

religion, matriliney, and change: Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists in Luapula, Zambia

KARLA O. POEWE—*University of Lethbridge*

In this paper I examine three interrelated topics. First, I describe the conflicts and strains prevalent in matrilineal societies.¹ I argue that these conflicts are the result of a central structural contradiction inherent in matriliney, namely, the contradiction between relations of production, which are individualistic in nature, and distribution processes, which involve social relationships that are communalistic in character. The contradiction results primarily from matrilineal inheritance practices, which ensure that wealth is spread horizontally among a number of individuals. Conflicts are vitiated because matrilineal inheritance limits cooperation among nuclear and bilateral extended-family members; it discourages investment in family or larger cooperative enterprises because the inputs of affines accrue to the lineage only. In the final analysis the conflict is one between direct and generalized exchange.

Second, I describe the impact of economic modernization on the above-mentioned pre-existing tensions. Specifically, I examine how the desire to gain access to immediate rewards for work rendered is nurtured by Protestant ideologies that are selectively used to justify changing individual, family, and economic group interests.

Finally, the bulk of the paper describes the differential effectiveness of two Protestant denominations, Seventh-Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses, in bringing about behavioral changes and changes in the structure of families and groups in Luapula.²

economic activities and kinship

The research upon which this paper is based was carried out over a period of about eighteen months in the Luapula Province of Zambia. I first spent a month in Ntoto fishing camp, which is located about fifteen kilometers north of Kashikishi village on the slopes of Lake Mweru. For a year after that I conducted research in Kashikishi, a large village (with a

Christianity is as Luapulan as matriliney; both are involved in the ongoing process of change. Specific features of both organization and doctrines of salvation within different Protestant denominations constitute independent variables that differentially induce behavioral changes. In Luapula, two denominations, Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists, stand out from the rest because they adopt a critical attitude toward people's conduct and local conditions. However, they differ in the degree to which they achieve change in behavior among their members vis-à-vis kinship, family, and economic activities. Jehovah's Witnesses succeed, whereas Seventh-Day Adventists engage in much debate but have an indifferent record of success in giving direction to practical conduct and holding the individual to such conduct.

population of about fifteen hundred) adjacent to the southeastern shore of Lake Mweru. I then spent four months in Lukwesa, situated about 130 kilometers south of Kashikishi on the Luapula River, which flows into the lake. Finally, I spent an additional month in other smaller villages along the river. By these changes of locale I attempted to cover the area researched by Cunison in 1949 (1959), and to record some of the variability in economic, kinship, and religious activities within the river and lake region.

Luapula valley is relatively densely populated, varying from between forty and one hundred persons per square mile. The river and lake provide people with fish, a source of both protein and cash. To the east of the river and lake, extending south for approximately 240 kilometers, lies a narrow strip of fertile lake basin soil (Trapnell 1950:9) used to grow cassava and, secondarily, maize, millet, and pumpkins. In general, men fish and women garden. Recently, this pattern has changed somewhat as wealthier women hire poor men to do more and more of the cultivation. On the whole, however, men and women follow their own investment patterns, which overlap only in the more successful enterprises. Men participate in a single investment chain that leads from canoe fishing to the ownership of several nets and usually a banana boat with a five-horsepower motor; from this to ownership of lorries for trade in dried or frozen fish and urban commodities; and finally, to ownership of village stores, bars, distributorships of flour, soft drinks, or building materials, and occasionally to management of construction.

Women participate in two alternative investment chains, although each chain has its origin in cassava growing and the sale or rental of cassava ridges. With this basic capital, some women invest in beer brewing, proceed from this to building and renting village houses or to ownership of village brew houses and bottled beer bars. Alternatively, other women invest their initial capital into baking, trade in dried fish or flour, the ownership of bakeries, and occasionally stores.

Despite this considerable modernization, however, I found that fishing communities in the valley continue to be matrilineally organized, because matrilineal inheritance provides security and holds out to the poor the hope that they may at any time improve their material well-being. Importantly, the support for the continuation of a modified version of matrilineality comes largely from women. Luapula matrilineality enables women to control the land, collect remittances from children, and divorce "useless" husbands. The inability of discarded husbands to secure remittances from their offspring is a major source of ammunition in the battle of the sexes.

In short, women reap considerable advantages from Luapula traditions. From the perspective of economic development, however, matrilineality has locally recognized disadvantageous effects. In the process of trying to disengage themselves from kinship pressures that enforce wide consumer sharing, some women and most commercial fishermen, store-owners, and contract workers have adopted an assertive form of productive individualism, have joined diverse religious groups in an effort to justify business interests, and have modified family and descent ties to restrict consumer demands.

My task in this paper is not to answer the question raised by Douglas (1971): is matrilineality doomed in Africa? Phrased in this manner the question assumes a homogeneity and determinism that is anathema to my view of social reality. However, in agreement with Colson (1958) and Gough (1961), I show that matrilineal constraints are *selectively* losing their hold over those individuals in the society who are directly responsive to the conditions of supply, demand, and reinvestment in the market economy.

About 25 percent of Luapula rural dwellers are capitalists and petty capitalists (Poewe 1976). In other words, the valley is not yet part of a "unitary market system," which would spell the end of matrilineality (Gough 1961:640). Economic activities in the valley continue to be largely regulated by customary law based on matrilineal ideology and institutions.

Luapula matrilineal institutions, geared to ensure unrestricted access to material resources, resemble those described by Basehart for the Mescalero Apache Indians. His argument about the persistence of matriliney under conditions favoring "unrestricted" access to resources applies here. Basehart (1967:278) argues that matriliney, with its variant family groupings, seems well adapted to a subsistence economy based on the "unrestricted" exploitation of dispersed but plentiful resources that are subject only to localized, intermittent scarcities.

In a similar vein, Hill (1963) and Douglas (1971) declare that matriliney also survives in situations of "unlimited" economic expansion of the sort not subject to the stricture of efficiency. Gifted persons exercise their individualism to expand any venture, while groups of matrikin gradually trickle into the fold by way of natural membership and usufructuary rights and assume active roles in the venture.

Referring to present-day conditions, Douglas (1971:132) states that "matriliney is fully compatible with competition in an expanding economy." However, my point is that few such "expanding" economies exist in developing nations. Indeed, economic development ventures, to be successful, are increasingly based on relatively fixed capital and resources; as a result, a disciplined, skilled, and coordinated labor force is required. I conclude, therefore, that in the more usual situation of capital scarcity, matriliney is felt to be wasteful of time and human effort, and consequently it represents an obstacle to those rural dwellers participating in economic development. From this limited perspective, matriliney is "doomed." Douglas would appear to agree, at least to the extent that she, too, realizes that "the enemy of matriliney is . . . economic restriction" (1971:133). Thus, matriliney is changing where the principle of scarcity, fundamental to the workings of an industrial-market economy, appears.

