

[Article]**Urbanization and Islamization in the Kumu Society**

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1. Introduction

1) Statement of problem

The urbanization phenomenon spreading throughout the contemporary world is generally realized as one of the basic social dynamics, in combination with industrialization of the production system after the Industrial Revolution. Certainly one can see evidence of the similarity of this urbanization phenomenon in advanced areas like America, Europe, and Japan. But is it truly possible to grasp the diversity of the urbanization phenomenon across worlds, through a universal concept, that is, urbanization=industrialization?

Concerning the urbanization phenomenon in third world countries, some scholars (Armstrong, W. R. 1985) call it pseudo-urbanization, and point out that even though there exists a kind of urbanization phenomenon expressed in the concentration of population, it is not a "real" urbanization because it lacks industrialization. Especially in Africa, behind other regions in the third world in terms of industrialization level, it becomes important to reexamine whether the concept of urbanization formed in Europe can be directly applied to the African countries.

For example, in a previous study on the region near Kisangani in Zaire, Macgaffey, while stressing the role of merchant capital as an African characteristic of social dynamism, together with the difficulty of obtaining a reliable workforce for capitalist enterprise, commented as follows: "In a society based on simple commodity production, in which independent producers own the means of production, the rudimentary elements of capitalism exist: wealth can be held as money, the precondition for systematic accumulation; as soon as commodity production expands to a point that a specialized class of traders can form, capital can emerge in the form of merchant capital."

(Macgaffey, J. 1987 P.21)

Therefore, in contemporary Africa, in addition to the facts mentioned above, the important thing is that

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the above development of merchant capital is related to the development of the Islamization phenomenon on the urbanization level.

Commercialization in the Islamic world is well-known, and is sometimes described as follows : “ It is the only commercial activity that has been flourishing over the long term, from the past up to now in the Islamic world.” (Katakura, M.1987 P.92) In the African history, Islamization has also developed in connection with the formation of cities, the formation of kingdoms in West Africa, and Swahilization in East Africa (Abdul S.1987).

Therefore, it is becoming more important to describe the relationship between merchant capital and urbanization, and the relationship between merchant capital and Islamization. In addition, it is also necessary to clarify the reason why merchant capital plays a more dominant role in Africa than in other regions.

In previous studies (Amin, S. 1967, 1974, Emmanuel, A.1972, Frank, G. 1969) , the characteristics of the urbanization phenomenon in Africa have been generally explained from the point of view of external factors, such as the world system, on the macro-level and intensity of subordination. But such a view has some weak points at present described below.

First, we know that regional differences in the third world countries (World Bank 1990, Banque du Zaire, 1975-1990, Kalala, K.1989, 1990, Gakou, M.L.,1987,) are expanding, and the economic position of African countries in third world countries is falling down in particular. What is the reason for this phenomenon? It is impossible to obtain the complete answer from only the viewpoint of the intensity of subordination. On the other hand, in the interior of Africa, the regional difference appears more clearly than before (Macgaffey,J.1987, Sakamoto K.1986). How can we explain this kind of phenomenon? Through these questions, one can see the increased demand for new perspectives, especially those stressing internal factors (Akabane H. 1971, Hyden,G., 1980, Meillassoux,C.1964, Rey, P. and Dupre,1973), represented by articulation theory. From studies on Africa, we can see a new perspective in which researchers grasp the characteristics of social dynamics from the point of view of the internal structure called tribal society.

2) Subject and methodology

The purpose of the article aims to analyze the state of urbanization and the Islamization phenomenon from the community level, through a case study of the Kumu society, in the region near Kisangani in Zaire. It also aims to clarify the African characteristics of urbanization and Islamization and the internal relations between these two phenomena. The assumption, that in the African contemporary development, there are two contending modes of production, a capitalist mode of production and a pre-modern mode of production, has some difficulty of being understood in academic context. Even though the pre-modern

mode of production is increasingly acknowledged in the analysis of Asian and Latin America societies, from the point of view of articulation theory, the importance of the pre-modern mode of production in the African development situation still remains to be shown. Perhaps this is because there is no evidence of any well-known pre-capitalist mode, such as feudalism or the Asiatic mode of production, as Goran Hyden has pointed out (Hyden,G.,1980).

