divine and human persons, and the fundamental relationships between these persons. *Kazi* is also absent whenever the concern is mainly with mystical union between these actors. However, as soon as Jamaa propositions predicate an *activation* of divine or human nature, this may be expressed as *kazi*, either in nominal or in verbal expressions. Thus the action of divine persons which results in the creation of angels and of "visible" man and his world is rendered as *kazi ya kuumba* "the work of creating." In Jamaa theology great emphasis is put on the fact that this is not exclusive of God, but a common enterprise, a *kazi* which He decided to share with His *muntu mawazo* "thought-man, preexistent
Labor as Metaphor

Even this brief survey shows an impressive lexical record, in fact a thorough penetration of almost all levels of Jamaa doctrine by conceptions of labor in its direct and derived meaning. But for theoretical reasons alone we would have to argue that the impact of labor orientations on an ideology can never be adequately assessed on the basis of lexical indicators alone. After all, our aim is to understand not only the effect of labor conceptions on the formulation of a doctrine, but also the expression of doctrinal tenets through the experiences, images, and relationships of labor. It is the latter which will make it possible to conceive of the process of ideological industrialization as a product of an interaction between secular experiences and religious definitions. Evidence for that aspect would have to be sought in instances of the metaphorical extension of basic ideas, especially in such important stylistic devices of Jamaa teaching as mifano, short illustrations or examples, and arisi, exemplary stories or fables based on models of traditional folktales. In this line then we are looking not so much for total metaphors, such as the one in which the Jamaa is said to be “like the Union Minière” or even the designation of God as bwana wa kazi “the employer and master of man.”
Rather our attention will be directed to those examples in which specific situations of industrial labor illuminate specific propositions of Jamaa doctrine. Once again we shall limit ourselves to a few examples, choosing those which seem to spotlight crucial aspects of life in an industrializing society.

We begin with a brief excerpt from a written catechism of Jamaa doctrine.¹ In the introductory section of that document the task of the Jamaa is explained, especially the obligation of members toward their fellow Christians who keep calling themselves Christians without practicing their faith:

"Who are these brethren? Are they not Christians? Do they not belong to the Jamaa of Christ? They do belong to the family of Christ. What they refuse is to work for Christ, to search for His family. They are like people who get their punch-cards without working; they only have their names on the payroll and still expect to get paid. How can the employer be pleased with workers who do not work even though they are on his payroll?" (Fabian 1971a: 230).

The point at which labor experience and religious program articulate in this example is the idea of moral obligations resulting from a contract symbolized in visible tokens such as a punch-card or a payroll. It is interesting to note that while there exists a vague similarity with biblical parables the intended statements are quite different. In Matt. 20: 1-16 the lord and employer is depicted as someone who has the power to disregard contractual equity and remunerate his workers as he pleases. In the passage just quoted the focus is on the employee and his obligation toward the employer. It is the worker’s predicament which serves to express the idea of religious obligation.

Experiences resulting from life in an industrial world frequently are linked, or traced back, to mythical events. As visible “proofs” of such postulated truths or paradigmatic events, they play an important part in those ideological processes which articulate the Jamaa explanations for the vicissitudes of everyday life. In an instruction about the creation and fall of the angels, the speaker recounts the fight between Lucifer and his “bad” followers and Michael with his “good” faction. The contrast between good and bad, however, is not expressed in terms of moral value or corruption. Lucifer and his followers are bad because they turned their superior intelligence and knowledge into elitist, exclusive pursuits, refusing to share their talent with the rest of the angels and to exercise them in the service (kazi) of God. This mythical event is often evoked as the model if not as the effective cause of the present state of the world. Thus in the instruction to be quoted the account of the battle of the angels is followed by this application:

"You people, you who were created by God with thought. He gave you intelligence and thoughts. Try to see first what is going on in your household, or even

¹ Fabian 1971a: 126 ff.
in our church, or even in the Jamaa of our brothers. You see how the governments of this world are only seeking power. They do not want to live with the poor people, to talk to them, and to come to an understanding with them. Look at the rich people whom God placed on earth, the rich people do not love the poor. Those who have learned a lot from their books and notes look down on the simple workmen and say they are of no importance, they are the people who work with pickaxe and shovel. There is no mutual understanding.”