A few words of caution are appropriate at this point. In sifting through the topic of matriliney and modernization one has to be clear about the distinction between theory and actual social conditions. Theoretically, matrilineal institutions are incompatible with an industrial-market system based on the principle of scarcity. Actually, in many parts of the Third World the private enterprise system is scorned. Therefore, to explain the fate of matriliney under prevailing conditions, the interests of rural dwellers and of the national government have to be taken into account. From this perspective two conclusions follow: (1) among a large percentage of Luapula women, as well as generally among the rural poor, but not among the business minded, matrilineally determined land rights and inheritance practices not only persist but are defended; (2) many African governments, including Zambia's, shun rural "capitalism" and officially deny the existence or emergence of a rural class structure. In their ideologies of African socialism, leaders hark back, perhaps unwittingly, to the phenomenon of lateral distribution so aptly described by Goody (1972:121).

However, in this paper I am only concerned with pointing out that the considerable trading opportunities available in Luapula intensify economic group differentiation. There are wealthy fishermen-traders-businessmen (usually Protestants), on the one hand, and poor occasional workers (usually matrilinealists) on the other, with a wide range of the less prosperous between the two extremes. This less prosperous population is typified by economically independent female household heads who defend a modified version of matriliney, one that seeks to eliminate fathers and members of fathers' matrilineages (*fikota*) from extended family cooperation and economic support.

It is in this socioeconomic context that people's religious activities must be understood. Seventh-Day Adventists address themselves to fortifying the individual so that he can succeed in the world, as, for example, in containing individual and *ulupwa* (matrilineal extended family) problems so that he is able to concentrate on preparing members for a future theocratic society. The Society believes that since 1914 "God's kingdom by Christ

has ruled in the heavens" (Jehovah's Witnesses 1959:291). Locally, people express hope for a new world of perfect government, lasting peace, health, happiness, and prosperity.

**matriliny and problems of exchange:
the desire for an alternative ideology**

Virtually all matrilineal societies are riddled with predictable interpersonal conflicts. These conflicts result directly from the central structural contradiction inherent in matriliney, namely, the contradiction between generalized exchange (or what I call matrilineal distributive justice) and the presence of its counterpoint, discontinuous exchange (or what I call patrilineal distributive justice).

The distinction between matrilineal and patrilineal distributive justice is analogous to Lévi-Strauss's distinction between matrilineal and patrilineal cross-cousin marriage, except that Lévi-Strauss focuses his analysis on the exchange of women, while I base mine on the exchange of labor and material wealth. Thus, Lévi-Strauss points out that the matrilineal form of marriage produces a system of generalized exchange: the men of lineage A marry lineage B women, lineage B men marry lineage C women, and so on. The patrilineal form, on the other hand, produces a system of discontinuous exchange: the men of lineage A marry lineage B women and in the following generation lineage B men will in turn marry lineage A women (Heath 1976:161).

Analogously, I would argue that matrilineal distributive justice constrains Ego to contribute material wealth continually to a matrilineage (especially when it is his father's) from which he cannot expect a return in kind; at most, his contributions seem merely to validate his claim to membership in the matrilineage of his mother and, depending on his economic circumstances, that of his father or father-in-law. By contrast, patrilineal distributive justice constrains Ego to contribute to a specific individual within a patrilineage from whom he expects and receives commensurate returns.

From the perspective of the individual contributor, the simultaneous presence of generalized and discontinuous exchange in matriliney is observable primarily in the exchange of labor and material wealth rather than the exchange of women. For example, in matriliney (as in peasant societies generally) the surplus labor provided by Ego increases the patrimony of the household, but by virtue of matrilineal inheritance (unlike peasant societies generally), this patrimony in fact belongs to Ego's father's matrilineage. "On the death of Ego's father, it will therefore pass to Ego's patrilineal cross-cousin" (Terry 1975:110). The conflicts that arise from the lack of correspondence between labor contributions and material rewards are well described by Terry:

Indeed, when Ego strictly follows the matrilineal rule of succession (and inheritance) and leaves nothing to his sons, he deprives them of the fruits of their labour. If, on the other hand, he gives them a part of his wealth during his lifetime, then his nephews are wronged. Finally, there is rivalry between Ego and his patrilineal cross-cousin over Ego's father's legacy, and between Ego and his matrilineal cross-cousin over the legacy of Ego's mother's brother. But these various confrontations are only aspects of a single fundamental contradiction (Terry 1975:109).

Two important points follow from this analysis. First, in matrilineal systems as described by Poewe (1976) and Terry (1975), generalized exchange generates conflict and dissension that threaten the solidarity of the whole society. By contrast, in matrilineal systems as described by Lévi-Strauss generalized exchange generates greater solidarity (Heath 1976:166). How can this apparent contradiction be resolved?

In my opinion, the answer is simple. It requires merely that actual societies be analyzed both from the perspective of the individual and the system. I am implying that we give full

recognition to the inevitable presence of divergent values held either individually or by distinct groups within any actual society (even if only one set of values is dominant at any one period of time). What I observed in Luapula, as did Terray (1975) elsewhere, is not merely that value orientations diverge among members of one society, but that the value attitudes of individuals are ambivalent. According to Wertheim (1974:107), "within one and the same individual, different value orientations may be observable—even simultaneously." And so, as Luapulans have come into contact with the industrial-market system the temptation to engage in direct (or discontinuous) exchange is virtually irresistible. Since direct exchange runs contrary to the dominant matrilineal rules of distribution, people look to an ideology that may be used by them to justify exceptions and transform "counterpoints" into norms. Protestantism attempts to do just that.

Second, contradictions are the foundation of social change. However, the confrontations among matrikin described by Terray (1975) and Poewe (1976) generally remain restricted to conflicts among individuals and are contained by manipulating witchcraft beliefs and practices. Terray, again, makes this point forcefully:

In fact, by attributing conflicts to the supernatural, [people] simultaneously prevent themselves from grasping the causes of these conflicts; witches can be executed, but witchcraft cannot be suppressed; while giving themselves the possibility of living with their contradictions, at the same time they deny themselves the means of overcoming them. . . . By giving contradictions an expression that prevents their clear recognition, witchcraft beliefs and practices contribute to their neutralization and thus to the maintenance of the *status quo* (Terray 1975:112).

In Luapula, however, the status quo is being rocked by the effects of a conflict that is not so easily resolved. The population simultaneously participates in both the world capitalistic system of production and the continuing local matrilineal system of distributive justice. In the process of handling the increasing stress from this source, people have become aware not merely of irreconcilable *interpersonal* conflicts (of the sort between father and mother's brother) but, importantly, of *irreconcilable group* conflicts (of the sort between men and women, church and party). Concomitantly, we witness the development of economic differentiation and the use of a Protestant ideology to represent and justify economic group, if not class, interests.

general characteristics of Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists

Jehovah's Witnesses accept three assumptions as the unshakable foundation of their organization. First, they take for granted that we are living in the last days of this earth as we know it. Ever since Russell—the founder of the sect—first proclaimed it, Jehovah's Witnesses, including those living in Luapula, have believed that the great battle of Armageddon will take place in the near future and that following this, God will establish his thousand-year kingdom on this earth.