The above discussions on African rural community in previous studies have been developed gradually by French anthropologists working within the Marxist tradition but even now we have few case studies on this subject as Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch has mentioned (Coquery-Vidrovitch,1976). Considering the relationship between urbanization and African rural community, there remain some serious problems. First, urbanization is an agent of change of socio-economic dynamics having direct influence on social organization, and especially in the rural community. It is therefore necessary to grasp the mode of social reproduction in the rural community in order to make it clear. But the above is lacking in particular within the studies on rural community in Africa, even though it has been developed somewhat by Meillassoux and Pierre-Philippe (Meillassoux, C.1964, Rey, P. and Dupre, 1973). Second, presenting a different mode of production in contrast to the capitalist mode of production, also lacks a thorough analysis of the dynamism of the rural-urban relationship. In this situation, the perspective of Goran Hyden (Hyden,G.,1980, P.18), who stresses the continuity of traditional human relationships, accompanied with the sharing behaviour (Polanyi, K. 1955, Sahlins, M.1972), and famous for the "ECONOMY OF AFFECTION" (Hyden, G.,1980, P.18); at sometime, considering the characteristics of the dynamics of the rural-urban relationship in Africa, does not provide concrete analysis at the community level.

Therefore, in this paper, taking perspective of Goran Hyden, I would like to reexamine the role of rural community; I put the characteristics of the present dynamics in African society in one frame, through a concrete case study analysing the relationship between urbanization and rural community in the region near Kisangani. I especially relate this with Islamization that characterizes urbanization in Africa.

3)Research method

The data for this paper were collected by using the following method: (1)A questionnaire on the dynamics of the rural-urban relationship in Kisangani and Lubutu and this was administered in 1989 and in 1990 with the cooperation of Prof. Mbaya (Kisangani University); and (2) My intensive reserch in the village near Lubutu, carried out 4 times, from 1986 to 1991.

2. Some aspects of the dynamics of the rural-urban relationship in the area near Kisangani

1) Urbanization and Islamization near Kisangani, and the Kumu society

The village of the Kumu People is located in tropical rain forests of the south-eastern region of Kisangani, the third largest city of Zaire. Fig.1 shows the territory of Kumu society. They are scattered in different administrative boundaries, namely “sous-regions,” Haut-Zaire, Maniema, and Nord-Kive. In Zaire, the smallest unit of administration is the village. Several villages gathered together to form a “groupment”. Above the groupment is the “collectivite”, and above that is the zone (Sugimura,K. 1987-b) .

Fig.2 shows a model of land use by the Kumu people, with a village and a territory as units. In this paper, “village” means a locality, a minimum administrative unit in Zaire. It is an aggregate of lineages, a traditional unit of land holding (Sugimura,K. 1987-b). Near each village is a kitchen garden of 2 -3 are for each household, and behind this there is a secondary forest for shifting cultivation, spreading about 10km. This is followed by forest which spreads about 100km.

The subsistence economy of the area is traditionally composed of shifting cultivation, hunting, and fishing. These are the multiple performed by the Kumu Society which is essentially patrilineal, and is politically segmented into small units. In the village, we can also see some strong-ties among the Toa, a sub-lineage composed of 5-10 households, situated between lineage and household. The members of a Toa (Wauthier, M.1985 P.4) had discussions and meetings in a hut, and they eat together twice every day, something which exemplifies one of the customs of the Kumu people, known as an “egalitarian society” (Sugimura,K. 1987-b). The Kumu society, which appears static, has in fact been greatly affected by the outside world, and has experienced social and economic change in the history.

The first wave of change is that of Islamization (Forbath, P.1977, Wauthier, M. 1985). The penetration of Islamization into the Kumu society goes back to the epoch before colonization by Belgium. The Arabs had spread from the coast in East Africa into the interior of the continent, and were accompanied by the inhabitants whom they controlled ; they were seeking slaves and ivory. After reaching the upper regions of Zaire River, they came down the Luabara River, one of the branches leading into Kindu where they had great influence on ethnic groups like the Bakusu and Tetela through Islamization.

The Arab traders and Islamic converts in the process of penetration, Banguwana, then went down further into a place near Kisangani. There they built a fortress for local control, called Kirundu, from which they were able to penetrate into the Kumu society. In this period the Arabs had introduced new crops like rice, which is very important in present Zaire.