Our translation does not fully render the irony and bitterness of the original. In his choice of terms the speaker (himself an employee of the mining company) expresses contempt and extends the predicament of the lowest category of workers to mark a general class distinction between the rich, the intellectuals, and the workers. It is through distinctions of this kind that the Jamaa applies its mission to bring unity and love among people.

Finally I should like to point to a Jamaa parable (arisi) published elsewhere in which such themes as the clash between traditional and modern technologies, the acquisition of professional competence in the younger generation and their lack of respect for the older, serve dramatically to assert the superiority of human values and familial bonds in a changing and modernizing world. A young man who learns his craft as a smith from his father quickly surpasses the latter and establishes his own shop in which he no longer forges hoes and knives, but airplanes and bicycles. In his conceit he agrees to an impossible test of his craft: to forge a man. Failure would mean death for him and his family. As it turns out he remembers his old father, submits to his advice, and succeeds in outwitting his challenger. In the end order is restored. The young man has acknowledged his father’s authority and remains successful in the modern context. It is through stories like these that we may gain valuable insight into the way in which not only contractual relations and class divisions but also technological and related socioeconomic changes as a whole are valued and integrated into a wider system of religious and moral principles.

“Kazi” and Religious Communication: Texts and Commentary

All these illustrations have necessarily been brief and separated from their context. We shall now conclude the presentation of semantic and lexical evidence from Jamaa doctrine with two excerpts from instruction about umuntu, what it means to be human. According to Jamaa distinctions, umuntu consists of three basic aspirations: life, fecundity, and love, each of which may be pursued for the body or for the soul. In the

1. Fabian 1969.
2. The instruction from which these excerpts are taken was taped on July 6, 1966, at Lubumbashi. The speaker is a prominent Jamaa leader, former teacher and at the time of our fieldwork administrator of a workers’ settlement. Concerning standards of transcription and translation, see Fabian 1971a: 228.
excerpt that follows the speaker has explained how life for the soul should be sought and continues:

**Text I**

1. na tina na uzima wa mwili/ tumapashwa kutafuta uzima wa mwili/ ile wele tunajua/ hata tangu zamani/ tulijua sanata hata tangu zamani/ yoyote alikumbuka/ sababu ya kutumika kazi/ kupata franga/ kumunua chakula/ mavazi/ kwa kutunza mwili/ bote tunajua/ bote tunajua/ alakini ntingi sana banafuta namna ya kiskelani/ namna mubaya/ mwa ushiku/


4. kwenda kwa mupagano: mupagano asema: ah: ile maneno inakufunika maneno ya mufumu/ utaleta kuku

1. And then we have the life of the body. We must pursue the life of the body. All that we know. We have known it long ago and very well. From times immemorial everybody has thought about that—about doing his work, about making money, about buying food, clothes to protect the body. Everybody knew about that. Everybody. But very many pursued this in the ways of Satan—in a bad way, in the dark.

2. For instance, let us say when we do our work and try to get paid or when we work in the fields to make some cash so that we may be able to buy food and clothes and what not; when our body falls ill and then we go to the doctor for medicine or we see someone who is sick on the road. We help him and carry him to the doctor. All this is very good. Very good indeed. It is a good work. It is the work of God as well.

3. But others search for life of the body in the way of the pagans, in a bad way like our ancestors. Even we ourselves. When the body is sick we go and consult the diviner or we make offerings to the ancestors’ spirits and we do all sorts of things of this kind. This is seeking our life the way the pagans do it. The one who says meaningless and useless things to gain life for the body is in the dark. Or if we go to the pagans who prepare useless medicines. They cannot know what kind of a sickness has befallen the body. They haven’t studied medicine to see what kind of sickness it is. With what kind of medicine are they going to help us?

4. [Or if we] go to a pagan and he tells us the matter that is troubling you has something to do with a
5. God may help us so that we may progress and be in good health. That we may know how to search for our life for the body. Many people know how to search [for it] in the right way, but very many search for it in the dark. They search for it in the pagan way. This means to commit sin. We cannot ask the life that is our life for the body from Satan or from the ancestors' spirits or from [...] or from [...] and what else there may be. God gave us life-force and let us search for our life. Let us pray to God alone.