Armed with this assumption, Jehovah's Witnesses see in the corruptions of the world the sure signs of the coming millennium—the transformation of earth into a kind of heaven where people will enjoy perfect health, justice, and freedom from crime, hunger, and evil thoughts. Luapulans say that in the new world they will be able to recognize their kin and friends, who will live on this paradisaical kingdom with eternally youthful bodies. The land will be enriched by the corpses of those who fell at Armageddon, and there will be no weeds, destructive pests, or animals. Finally, every man will work for himself and for his family, unhindered by an oppressive officialdom.

The second assumption that gives Jehovah's Witnesses their self-assurance and earns them the wrath of other churches and of Zambia's political party (United National Indepen-

dence Party) is the conviction that only Jehovah's Witnesses have the key to salvation. Neither existing churches nor secular governments can provide solutions to aid mankind. Finally, Jehovah's Witnesses are imbued with a sense of urgency to persuade as many people as possible to join their organization and affiliate with the Society before it is too late.

Originally, Witnesses did not distinguish between laity and ministers (and even now distinctions are minimized) since it was and is the mission of every member to "publish the good news"—to convert others. Even though Jehovah's Witnesses now distinguish a group of elders within each congregation from whom the main office bearers are drawn (for example, congregation servant, ministerial servant, Bible study servant, and so forth), all members still call one another "brothers" and "sisters" (*bamunyina nabakashi*) or are referred to as "publishers" because each one is trained in the ministerial duty of evangelizing. (The *Watch Tower* magazine is published regularly in Bemba, and people ardently read its contents.)

Zambia is divided into districts in the care of district overseers. Each district is partitioned into circuits that are further sectioned into congregations. Usually, dedicated local Witnesses called "pioneers" spend approximately a hundred hours a month in publishing duties and proclaiming the "good news." Since house-to-house proselytizing is outlawed in Zambia, pioneers carry out their duties upon the invitation of villagers. Pioneers, carefully dressed and carrying briefcases filled with literature, are quite noticeable as they walk through a village. Usually in the morning, men who do not go fishing—and many sacrifice their work for the duty of publishing—make their rounds with one other male companion. From 4:00 P.M. until sunset they publish again, this time accompanied by their wives. Between two and four couples will be assembled in private homes to study the Bible.

Pioneers are not paid, although those who are excellent evangelizers may receive further training in Kitwe, where the headquarters and the printing offices of the Jehovah's Witnesses are located. In addition, "special pioneers," who devote their entire time to publishing, are sent from the central office. They travel anywhere in Zambia, although they are paid only a pittance.

Jehovah's Witnesses get together at district rallies and, particularly, during national conventions. In Luapula, the Permanent Secretary and Cabinet Minister of the province were overwhelmed by the efficiency with which the Jehovah's Witnesses organized their 1973 national convention held in Mansa, the capital of Luapula Province. Sanitation was excellent, leaders easily communicated with one another by telephone, participants were orderly, and food was ample.

Jehovah's Witnesses are admonished to live for and totally trust in their Society, under whose careful guidance they learn the rules and principles of acceptable behavior and are guided to understand the Bible. Villagers enjoy the duty of studying the literature that is regularly disseminated among them and discussed on Sunday afternoons when they meet as a congregation in their Kingdom Hall.

Every member has duties in the Society. Those who fail or break God's commandments are ostracized and excommunicated. They are seated in the last row during public meetings and are not spoken to by members until they repent. Jehovah's Witnesses are not prohibitionists, but they abhor excess. The individual, by unflagging loyalty and responsibility to God and the Society, resists extravagance. When Jehovah's Witnesses join the Society they commit themselves to its ways. Absolute trust is accorded and total guidance accepted from an anonymous center. In the process members are given a sense of belonging, a set of rules to live by, and an overriding sense of purpose in their lives. After marriage, a nonmember spouse is urgently persuaded to join. Indeed the nuclear family is the one solid subunit of this larger family of Witnesses (*ulukutu*). Parents are the sole instructors of their children, a duty that Witnesses consider too important to leave to another authority.

In brief, the Society is a way of life with rewards and punishments and with an overarching goal. The Bible is treated as a “model” for social life; it is necessary for people to understand that model (called God’s plan) and to match their behavior to its prescriptions.

In the villages the activities of the Society approximate what one would expect of the best redemptive, nonrevolutionary movements.³ Members almost imperceptibly restructure their lives and thus, indirectly, their communities for the purpose of becoming full participants in the coming kingdom of God. Their efforts to behave responsibly, to act in accordance with doctrine, to cope with members’ problems, and to screen one another’s behavior carefully is intended to insure future participation in this theocracy. As Aberle (1966:321) notes for redemptive movements in general, the result is “to increase his contact with the redeemed [and] to decrease his contact with the nonredeemed.” This implied separatism, and, in combination with the attitude that all secular governments are of the devil and doomed, makes for a precarious relationship with the rest of society. When converts join the Society they are taught to accept persecution and to be strong, that is, to remain different.

In order to distinguish between the general characteristics of Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists, I should mention that in the early days individuals were guided by different motives in joining one or the other denomination. Some of the first Watch Tower members (an alternative name for Jehovah’s Witnesses) were attracted to the Society as early as 1922 because they hoped to free themselves of the *bamwisa* (foreigners, colonialists) and to become free men (*abantu abantungwa*).⁴ By contrast, the first members to join the Seventh-Day Adventists church did so because they desired an education that Adventists were noted for providing. Lukwesa’s elders told me that chief Mukwampa, one of the early Lunda chiefs in Lukwesa village, wanted education. He had heard that Mason, one of the British Seventh-Day Adventist missionaries in Chimpempe, Northern Province, provided just that. So in 1929 Mukwampa went to the District Commissioner at Kawambwa and placed his request; that same year (September, 1929) a Malawian pastor, Lawson Endaenda, along with two Zambian pastors, James Muyeba and Luka, opened a church in Lukwesa next to the chief’s palace.

This initial motive set a very different tone for Seventh-Day Adventist activities. Luapula members of this church generally project an attitude of puzzlement rather than of certainty (as do Jehovah’s Witnesses). Thus, Seventh-Day Adventists are far more involved in debates over Christian and Luapula customs and biblical solutions to family problems. They are at ease with the government, for while they believe in the coming of the millennium, they do not systematically analyze the world political situation in terms of a biblical framework. Locally at least, they concentrate on fortifying the individual to cope with the everyday world as a righteous human being, whether as politician, trader, or “villager.” Adventism resembles Aberle’s (1966:316) reformatory movement, for members participate in engineering gradual secular changes by improving education and medical enterprises in the secular world.

Seventh-Day Adventist services encourage a different display of emotions, though again—like Jehovah’s Witnesses—frenzy is deemphasized. The Adventists are more apt to sermonize, relying on analogy and metaphor to make their points. The Adventists aim toward portraying the human condition by means of narratives about local circumstances, but within a universal context devoid of time, specificities, or numbers. This is quite different from the concern of Jehovah’s Witnesses with the specific history and fate of those who are members of the Society.