The second wave is the colonization by Belgium at the end of 19 century. Belgium took power to con-

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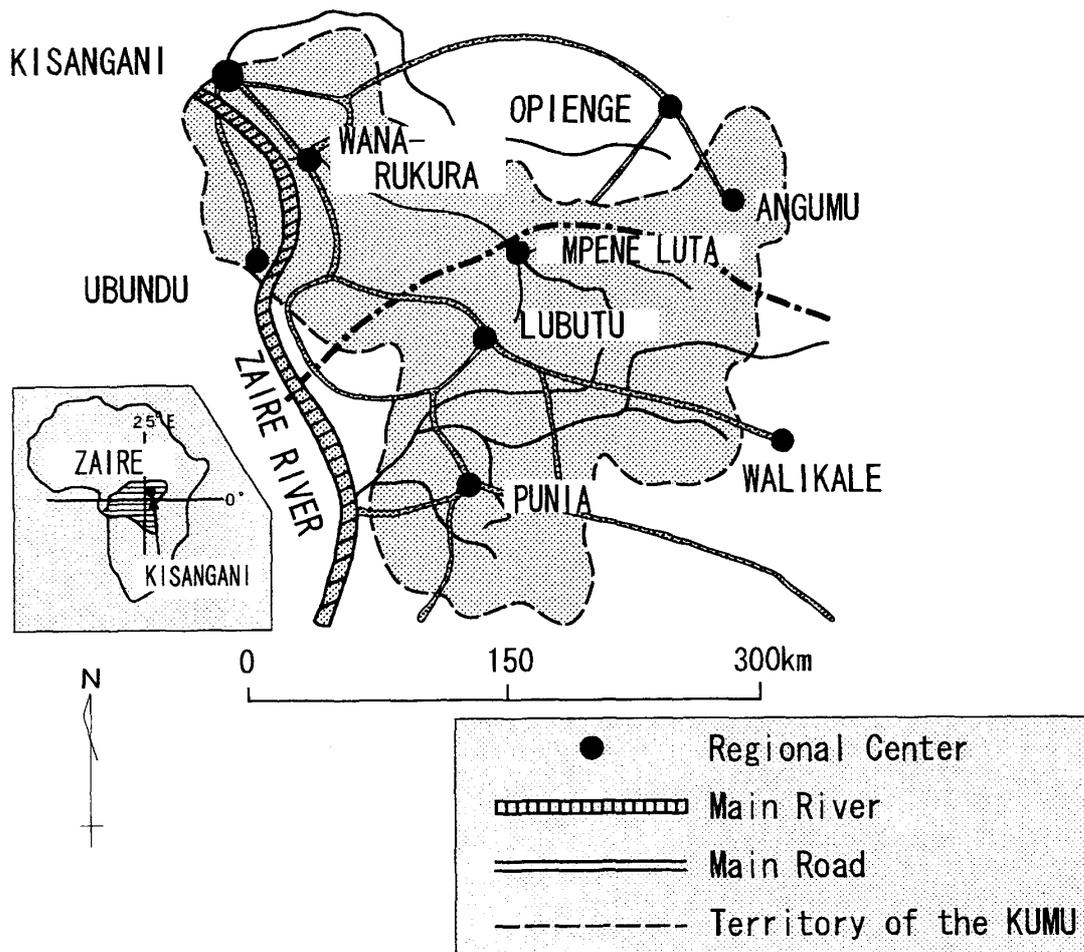


FIG.1 Territory of the Kumu Society (Wauthier, M. 1985, the revision of the Map on the beginning)

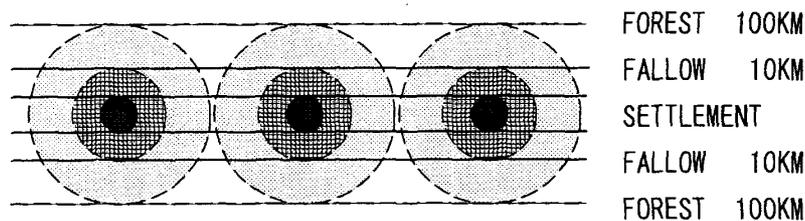


Fig.2 Outline of land utilization in a village

trol this region in place of the Arabs, and managed it as a colony. In this period, they intended to expand commercial goods for export and built many roads through the forest zones. They gathered villagers near the roads to control the inhabitants and get taxes from them. It is through the penetration of the world system into the Kumu society that the rapid commercialization and urbanization today have been brought into the Kumu society. In this situation, many commodities have been introduced into the society, and

they have caused a rapid rural-urban migration phenomenon in this area, as shown in the next section. Furthermore, some gold and diamond mines have been discovered in this region something which is accelerating the above dynamics.

But in spite of these dynamics, one often senses passivity and conservativeness of the Kumu people. For example, most of the people say that some ethnic groups, like the Banande and Lokele, are emerging in this area through the profit of commercial activity. Also some Islamized people, like the Bakusu and Tetela are also very active commercially. On the contrary the Kumu people do not seem to be linked to the expansion of the commercial capital characterizing the economic and social dynamics in the region near Kisangani.