6. It is as we said about the life of the soul. Let us fulfill all the commandments of God and the commandment of His church. We receive the sacraments in order to search for our life of the soul and as far as the life for the body is concerned it is the same. Let us pray to God that He may help us and give us strength to work. He may help us with strength to go and search for good medicines so that we may have good health and that we may be able to exert our soul. Because if our body is strong then we will have help for our soul. It is very good to take help from all things that we see.

* Meaning unclear; according to Professor J. Theuws (personal communication) mikiya na mishinga refers (in Tshiluba) to "a kind of disease incurred by certain ritual infractions."
Text II

1. Well, furthermore we said that we people also received love, love of the soul and of the body. This is the final part and it is a great matter indeed. Who is seeking love? Who loves love? Everybody.

2. Yes, everybody seeks love. How? We see that everybody has this desire: they should love me. Everybody seeks love at the place where he works. He wishes that they love him at work. He seeks love in his group. He seeks love everywhere. His desire is: they should love me. And if they love him, then he will be full of joy.

3. If they do not love him he cannot be full of joy and he is very sad indeed. He cries. He is even going to leave his work and he asks to be dismissed.

4. The wife will break up the marriage. She will leave and she will say, "This husband doesn't love me." The husband will chase her away, and he will say, "This wife doesn't love me." And even a baba of Jamaa or a mama of Jamaa will leave the group and will say, "My friends do not love me." All this is an example for the fact that we all seek love. We all seek it very much. And if we seek in this way, if we love life-force, if we love fecundity, then we love love truly.

Commentary

There is no need to stress the manifest presence of labor semantics, experience, and imagery in these two excerpts. The texts clearly reflect the problems and preoccupations of those industrial workers of Katanga who are the typical recruits to the Jamaa movement. Nor is it necessary to establish by separate procedures the fact that kazi, if measured by the qualities attributed to the concept and by the recognizable intentions of the speaker, is valued positively and recommended to
the audience. Yet neither measurable manifest associations between a key term and its evaluative attributes nor recognizable implicit intentions are sufficient evidence for what we would consider an adequate interpretation. The documents we examined are texts, products of communicative events. Ultimately our aim is to draw conclusions from linguistic evidence with regard to a wider process in which a distinctly African labor ideology might develop. But first we must attempt to work out the processual character of the information drawn from Jamaa teaching. Every word, every proposition has its specific weight in a specific context. If, in a linguistic approach to labor orientations, one wishes to go beyond semantic descriptions of a specialized lexicon, one must be able to identify contexts of communication in terms of actual communicative situations and events. The practical, ideological impact of religious ideas can be assessed only in an ethnography of speaking and not solely on the basis of ethnographic descriptions of language data.

Let us begin with the wider context in which these documented statements appeared. The speech from which they were selected is of the genre “instruction” (mfundisho), implying a public event, a formal delivery by an authoritative speaker, a marked standardization of language and content and a specific topicality. As we pointed out before, the speaker in this case teaches the chapter on umuntu, what it means to be man. In a general way this may be taken as an indication for the importance attributed by the Jamaa to the predicament of work and labor, since umuntu constitutes a pivotal set of beliefs in Jamaa doctrine. We might add that by virtue of that prominent position, doctrinal statements about the meaning of labor are likely to be discussed frequently and thoroughly in the process of initiating candidates to the movement.