The similarities of life as described in the Bible with local rural conditions are striking. There are parallels in diseases, ways of making a living, political loyalties, lust and greed, demons, and various forms of “harlotism” (*ubuule*). These are close to the experiences of

every villager. Interestingly, Jehovah's Witnesses inculcate a sense of group heroism to overcome the ever present temptations of sensual indulgence. By contrast, Seventh-Day Adventists, with a less effective doctrine of salvation (that is, less effective in terms of bringing about behavioral changes), insist upon the display of a mild form of taboo-like asceticism. Seventh-Day Adventist leaders, more so than members, are expected to display specific restraints because the ability to keep the commandments and to be obedient to all the laws of God is an indication that one has received salvation *already*, since salvation is a free gift of God. It is this *a priori* blessing that enables an individual to be a church leader in the first place.

Seventh-Day Adventist church elders are expected to behave in a manner befitting a man blessed by God: they should joyously and with love keep the ten commandments and observe other taboos. Those who fail are demoted. Most demotions are due to polygyny, and I shall discuss below the interest with which Seventh-Day Adventists discuss the practice of "being inherited" by a relative of the deceased's spouse, which results in polygyny for some individuals. Also, because of the expectation that leaders should restrain themselves better than members, there is a noticeable difference in behavior modification between Seventh-Day Adventist elders and the rest of the congregation. The latter, lacking incentive, fail to be Christians (as they willingly admit) and continue to succumb to the many sensual pleasures into which "freedom" and village life seduce them.

There are at least three sorts of separation that Protestant churches and sects have sought in their efforts to follow God's word: spatial, social, and individual. Jehovah's Witnesses have chosen to separate themselves socially by forming a discreet and exclusive group that requires that its members reject outsiders and their ways. Seventh-Day Adventists have chosen to emphasize individual moral separation from the seductions of an attractive (but sinful) world. As with any other Protestant group that stresses personal freedom, few members are able to achieve the calm balance between excess and restraint, especially when Seventh-Day Adventists classify as excess (for example, adultery) what was for so long a traditionally valued mode of behavior.

effects on individuals of the teachings of Jehovah's Witnesses

As pointed out earlier, individuality is pronounced in the everyday productive activities of Kashikishi villagers. With monetization of the economy, people are gradually becoming aware of a need to trust other producers. Cooperation in production is favored by government, and people feel the need to rely on others to do garden or household tasks in exchange for payment. Workers need to trust their employers to pay them, employers to trust workers to perform their tasks, and creditors to trust their debtors to repay them. While a debt was traditionally allowed to stand until the death of the creditor, the repayment of debts, especially those involving money, is now demanded almost immediately or else interest is charged and time limits specified. It is this trust involved in a more precisely defined exchange relationship that church members seek to foster because it is frequently broken.⁵ Trust (*ubucetekelo*) of the sort associated with an exchange relationship based on payment for work rendered or product received is not a problem for subsistence producers. Now, however, trust has become an issue, and debate over the concept, in its religious context, is important among members of the same church.

The demand for *immediate repayment of debts combined with a person's inability or unwillingness to do so* has transformed standing debts into cheating. Cheating is an art in this community where prices for work are very flexible and depend on the mood, the likes,

and dislikes of the worker, and on his appraisal of the employer's or customer's wealth, ability to pay, or ability to exact payment. The usual procedure is to request payment in advance, to work a little, and then to disappear, leaving the task unfinished. Employer and worker generally try to outfox one another in a push and pull for advance payment versus payment following the completion of a task. The government has set up minimum wage requirements and price controls, but these cannot be enforced. In short, the duty of labor as expressed in the Christian saying "if a man will not work, neither shall he eat" (Troeltsch 1960:119) is absent in Luapula. Rather, the prevailing feeling among workers is that whether or not a man works, maintenance is his natural right.

Jehovah's Witnesses, whose teachings constitute a learning process designed to build mature servants, have been more successful than other denominations in making people feel comfortable with notions of trust and its correlate, honesty (*ubuciine*). In fact, they have earned the reputation among their countrymen of being scrupulously honest and thus are preferred for jobs in which money is handled. Not all Witnesses are stalwart, of course, and some believe that trust and honesty should be confined to the congregation. They thus justify a bit of cheating toward outsiders.

Following biblical ideology, Jehovah's Witnesses call their workers "servants," not workers.⁶ All individuals are servants of God, though with different duties to fulfill in accordance with God's plan. This zealous assertion of equality of all human beings before a remote and inaccessible (nonhuman) authority has motivated men through the ages to set up small independent communities of "saints." This attitude is generally characterized as reactionary and authoritarian, yet the assertion is that each man is inherently as worthy and capable as the next. Luapula's Witnesses feel just that—although in the words of UNIP officials, "they are proud." At the same time that Witnesses are molding a new secular relationship between employer and servant based on trust and honesty, they are transforming it into a relationship of equally worthy servants performing their different duties before a remote God. Because they value equality among those who shall inhabit the earth, Witnesses can with equanimity refer to themselves as sheep (that is, as docile followers of God).

effects of Jehovah's Witnesses on family

Lack of trust is not limited to economic transactions but is also a problem in relationships between husbands and wives. The lack of trust between husband and wife was so obvious that I asked individuals whom, among their relatives, they trusted most. Of twenty-five men (regular fishermen, the more stable element in the community) asked, five answered "my wife"; the remainder responded with "brother" and "mother's younger sister." Of those who answered "my wife," two probably were not telling the truth, for bad relations prevailed between these married couples. Two of the other three are Watch Tower members and have exceptionally good relationships with their wives. The third man (a new store owner and fisherman) is somewhat ostracized by the community but, as far as I could tell, has a firm marriage. He attends the CMML (Christian Missions in Many Lands) church, which on the whole has failed to modify individual behavior significantly.

I then asked twenty-eight women the same question. Of these, nine initially answered, "my husband"; later, two women confessed they had not answered truthfully. They stated that women do not trust their husbands, even if they say they do; that while many women are not married, they will claim that they are; and that women will say that they have had only one or two husbands, when in fact they have had from six to nine or more.

Women repeatedly stated that they could not be honest about their marital status. They said that married women are jealous of single women, that they subject the latter to dis-

respect and ill-treatment, and often suspect them of stealing their husbands. Commonly, a wife will beat her rival, which results in court cases. In short, women find it worthwhile to assume single or married status, depending on what they wish to gain or prevent. These precautionary remarks should be kept in mind when interpreting the following responses of the women: seven stated that they trust their "husband"; ten stated that they trust their "brother," "sister," or other immediate "matrikin"; five answered that they trust their "friend"; and six claimed that they trust "no one."

The nature of women's answers says something about Kashikishi's population. Many of the women are here because they followed their "productive" husbands; they are therefore away from the immediate environment of their matrikin. But whether they are away from or surrounded by matrikin, women during their years of child bearing and rearing try by all means to improve their economic condition and assert their independence of matrikin, whose claims might hinder their own or their husbands' ambitions. Eighteen of twenty-eight trust other than their immediate matrikin. For purposes of clarity, I present the relationship between women's age, husbands' productivity, and differential trust in Table 1.