In order to clarify characteristics of the dynamics of the Kumu society, I would like to examine in details the biggest city of Kisangani, and Lubutu, one of the local centers of the Kumu society.

2) Urbanization · Merchant Capital · Ethnicity

(1) Kisangani

“Kisangani is the major city of northeast Zaire. It is the seat of government of Upper Zaire, one of the country’s nine regions, and it is itself an urban sub-region. A road network and railway connect the city to its hinterland and it also has one of Zaire’s major airports. Agricultural products from the fertile regions of Upper Zaire and Kivu are exported down river through Kisangani. Manufactured goods, food stuffs, fuel and construction materials are imported in turn for the city and interior from Kinshasa, about 1000 miles down river” (Macgaffey, J. 1987 P.8).

J. Macgaffey describes Kisangani as a terminal city in terms of traffic location and the commercial function is expanding much in the present relationship with the world economy. She further classified businesses into some definite categories as follows ;

The first (Macgaffey, J. 1987 P.56-87) is the level of international capitalism, which dominates the biggest business in Kisangani ; for example, SEDEC, BATA TABAZAIRE, BATZAIRE, MARSAVCO, SAPRO. The multinational firms owned by foreigners, represent Western capitalist interests that dominate the Zairian economy. They make little contribution to local development.

The second is the level of the political aristocracy, composed of large wholesale or agri-businesses or businesses whose partners are foreigners at the national level companies or foreign partners of commercial middle class status, the majority of whom are Greeks and Asians, specializing in a variety of businesses.

Depending on one’s position in the political hierarchy, politicians and high-ranking military officers in business in Kisangani can take over extensive holdings, and especially in commercial agriculture. On the

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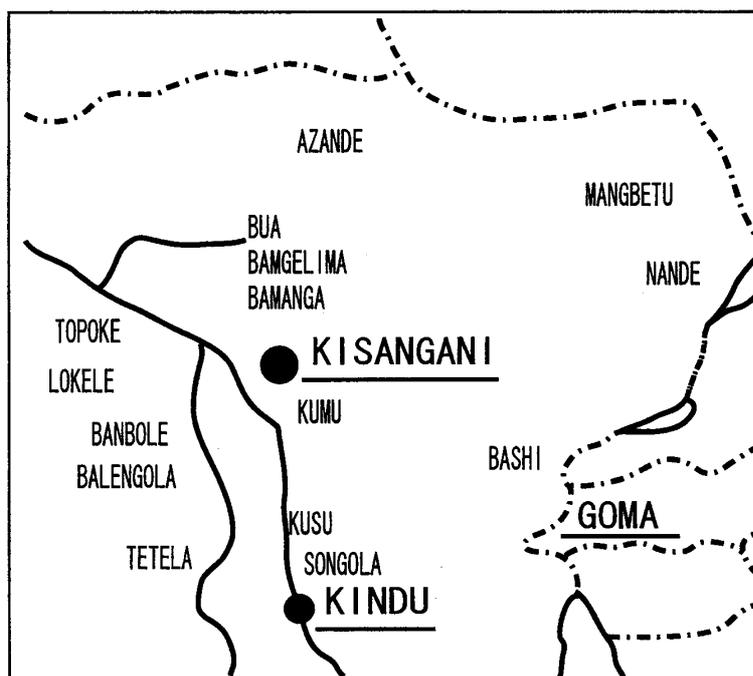


Fig.3 Main ethnic groups in the region near Kisangani

other hand, Asians and Greeks specialize in different kinds of business. While Asians are mostly involved in wholesale and retail trade, Greeks are mostly engaged in wholesale fish trade, hotel, restaurant and entertainment businesses, and retailing. But generally speaking, the above business categories have few direct relationships with the Kumu society. There exists a third category, composed of local independent entrepreneurs who have a direct relationship with the native people. They mediate between the big business class and the native society, and also are now expanding rapidly in the area near Kisangani. But if we observe the interior of the dynamics in more detail, we can immediately see that all ethnic groups do not equally participate in the above dynamics of indigenous capitalism. There exist differences among the groups of attitude toward the dynamics, and furthermore the expansion of the above difference is an important feature of the dynamics in this region.

Fig.3 shows the main ethnic groups in the region near Kisangani. Among the ethnic groups shown in Fig.3, the most prominent group in the city that participates in the dynamics aggressively is the Lokele; the Lokele were traders and fishermen in pre-colonial times, travelling long distances up and down the Zaire River, exchanging fish for the products of forest people, and establishing small colonies.