An important precision is added when one considers the taxonomic allocation of the topic of labor among the various aspects of the doctrine of umuntu. These aspects may be illustrated as follows:

```
  umuntu
   /\    
  (1)  (2)  (3)
  life  fecundity  love
   |    /\    /\    /\    
  (11) (12) (21) (22) (31) (32)
  of the body of the soul of the body of the soul of the body of the soul
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The Taxonomy of umuntu

According to this schema the issue of labor is raised only in the context of (11) and (31), i.e. of corporal life and love. Neither in the spiritual dimension nor in the one of basic aspiration of fecundity does it seem to
play any major role. In other words, while labor is presented as a central problem, it is not felt to regard man's total nature, nor does it concern him in all of his pursuits. What this implies is an "ontological" devaluation of some importance. In fact, statements of this kind have caused critics of the movement to point to a dualistic and in effect other-worldly orientation resulting in a neglect for the material needs of survival. It is equally significant to find that no connection is made between fecundity, the basic value reflecting Jamaa conceptions of human productivity, and labor. Again, on the lexical level we may find the idea of labor associated with fecundity, such as in the expression *kazi ya kuzala* "the work of giving birth (through initiation)." But on the whole Jamaa thought does not link human self-realization, creativity and fulfillment to the activity of physical labor. I became aware of this early during my fieldwork, and frequently posed to my informants the question: if a man is rich and has everything he wants, will he want to work? or should he work? Invariably the answer was that he should work with (and for) his soul. It was never suggested that some sort of physical activity or other occupations socially defined as labor would be an integral part of human existence.

These observations provide little more than hints and clues which would have to be pursued on a much broader basis through careful comparison between statements occurring in the same genre and between the different genres of Jamaa teaching. At this point the most important insight we can derive is that of rather dramatic difference between a lexical record indicating the presence of labor semantics in almost all sections and aspects of the doctrine and a highly selective and restricted treatment of the issue revealed by textual analysis.

Let us now briefly consider the immediate context in which statements about labor appear in these documents. Wage labor, the one form that is of immediate concern for the majority of Jamaa people and at the same time presumably major ingredient in processes of industrial-

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1. We are speaking here of the issue, not of the lexical manifestations of *kazi*. The latter may well be present in other contexts, as e.g. in the expression *kazi ya kuzala* "the work of giving birth [through initiation]."

2. Concerning typical attitudes among Jamaa members toward education, material progress and better living conditions, and political action, my own observations largely confirm those made by De Craemer (1965: 60-76). But these findings are based on impressions and cursory opinion surveys. They may be much influenced by the fact that practical directives on these matters are not likely to occur in public instructions, i.e. in those documents which constitute our most important data. A sociolinguistic analysis can show why this should be the case; it can also demonstrate that such absence of pragmatic norms is systematic and therefore must be interpreted in a wider context, rather than being taken as direct evidence for a presumed other-worldliness of the movement (see Fabian MS.). We may note that our observations concerning the systematic absence, in public instruction, of pragmatic directives are confirmed in De Wael's syllabus of Jamaa teaching at Kinshasa. He flatly states: "In all the meetings of the Jamaa one never hears anything about man's mission in the world" (n.d.: 25). He then goes on to list a catalogue of questions apt to "open up" a dialog about the meaning of labor.
LABOR IN A CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT

ization, is emphatically depicted as one of the data of life, a fact known and accepted “from times immemorial” (Text I, 1). A somewhat surprising perspective is revealed when, classifying labor with the concern for *uzima ya mwili* “corporal well-being,” Jamaa teaching postulates a structural equivalence between work and other ways of pursuing *uzima*, such as traditional “magic.” In fact, the problem of “pagan” magic obviously is the main concern of the speaker and his attitude appears to be clear enough. He asks for an outright rejection of any kind of involvement with divination, ancestor cult (Text I, 3), sorcery (Text I, 4), or protective magic (Text I, 5), claiming that all these matters can be taken care of by hard work and modern medicine. Yet underneath such straightforward argumentation there emerges an ideological situation of great complexity. First of all the speaker knows that he is proclaiming pragmatic definitions which do not, or not yet, reflect the actual state of affairs. “Even we ourselves,” i.e. people of the Jamaa (Text I, 3), still resort to traditional ways of protecting and strengthening *uzima*. Secondly, the relationship between modern and traditional means is one of contradiction, not mere contrast permitting coexistence. In view of the topic of this paper this has an important implication. Orientation toward, and valuation of, *kazi* appears not to be based on a linear progress of rationalization, i.e. a progress from symbolic towards rational-instrumental means and ways of confronting problems of survival. The substitution is mediated through the acceptance of a religious message—the Jamaa doctrine of *umuntu*. This in turn implies that the opposition between the world of magic and the world of labor is viewed as one between two total systems of orientation; nothing in the present document nor in other available information indicates consciousness of slow, piecemeal process of change and transformation.