Table 1. Women's age, trust, and husbands' productivity.

Age of Woman	Trust Placed in		Husband's Productivity	Number of Women
	Matrikinsmen	Others		
14	X		0	2
19 "casual" wife	X		Fishguard	1
28 is blind	X		0	1
30	X		0	1
47	X		0	1
50	X		0	2
60-70	X		0	2
18		X	Storeowner	1
20		X	LF	1
20		X	F	2
20-30		X	F	1
25		X	F	1
27		X	F	1
29		X	F	1
30		X	Salesman	1
30		X	F	2
40		X	F	2
45		X	F	1
46		X	F	1
48		X	F	1
40-50		X	F—Headman	1
40-50		X	Storeowner	1
Total				28

0 = husband helps woman garden, but is not otherwise productive.

F = husband is a fisherman.

LF = husband is employed by Lakes Fisheries (partly state-owned fish producers).

The data suggest that the very young and the old remain with or return to their matrikin and place their trust in them. Women between their twenties and forties assert their independence of matrilineal ties and place their trust in husbands, friends, or no one at all. The lack of trust in relatives does not necessarily mean that these women do not have relatives residing in the village, and even when none are in Kashikishi, relatives certainly live in nearby villages along the valley. Rather, this is an ideological statement; the alternative goal for some is to forge strong nuclear ties.

In other words, while all Luapulans are part of a wide kinship network, the ties they favor depend on the economic situation of husband and wife and on their religious affiliation.

Thus, of the seven women who stated that they trust their husbands, five are Watch Tower, one is a Seventh-Day Adventist, and one is a United Church member.

Jehovah's Witnesses experience greater success than members of other denominations in maintaining stable marital unions. As with employers and servants, their success represents a modified exchange relationship between husband and wife, who, in their newly discovered, nonthreatening, cooperative endeavors, have become accountable in their treatment of one another to a new figurehead, God. In exchange for trust, which is so risky for a woman to grant a man other than her brother, the Jehovah's Witness husband is taught to mature into practicing responsibility for the well-being of his wife and children. But in addition to participating in an exchange between trust and responsibility, husband and wife are encouraged to be individuals with integrity (*abantu abacishinka*). This overriding demand for integrity cements marriage; it negates male supremacy by emphasizing husband-wife equality within the context of a great undertaking. This latter attitude and practice is an innovation in Luapula, as is the greater flexibility between the sexes in financial and other arrangements. I have seen Jehovah's Witness wives in charge of family finances, a rare thing in a situation where men prefer not to let wives have money and to buy them goods instead. Even to trust a woman enough to give her money to buy oil, soap, and paraffin is an achievement and amounts to the creation of a different kind of relationship. Further, Jehovah's Witness men more frequently are found helping their wives in gardens, not only during the preparation phase, but also with planting and digging.

Only under the umbrella of the church is the husband permitted the status of head of the nuclear family. Socially and economically he is now superior, but from the perspective of the church this is merely a matter of carrying out different duties in an atmosphere of equality before God. This is a sociologically interesting development. As a rule, a husband's position as head of the nuclear family is undermined and curtailed by other men related to his wife. Early in his marriage, he finds his power limited by that of the wife's *yama* (mother's brother). In the old grandfamily (*fishikululwa*) tradition, even the granddaughter's husband was accountable to her grandfather. In a situation where women are legally subordinate to men, despite their considerable de facto power, the constant check on a husband's authority is welcome. The reason that wives of Jehovah's Witnesses are more amenable to a nuclear family structure headed by their husband is that their mutual accountability to an outside authority has not been eliminated; it has shifted toward a symbolic figurehead, God.

Seventh-Day Adventists, by contrast, are not able to turn their men into responsible, sharing husbands. Thus, when elders admonish wives to obey their husbands and not to run off and divorce them, women complain openly that the church is trying to enslave them. They are especially concerned about the unwillingness of the church to grant divorces. Also, traditional status differences between the sexes continue to prevail. The Seventh-Day Adventists' dogma is not buttressed by a strong organization that can monitor the progress of its members.

For Seventh-Day Adventists, relationships in both the immediate family (*bantu baḡanda*) and the matrilineal extended family (*ulupwa*) are subject to serious strain, especially among the poor. Despite verbal injunctions against instability, divorces are frequent and marriages casually contracted. Both husband and wife maintain strong ties to their respective matrikin (*cikota*); the practice that each spouse's *balupwa* "look into one's immediate family" (*iḡanda*) is continued. There is, then, greater ambivalence among Seventh-Day Adventists concerning matrilineal ideology and practices.

Finally, if they are wealthy, Seventh-Day Adventists are strong nuclear familists, strong matrilinealists (particularly as regards inheritance), and fair Christians. When they are poor, their matrilineal ties remain strong, but nuclear families are weak and Christianity feeble.

In comparison, wealthy Jehovah's Witnesses are indifferent to matrikin, have strong nuclear families, and are good Christians; their poor counterparts share the latter two attributes.

contrasts between the doctrines of salvation of Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists

The preoccupation with salvation means in effect that some Luapulans reject their present world and circumstances and desire to participate in a better one.⁷ The concern with salvation stems from their desire for freedom from the imperatives of nature, kin obligations, and subjugation to the authorities (whether chiefs, foreigners, or the present government). In lieu of ritual practices aimed at the attainment of such specific goods as food, children, and health, the Protestant churches teach people the existence of a better life and the freedom of the individual to participate in it; in the process they present people with a new set of choices.

By salvation I mean the process of saving man from sin and extinction, through atonement, grace, or the establishment of worthiness in order to enter a form of eternal life (spiritual or actual) visualized by a particular sect. I shall argue that the restructuring of behavior is more effective among Jehovah's Witnesses than among Seventh-Day Adventists (or among other Protestant denominations in Luapula) because Jehovah's Witnesses believe in and make use of somewhat different means to secure everlasting life or participation in God's kingdom on earth and because Jehovah's Witnesses believe in the transformation of the earth into an actual theocracy of God, not merely a spiritual one.

Because they assume the imminent end of the world, Jehovah's Witnesses carefully instruct recruits to accept the inevitability of a new world and to learn to see the "life that cannot be seen now." They emphasize that throughout the world, "we have one belief; we hold together as one, in one spirit and one loyalty." "The news of the Bible points us," so Witnesses teach, "to the place that is the new world; there will be no slander nor worries." Jehovah's Witnesses emphasize that members, following the advice of the Apostle Paul, "should not work hard to talk to outsiders, but rather should keep their attention directed toward the church." The Society's motto is: "it is good to change your behavior and work for God."

Jehovah's Witnesses adhere to a radical form of predestination that states uncompromisingly that some souls will suffer eternal damnation. Like other Protestant denominations, Jehovah's Witnesses reject the pre-Reformation order that assigned people to one of two estates: the spiritual estate to which only the Pope, bishops, priests, and monks were called, and the temporal estate to which all others belonged. The distinction between ministry and laity was replaced by a two-class system of elect and reprobates. However, Jehovah's Witnesses have innovated within this framework. Like other Protestant denominations, they hold that the state of grace is absolute; one is either saved or damned. But while other Protestants argue that if one is saved one will see proof of a person's election in his conduct at all times, Jehovah's Witnesses say that all individuals who are baptised and are members "in good standing" of the Society are saved. All others, that is, all outsiders, are damned—hence their sense of urgency in converting outsiders to the Society.

To become and remain members, Jehovah's Witnesses must act in accordance with the Society's rules of conduct; to guard against complacency, they must work continuously and systematically for God. Indeed, all members record the hours they spend evangelizing and learning the contents of the *Watch Tower* magazine, the Bible, and other Watch Tower publications. For example, when Jehovah's Witnesses discussed the topic of wealth accu-

mulation, members were reminded that the riches with highest priority were: (1) reading the Bible, (2) reading the *Watch Tower* magazine, (3) reading the Society's books, and (4) continuing to enjoy meeting with God's people. In their words, "that is how you put riches in heaven" (*ninshi ulebika ifyuma ifyakumulu*).⁸

The firm promise of eternal death for all reprobates results in a serious effort on the part of Luapula's Jehovah's Witnesses to practice right behavior in order to maintain their position as the elect (that is, as members of the Society), and thus to live the good life in God's kingdom.

In sum, Jehovah's Witnesses are persuaded that to be granted participation in God's kingdom means to prove one's worthiness through witnessing, unflagging loyalty (*ubucishinka*), faithfulness (*ubulambatiko*), and obedience (*ubunakilo*) to God, that is, the Society, even in the face of death. Further, it requires repentance (*icilapilo*) in the sense of

recognition and admission of a wrong condition or course of action and a sincere sorrow with determination motivated by wholehearted desire to conform to right principles, to turn forever from such wrong course and take a course in harmony with God's will (Hoekema 1963:71).

In Kashikishi, the behavior of Witnesses is much more carefully scrutinized by fellow members than is that of Seventh-Day Adventists or adherents of any other Christian denomination. The latter have generally learned the benefits of compromising their faith with traditional matrilineal beliefs.

While all obedient and hard-working Witnesses will be saved, Jehovah's Witnesses have added an additional incentive to achieve individual, lifelong integrity. Witnesses are divided into two classes: the *anointed class*, who will ultimately enter the heavenly sphere and rule as faithful servants of God over the *sheep class*, who will live in the transformed paradisaical earth forever. According to doctrine it is predestined that 144,000 will be in the anointed class. Who these people are is not known except through their outstanding behavior. Since Jehovah has set the requirements to be met by those who aspire to this higher form of existence, many can try, though few will succeed. In other words, while the elect and reprobates are analogous to Jehovah's Witnesses and non-Witnesses respectively, some of the elect are spurred on to achieve religious virtuosity in order to participate in the policy making of the Watch Tower Body and to rule with God following the Battle of Armageddon.

Seventh-Day Adventists have turned away from a preoccupation with the millennium, and their position concerning salvation is simpler. They teach their members that God's grace alone can grant resurrection and "translation." The accumulation of merit through good works and "commandment-keeping" may be gifts of God, but they cannot lead to salvation. Therefore, despite personal failures, man will eventually be granted everlasting life, provided he fully surrenders himself to God. At the second coming of Christ, the "just living" will be "translated" and the "just dead" will be resurrected. The "unjust dead" will also be resurrected, although they will first spend a millennium in their graves. The prospect of the eventual resurrection of everyone is a merciful doctrine, at least in contrast to the one upheld by Jehovah's Witnesses. Their humane attitude toward even the world's sinners explains the much greater optimism toward the world and the definite openness toward outsiders that are displayed by Kashikishi's Seventh-Day Adventists.

Awareness of the need for control has produced a general, if good-humored, uneasiness about the actual lack of control over action among Kashikishi's Seventh-Day Adventists. To transform matrilineal institutions without the consistent constraint of a tight organization like that of the Witnesses is such a feat that many Seventh-Day Adventists take a position opposite to that of America's early Puritans, for example. Instead of the need to see proof of their election, Luapula's Seventh-Day Adventists good naturedly accept their inability to conform to the tenets of Christianity. They cannot manage the autonomy re-

quired to practice complete control of their lives. Regressive tendencies are so strong that a clear differentiation (or disembedding) of this system of Protestant ideas from the other elements of society is simply not achieved by Luapula's Seventh-Day Adventists.

As frequently as Seventh-Day Adventists make new kinds of individual decisions, they also rescind them. Indeed, if any lesson can be drawn from Luapulans' religious activities, it clearly is how fragile man's ability is to make strictly individual and culturally independent choices. Individuals prefer to seek first the support of a new and preferably strong social fabric before they make a new decision. Without this support rational action "integrated as to meaning, end, and means, and governed by principles and rules" (Roth and Wittick 1968:549) is not possible.

Luapula's Seventh-Day Adventists

I indicated in the preceding section the sense of optimism that Seventh-Day Adventists offer the world. In my daily contact with these people I found in them a much greater sense of freedom and lightheartedness about their transgressions. The optimism and openness of Seventh-Day Adventists carries over to economic activities. In this sense one may describe stalwarts as economic "expanders," as true entrepreneurs, which agrees with the characterization of early Seventh-Day Adventism as a reformative movement. Not unexpectedly, therefore, the church includes among its members the most prominent businessmen in the valley. It also proudly counts a Central Committee Member among its sons. While local government officials, if they claim religious affiliation, tend to be Catholics, caretakers in secondary schools and Public Works Department employees are likely to be active members, often deacons, in the Seventh-Day Adventist church.

Its orientation toward the secular world attracts Luapulans to this church. Seventh-Day Adventists encourage work and self-control to achieve worldly success. They seek reform, especially through improved education and public health, and they tend to a more sustained dialogue about the conflicts between "customs" and Christian practices.

Seventh-Day Adventists have a relaxed relationship with the government. Members serve on various committees such as the Parent-Teacher Association, the Re-elect Kaunda Committee, and various business organizations. Seventh-Day Adventists see themselves as very much part of the country with its persistent customs, kin ties, and related problems. Although they may be critical of the government's failings, they generally feel themselves part of its improvements. Their concern is with what could be done if people managed to be more disciplined.

Because their doctrine of salvation is less effective in restraining and restructuring behavior, Seventh-Day Adventists adopt taboos for constraining behavior. They forbid dancing, drinking of alcoholic beverages, smoking, and eating certain foods such as pork and fish without scales. They, too, teach a morality that abhors excess. In fact Seventh-Day Adventist stalwarts usually succeed in restraining their drinking, smoking, and dancing habits. They are more discreet in their liaisons with available women, although not perhaps less active than the general population in this pursuit. At their best, they are serial monogamists, though even then they frequently sport girl friends.