In the second text we find the labor situation classified with the third basic aspiration thought to constitute *umuntu*, the pursuit of love and unity. The manifest statement appears to be an outright confirmation of certain paternalist views we mentioned earlier (see *supra*, p. 302). The African worker is depicted as someone who is primarily motivated by a search for love and personal gratification (Text II, 2), so much so that failure to find love at work will make him “drop out of” a professional career (Text II, 3). Once again we must assert that it is not the mere statement of stereotype which provides us with valuable insight into labor orientations, but rather its structural integration into the context of the document. The latter is signaled by a seemingly abrupt transition (between 3 and 4 of Text II) from labor relationships to marital love, and later on to unity and integration in a Jamaa group. The point is that this series of situations must not be seen as a mere accumulation of instances or examples of “love.” In Jamaa thought they constitute a dialectical interplay of realization. It must be kept in mind that as a social entity the Jamaa is a product of the labor settlement typical of Katanga. These settlements represent successful efforts to stabilize a
labor force by tying a worker and his nuclear family to an industrial enterprise. Such stabilization did in fact separate workers, their wives and children from the immediate influence spheres of traditional kinship-family organization in which the nuclear family was not the sole focus of social, economic, or even emotional identification. To be sure, these social policies never resulted in a complete break with the traditional background. Obligations, bridewealth arrangements, solidarity among members of larger kin groups, and ideological identification with the village world continue and often are fully resumed when workers return to their home regions. But Jamaa doctrine is addressed to those who experience life in a nuclear family and to whom the demand for a deep, sentimental love between spouses is a possible alternative and a real problem. Therefore, it is highly significant to find stated, in Jamaa doctrine, an essential connection between labor relationships and the demands of marital union. If our observations are valid, then this African statement of the paternalist stereotype of African workers might have to be interpreted in exactly the opposite way. The African worker values personal and emotional gratification not because this is a regression into a presumed traditional psychological make-up, but because he reacts to, and attempts to master effectively, a completely new and completely different situation. In this context it is interesting to note that in one of our recordings we find an explanation for the meaning of sexual differences and division which states that they were conceived by the Creator so that men would have kazi, a task, to overcome them in and through marital love and common efforts. Clearly such a view closely resembles those dialectical conceptions of human self-realization through "labor" we find at the bottom of Hegel’s and Marx’s theory of labor: relationships between I and the Other are seen as a process of elaboration in the literal sense. They have to be worked out through common efforts, rather than arranged by means of some social contract or controlled through imposed regulations of individual interests or rights.

IV

The study of charismatic movements deals with problems of socio-cultural dynamics which are not limited to the impact of industrialization. In a sense—at least in Weber’s sense—it aims at a theoretical domain defined in contrast to rational, economically based processes of change. In practice, investigations of charismatic phenomena take a decidedly narrow outlook, focussing either on the role of charismatic personalities

1. Connections between industrialization and changes in the conception of marriage have, of course, been recognized by other authors. However, usually they were viewed in terms of a destructive influence of industrialization on traditional culture. An example from the area of our own research is a study by Forthomme (1957).
or on the emergence of "prophetic" and most often religious ideologies which become the core of enthusiastic social movements.

On the other hand, the prophetic message which found its social expression in the Jamaa movement was initially accepted and took its present shape in a context in which most of its followers had successfully been "stabilized" as industrial workers. The experiences and problems to which the founder addressed his program and solutions were those of people who had more than ephemeral exposure to a life-style determined down to its minute details by a large industrial enterprise. In a general way, then, we are entitled to assume that Jamaa doctrine and social enactment reflect the realities of an important area of change linked to industrialization and the organization of wage labor. Of course, the catch lies in a reasonably exact determination of the predicate "reflect." The answer to that question will depend on one's conception of the role and direction of ideological processes. Reduced to its simplest terms, the argument could go into one of these two directions: either one maintains that religious ideologies such as Jamaa doctrine project a distorted, obfuscated view of the realities on the ground; or one holds that charismatic messages tend to focus on, and therefore to be diagnostic indicators of, the crucial dilemmas, contradictions, and problems of change. If one accepts the first option, investigations