At each camp meeting Seventh-Day Adventists hold a seminar on family. Generally, this is a jumble of complaints on the part of women about drinking and unfaithful husbands. Some women proclaim that unless their husbands' behaviors change, they will have nothing to do with the patriarchal principle of respect for and service to a single spouse. The outstanding feature of the seminar is its bankruptcy regarding ideas for resolving problems of adultery or husbands' failures to maintain nuclear families. At best, the Seventh-

Day Adventist church legitimizes women's complaints about unfaithful and/or polygynous husbands, and so women attend; it has no solutions, and so men attend.

While women hope that men can be persuaded to keep the Law (Commandments), and men hope that women might be encouraged to be obedient, in fact both depend on God's grace to "save" them. The only sanction available to the church is to demote a leader who practices polygyny or indiscreetly indulges in other vices. In fact, men lament their demotion, for many are attracted to the church because it gives them a chance to express the best in themselves and to become community leaders.

Not just at the annual camp meeting but throughout the year, leaders and members hold discussions concerning several issues. Polygamy and questions about the related practice of *ubupyani* (succession) are recurring topics. *Ubupyani* is part and parcel of matrilineal distributive justice and is upheld by the local courts. Upon the death of a spouse, one must marry the successor to the deceased's position. To flout this law can spell great hardship for the widow or widower. First, he or she will be blamed for any illness or death among his own or the deceased's matrikin. Second, people fear marrying an "uninherited" widow or widower; in effect, he or she is ostracized. Under this pressure, most people comply with the wishes of their kinsmen even if they initially resist on the grounds that they will be excommunicated from their church. Most successors are already married; therefore, if a person maintains an *ubupyani* union, he or she is a polygamist. If an individual dissolves the union, he or she will have committed adultery. Nonetheless, when people were asked whether they oppose *ubupyani*, the great majority answered that they did not.

Since the Bible does not adequately address itself to family problems, the church is no more effective in dissuading people from the practice of *ubupyani* than it is in maintaining marital stability. Unless it is in the interest of the wife to maintain the marriage, couples are torn apart over issues of childcare, remittances, and property rights. Throughout their life together, each spouse identifies and reidentifies his or her property to ensure that upon death, the deceased's family may not seize everything. For if it were not for participation in the church, they probably would have terminated their marriage earlier and returned to their *balupwa kuli bamayo* (mother's matrilineage) with their respective possessions. Seventh-Day Adventists do not effectively change kinship or inheritance practices. At most (I noticed this especially among prominent businessmen) they use religion to temper the demands of kinsmen, not to change or eliminate kin relations.

With the exception of Seventh-Day Adventist leaders, who do practice considerable control over self and fortune, the great majority of the members fail to change their behavior. I ascribe this failure to the lack of consistent demands made on individuals to change and, concomitantly, to the different use made of the Bible. Luapula's Jehovah's Witnesses use the Bible to create individuals worthy of participation in a new world. Seventh-Day Adventists, who are less concerned about their eligibility to partake in an unintelligible spiritual existence, look to the Bible for specific solutions to secular problems. However, the Bible is least effective when used for this purpose. Therefore, Seventh-Day Adventists, at their best, make courageous businessmen and good citizens. In Luapula, they use their religion to justify the need to maintain control over their profits, to stop the incessant demands of kinsmen for money, and to become community leaders.

conclusion

A sower went out to sow his seed: and as he sowed, some fell by the way side; and it was trodden down, and the fowls of the air devoured it.

And some fell upon a rock; and as soon as it was sprung up, it withered away, because it lacked moisture.

And some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprang up with it, and choked it.

And other fell on good ground, and sprang up, and bare fruit an hundredfold (Luke 8:5-8).

While there are many denominations in Luapula, I have discussed two churches, Seventh-Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses, because they have been effective, if differentially so, in changing the behavior of their adherents. In Kashikishi, the two churches together represent more than half of the population.

The following paragraphs detail the conclusions of the paper:

(1) Matrilineally constrained and conflict-ridden economic activities in Luapula make the plan of a future new social order, God's kingdom on earth (*ubuteko bwakwaLesu*), look attractive to Jehovah's Witnesses. In anticipation of such a future theocracy, Jehovah's Witnesses have separated themselves socially by forming a tightly organized and exclusive group in the Luapula valley.

By contrast, Seventh-Day Adventists look to economic reform rather than to social transformation as a way to ease their presently chaotic economic conditions. They use religion to temper the demands of kinsmen, not to change or eliminate kin relations.

(2) There is an obvious lack of trust between husbands and wives among Luapula matrilinealists. Divorce is a universal practice. Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists differ, however, in the number of spouses an individual "throws out" during the course of his or her life. Jehovah's Witnesses experience noticeably greater success than members of other denominations in maintaining lengthy stable marriages because in exchange for trust, which is so risky for a woman to grant a man other than her brother, the Jehovah's Witness husband behaves responsibly toward his wife and her offspring. According to Luapula women, husbands, especially impoverished ones, are a "luxury." Women feel that easy divorces are vital under conditions in which men are not "trained" to be primary providers for wife and offspring. Consequently, only under the umbrella of a strong organization like that of the Witnesses, which effectively constrains male behavior, are women willing to increase their loyalties toward their husbands.

(3) Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists differ significantly in their doctrines of salvation. The firm promise of eternal death for all reprobates results in a serious effort on the part of Luapula's Jehovah's Witnesses to practice right behavior. The position of Seventh-Day Adventists concerning salvation is simpler. Everyone eventually will be resurrected. The consequence of this merciful doctrine is that Luapula Adventists good-naturedly accept their inability to conform to the tenets of Christianity.

(4) Politically, Witnesses are determined egalitarians. They practice economic self-reliance, and the gap between the rich and poor is closed. By contrast, Seventh-Day Adventists are nonegalitarians. They accept the gap between the rich and poor, and they look to government leadership to provide solutions to their problems.

(5) Not unexpectedly, matrilineal constraints are selectively losing their hold over those individuals in the society who are directly responsive to the restrictive conditions of a market economy. Rural businessmen and traders correctly perceive matriliney as wasteful of time and human effort and as representing an obstacle to their economic ambitions. Consequently, they use religious ideology to safeguard and further emerging business interests—interests, I might add, that run contrary to matrilineal notions of distributive justice.

These five major conclusions may be restated more generally as a functional relationship among interests, organizations, and behavior. Specifically, I found that *if* people desire a social system outlined by any one of the Protestant religious doctrines, and if the

religious organization is strong so that the behavior of a denomination's member can be effectively screened, punished, and rewarded, then the more decisively a doctrine of salvation asserts salvation for some and eternal death for others, the more one can expect individual behavior modifications in accordance with doctrinal precepts.

While I believe that churches will not provide the ultimate solution to rural change, they have created and encouraged many capable people to initiate and participate, if often unwittingly, in the development process. But more importantly, they show that man's behavior can be modified, albeit indirectly, to create new institutions, and that people can adopt new work habits and attitudes. To provide capital and machinery for a prepared population is, after all, like placing seed into fertile soil. It may also spell the difference between evolution and underdevelopment.

notes

¹I am grateful to the International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada for financial support of my research in Zambia. Special thanks go to Professor Harry Basehart of the University of New Mexico for his intellectual support throughout the period of research and for improving the style and content of this paper. I thank William T. Stuart of the University of Maryland for the many fine discussions of this and other Luapula topics. I enlisted the help of Carla Reid as typist and am grateful for her aid.