into labor orientations via Jamaa doctrine would have little more than symptomatic value, illustrating certain consequences of industrialization for religious behavior but not in any way giving access to that process itself. In terms of the second alternative, one could hold that Jamaa ideology leads us straight to the core of premises and conclusions operative in the African worker's cognitive and emotional adjustment to industrial labor and its concomitant life-style. Formulated in this way, however, the problem holds little promise. It tends to degenerate into a debate between ultimate positions of "materialist" versus "idealist" sociology in which it is impossible to take sides without forcing empirical evidence into preconceived schemes. Take for instance those perplexing observations which we reported in the second part of this paper. How would one, on ultimate theoretical grounds alone, decide which of the contradictory reactions can claim to reflect reality? In unstructured, everyday situations African workers project a thoroughly pessimistic and negative attitude toward labor. We then saw that reactions of the European personnel in similar contexts tend to agree with the former, while on the level of programmatic formulations both Jamaa doctrine and Company social policies attribute to labor a positive, humanistic, and even historical-cosmological significance. Is it possible to interpret this simply in terms of a trivial contrast between "reality on the ground" and post factum justifications, if not self-deceptions? We think such an explanation would be simplistic and therefore unrealistic. To assume that a large, modern enterprise would be able to exist for any length of time on an unwilling, unable labor force and sheer exploitative domina-
tion poses more problems than a view in which industrialization (i.e. the total outcome of the interaction between capital investment, technology and labor force) is seen as an interplay of pragmatic as well as ideal orientations. In any case, whatever the answer may be, it will not flow directly from either a materialist or idealist position. Nor can it be derived, and that is perhaps more necessary to point out, from labor studies confined to input-output measurements of productivity. Any inquiry aimed at understanding processes in which both Africans and Europeans, and both their pragmatic and ideal orientations are involved will have to be directed to those empirical realities in which their interaction finds lasting expressions. This proposition contains epistemological principles as well as methodological consequences. On the side of principle lies the basic assumption that social reality is communicative reality. Communication is crucially, if not exclusively, achieved through language, or to be more exact, through speaking. Access to industrialization as a process in the realm of communicative interaction is then opened up through analysis of the products of such communication.

Methodologically our assumption rejects linear induction from a record of linguistic expression. The approach through language is, by definition, non-linear, indirect and mediated by what has been called "ethnography of speaking," i.e. the full context of communication. Any linguistic record has its appropriate interpretation only if placed in a specific communicative situation, involving a specific community of speakers, and occurring in specific communicative events. In concrete situations, similar to the one in which our research was carried out, a theoretical approach to labor orientations would have to be constructed so as to fit a highly complex situation. Sociolinguistic studies of labor orientations in Katanga would have to cope with a multiplicity of languages (autochthonous, Swahili, French, Flemish), a diversity of sociolects (work languages, variations between regional centers corresponding to degrees of modernization, etc.), with a multiplicity of situations (work, at home, in private or in public), and an enormous amount of already fixed communicative products (trade union publications, Company regulations, technical vocabularies, labor legislation and litigation). At the same time conventional methods would have to provide the socio-economic, demographic, and organizational background. It is easy to see that an interpretative approach with the aim of understanding the emergence and meaning of an industrial life-style will neither replace behavioral research nor reduce the number of problems or the amount of analytical work. Exactly what kind of work it will entail is impossible

1. Texts and commentaries concerning labor legislation should provide important sources for sociolinguistic analysis. The available literature is considerable. Limiting ourselves to the Congo and to Francophone Africa we can offer the following highly selected list: Bokonga (1961, 1967), France (1963), Gomidec (1966), Goyat (1960), Hesbois (1957), Heyse (1924), Institut Colonial International (1929), Kirsch (1968), Lambert (1956), Lefebvre (1953), Léonard [n.d., 1934?], Mouchet (1940), Orban (1955), Yaklemichouk (1968).
to determine beforehand. To name but a few examples: analysis of "technical" discourse in the factory or mine; examination of popular songs, exemplary stories; sorcery accusations in the working context; formal speeches or informal conversations among union members; the correspondence of workers, especially with their relatives in the villages; court cases in matters of labor discipline and disputes over contracts and promotions.

Interpretation of communicative processes presupposes in one way or the other the researcher’s participation in the process. The model of such participation is one of a learning experience in which each successive stage can only be programmed on the basis of acquired competence. If it is granted that an approach via language as we have briefly characterized it is necessarily indirect and mediated, then it follows that a study of labor orientations in and through the doctrine of a charismatic movement is not different in kind from other sociolinguistic investigations. The question whether or not our presentation of the semantics of kazi in the Jamaa has any wider significance then becomes a problem of translation, that is of weighing its substantive results and examining the validity of its methodological assumptions.