²I concentrate on the activities of Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists because these congregations are large and the effects of their practices on behavior are noticeable. About 98 percent of Kashikishi's population profess adherence to some church. The rest identify themselves as "pagans." In Kashikishi, Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists together form about 60 percent of the church-attending population. Other denominations include: African Methodist Episcopal, with a sizable following especially in the river area where foreign missionaries still operate a mission hospital; and the United Church of Zambia, which includes the London Mission Society. There are a number of Catholics, whose missions just north of Kashikishi and further north in Chiengi continue to be run by the White Fathers.

³The constant characteristics and variable features of redemptive movements are well described by Aberle (1966:320-322).

⁴The Watch Tower movement significantly changed its attitude toward governments in 1939. While members were openly hostile toward all forms of authority prior to this date, since then Witnesses have taken a clear stand of neutrality. The *Watch Tower* of November 1, 1939, presented a "full and scriptural study of the subject of 'Neutrality' as practiced by God's people in olden times" (Jehovah's Witnesses 1959:154).

It is important to understand just how responsive Witnesses who live in seemingly remote areas of the world are to changes in central policy emanating from New York. For example, Quick, writing in 1939, records the "virulent" activities of the "African Watch Tower movement" in the Luapula-Mweru area. While Jehovah's Witnesses have since abandoned the practice of prophecy (in response to central policy changes), prior to 1939 they not only prophesied, but also spoke in tongues (see Quick 1940: 218-224).

⁵Buying and selling and payment for work rendered entail difficulties for most Luapulans. The general procedure is as follows: a man sells something or works for someone without receiving immediate payment, although he is promised that payment will be forthcoming. In fact, the debt stands. It continues to stand (sometimes months or years) until the debtor is confronted or the debt is forgotten. Generally, one tries to confront the debtor when it is known that he is in actual possession of money. When confronted at such a time, the debtor good humoredly smiles and says "ah, so I am found out," and he pays. Small storeowners tend to summon the debtor to court. Generally, the debtor pays immediately and the case is dismissed. Finally, many debtors simply leave the area and are not heard of again.

I collected 250 civil court cases, and it is interesting to note that the second most frequent number of cases concern money debts (seventy-eight); an additional thirteen cases involve "illegal" possession of property. Problems of this sort are second in frequency to the 103 cases that relate to tensions between the sexes. These two sorts of problems are a major source of aggravation for Luapulans. More serious cases of theft, destruction of property, and so forth are taken to the magistrate's court.

⁶A servant is one who offers his services for cash payment. The notion of work as a "calling" giving personal fulfillment is absent. Rather, work is seen as dutiful service rendered to God to help the realization of His divine plan.

⁷I asked various Christians why they attend church. The answers for Seventh-Day Adventists invariably were: "I want a better life, which is an everlasting life," or "I need the better and everlasting life which Jesus promised me." Generally the hope for a *better life*, sprinkled with biblical terminology and concepts, predominates. Answers to this question given by Jehovah's Witnesses resembled the one I shall quote here: "I did not like being a [Methodist] because when a person dies, a [Methodist] preaches that he goes to heaven; a Watch Tower says when a person dies he goes to the grave. He will then rise at the time of resurrection [*ubututubuka*] of the dead."

Also, Watch Tower emphasizes the great difference between things of the world and of God.

"We now live in a spiritual kingdom, waiting for the next kingdom which will not be a people's government. We learn about the Bible. People are to keep away from sin; they should not fight, commit adultery, or steal. When a person joins Watch Tower he becomes a better human being. If he does not improve, we disfellowship him. Nobody is allowed to greet him then. After he has been outside, and behaves properly, then we can greet him again. He starts again reading the Bible together with others, after he repents" (L. C. P., storeowner, Kashikishi, April 1974).

Similar answers are the rule. They are all concerned with salvation (*ubupususho*) and show that people have a major interest in their future status among the elect in God's kingdom. People also usually comment that they have become changed persons since they joined. Jehovah's Witnesses feel better about themselves because they sense a kind of self-control. They manage a more stable family life and assume the responsibilities of fatherhood.

⁸In Luapula, a special pioneer explained the position of Jehovah's Witnesses on wealth and money as follows: "money is good if it is earned through honest work. To work is good, and each person must work for his upkeep; to loaf means not being a Christian." Witnesses are usually thought to oppose education, but the special pioneer and other Witnesses took the following position: "there is no objection to education and progress, but education must be complemented by Watch Tower discipline and belief in Jehovah and the Bible. A student learns to write and read, etc., in school, but unless he gets religion, he will have no sense of morality and discipline."

references cited

- Aberle, David F.
1966 *The Peyote Religion Among the Navaho*. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.
- Basehart, Harry W.
1967 *The Resource Holding Corporation Among the Mescalero Apache*. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 23(3):277-291.
- Colson, E.
1958 *Marriage and the Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Douglas, Mary
1971 *Is Matriliney Doomed in Africa? In Man in Africa*. Mary Douglas and Phyllis M. Kaberry, Eds. Garden City: Anchor Books. pp. 123-137.
- Goody, Jack
1972 *The Evolution of the Family. In Household and Family in Past Time*. Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, Eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 103-124.
- Gough, Kathleen
1961 *The Modern Disintegration of Matrilineal Descent Groups. In Matrilineal Kinship*. David M. Schneider and Kathleen Gough, Eds. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. pp. 631-652.
- Heath, Anthony
1976 *Rational Choice and Social Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hill, Polly
1963 *The Migrant Cocoa-Farmers of Southern Ghana*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoekema, Anthony A.
1963 *Jehovah's Witnesses*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans.
- Jehovah's Witnesses
1959 *Jehovah's Witnesses in the Divine Purpose*. New York: Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society.
- Poewe, Karla O.
1976 *Religion, Kinship, and Labor In Luapula: Prosperity and Economic Stagnation of Lake and River Fishing Communities*. Ph.D. dissertation. The University of New Mexico.
- Quick, Griffith
1940 *Some Aspects of the African Watch Tower Movement in Northern Rhodesia*. *International Review of Missions* 29 (114):216-226.

Roth, Guenther, and Claus Wittick, Eds.

1968 *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*: Max Weber. New York: Bedminster Press.

Terray, Emmanuel

1975 *Classes and Class Consciousness in the Abron Kingdom of Gyaman*. In *Marxist Analysis and Social Anthropology*. Maurice Bloch, Ed. New York: John Wiley & Sons. pp. 85-135.

Trapnell, C. G., J. D. Martin, and W. Allen, O. B. E.

1950 *Vegetation-Soil Map of Northern Rhodesia*. Lusaka: The Government Printer.

Troeltsch, Ernst

1960 *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, Vol. 1. New York: Harper and Row.

Wertheim, W. F.

1974 *Evolution and Revolution: The Rising Waves of Emancipation*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.

Date of Submission: August 19, 1977

Date of Acceptance: October 14, 1977