We may summarize the former as follows: Jamaa doctrine is pervaded in practically all of its domains and forms of expression by conceptions of labor, by images and metaphors derived from the experience and lifestyle of an industrial worker. The essence and purpose of the actions of God, the angels, and man are consistently referred to as kazi, and so is the propagation of the movement. Certain crucial values, such as personal responsibility and obligation, unity transcending sexual, social, and cultural boundaries, are expressed in metaphors derived from the world of labor. Finally we found clear evidence for the fact that kazi and its life-style are perceived as aspects of the same process of change that leads the Jamaa to reject traditional conceptions of magic and marriage. Followers of the movement are told to seek protection of their "life" in the same rational way in which they go about earning their living and seeking medical help from trained people. Their marriages should be based on the same bonds of mutual acceptance, regardless of arrangements between the kin groups, which are thought to hold together a harmonious work crew made up of men of different racial, cultural and social backgrounds.

While such a picture is certainly impressive, it also remains "flat," equivocal, as long as it lacks the relief that results from reflection on the methods by which each of its traits was fixed. Successively we examined a lexicon and its structural foci, metaphorical extensions in narrative, and instances of recorded communication in a fuller context. These levels of analysis do not simply add up to a cumulative stock of information. Each of them represents a new and different total frame of interpretation. If one would limit oneself to the lexical record and its taxonomic descriptions one would be unable to determine exactly which realms of religious
experience are thought to be illuminated by the world of labor. If one would cut off investigations at the level of metaphorical extension, one would be unable to grasp the selective integration of labor experience into the total definition of human existence provided by the doctrine and, which is more important, by its retranslation into experience through prolonged indoctrination, through the rituals of initiation and through communal life in this segment of the working population. A better empirical basis than the one we could provide in this paper should ultimately make it possible to replace the basically negative concept of selectivity in conceptualizations (which in one way or the other is connoted when one qualifies a system of orientation as an ideology) by the notion of a perspective. Perspective would emphasize the constitutive aspect of articulations such as the one found in Jamaa doctrine. We could then hypothesize that the specific perspective of the movement may represent a process of much wider importance. In our case it seems to be characterized by the following structural arrangement of alternatives. Diagonically industrial workers appear involved in an increasing separation from a traditional village- and kinship-based social order toward a positive valuation of the nuclear family and a concomitant conception of marriage as involving a free, individualistic relationship between the spouses. Synchronically the life-style of the industrial worker is seen to involve rational means of survival such as wage labor and modern medicine leading to constant confrontation with, and ultimately rejection of, the complex commonly referred to as magic protection and social control through sorcery and witchcraft beliefs. Yet concretely this diachronic and synchronic process may be mediated by religious reorientation. The new life-style may be redefined so as to accommodate both nuclear family organization and individualistic marriage relations and cultural emphasis on a community constituted by links of fecundity and filiation. Similarly the form of industrial labor and its relationships may be filled with the cognitive and emotional problems and sensitivities for which magic, witchcraft, and sorcery are no longer acceptable expressions. If this is so it becomes conceivable that the workers’ orientation is indeed not primarily product- and organization-oriented but geared toward interpersonal relations and gratifications. All these are inferences from Jamaa doctrine and language and nothing allows us to assume that most African workers or even most workers in the Katanga mines share that perspective. But recognizing one concrete perspective may induce us to investigate others in a similar theoretical frame. It may make it possible and fruitful to identify the concrete cultural content of orientations toward labor which otherwise could only be stated in functional and therefore abstract terms of adaptation or maladaptation, positive or negative motivation, cognitive adequacy or cognitive gaps, and whatever

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1. In this context we cannot adequately deal with the ramifications of the doctrine of spiritual fecundity/filiation; see kizazi and muzazi in the index of Fabian (1971a). A functional evaluation may be found in De Craemer (1968: 17-26).
else one finds in the concluding paragraphs of sociological and psychological studies. In other words, we would have at least the prospect to know what African workers are going to build or produce when they are asked to roll up their sleeves, other than guaranteeing the smooth and profitable operation of an industrial enterprise.

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