The next prominent groups are the Nande¹ (Macgaffey, J.1987, P.143-164), the Luba and the Kongo,

¹ For example Streiffeller and Mbaya carry forward a scheme to examine indigenous conception of development in the Kumu society, and they have already had a symposium on the few differences of economic mentality between the above two societies at Kisangani University.

Ethnicity	Number of Retail Store
Lokele	29
Arabisee	27
Foreign	21
Other Zairian	11
Luba	9
Nande	8
Mixed race	7
Kongo	4
Not Known	15
Total	131

Table 1 Ethnicity retail store /small business
In the zone of Makiso
(Macgaffey.J. Entrepreneur and Parasites,p.86)

coming from other regions. It is just recently that the Nande are becoming well-known. Side by side with the above groups there exist Islamized groups called Arabisee (in French) or Banguwana (in Kiswahili) that are also famous for commercial activity. They live in two communities in the zones of Kisangani and Lubunga, and consist primarily of descendants of the Arabs and of their Islamized African followers among the Bakusu and Tetela.

We notice however, that most of the ethnic groups who practice shifting cultivation seem to be isolated from the above dynamics. Of course, there are some differences in activity among the above groups. For example, some Bua people² became small capitalists, while, in the case of the Kumu people in particular, there has been alienation from the formation of the above-mentioned indigenous capitalism.

But the above difference among agricultural ethnic groups is not so big, compared with the gap between the agricultural groups and the several groups dealing with commercial activities as described above. Table 1 shows the difference among capitalist activities of each ethnic group on the basis of number of retail shops and business offices, in Makiso zone in Kisangani. In this table, we can see that, of the 131 cases, 29 cases are of the Lokele people and 27 cases are of Arabisee. Concerning the category of

² Macgaffey pointed out a success case of capitalist activity of the Bua people, among the agrarian societies near Kisangani, but in fact, the formation of capital by the Bua in Kisangani remains much smaller than that of other commercial ethnic groups, like the Lokele and the Banande.

“Foreign”, all foreigners such as Belgian, Asians, Senegalese are included. The ratio is very low compared with the one in the case of international enterprise which we have already seen. We can also see the aggressive activities of the Bua, Nnande and Kongo, who come from the outer region, in this table. On the contrary, we do not see the names of ethnic groups originating in the rural area near Kisangani in the table.

Macgaffey herself stressed the relationship with the Belgians as the main cause for different behaviors among the ethnic groups, but I feel that too much stress on the colonial experience may have prevented her from noticing the stagnation as a common phenomenon, in the rural community near Kisangani.

In the following section, I would like to examine further the above characteristics of the socio-economic dynamics, from the point of view of the relationship between the Kumu people and localized capitalism in Lubutu.

a) Lubutu

Lubutu³, a local administrative center about 250 Km to the south-east of Kisangani, is located in the core of the Kumu society (shown in Fig.1). There are 1000-2000 inhabitants in the center of Lubutu, and the city is divided into several functional sections, such as an administrative area, commercial area, and residential area.

Historically, the town of Lubutu began as the center for the spread of Islamic influence into this region. The Arab influence reached a place near Kisangani from East Africa; From there Arabs went back to the Loa River, a branch of the Zaire River. They came into Lubutu accompanied by Banguwana groups, near Kindu. The Arabs used the Banguwanas as a tool to establish control over the Kumu society. For example, throughout this period the Banguwana⁴ played the role of a clerk, gathering ivory and slaves for long-distance trade into East Africa from the near by villages, and also collected a poll tax. On the other hand, the Arabs made efforts to Islamize the Kumu people by constructing Mosques in Lubutu, and in the process, Swahili was accepted in the region. Furthermore, the influence by Islamic groups made people to change their agricultural production and the housing style in this area. After this period, during the colonial times of Belgians, the Banguwana lost their jobs as administrative officers and gathered in the Lubutu center, forming the prototype of the present Banguwana groups there. This affected the development of localized capitalism in this region, as I explained below.

³ The Zone of Lubutu consists of two collectivities, Obokote and Betule.

⁴ For example, one store of Banguwana takes complete responsibility for collecting and shipping rice, and takes an important part in economic activity, including price control.

In Lubutu, all commercial businesses are carried out by local independent entrepreneurs, unlike in Kisangani where commercial capital is dependent on the multi-national and national entrepreneurs, as described in the previous sections. But the businesses can be classified into certain categories, and furthermore, the participation level in various activities differs by ethnic group, as in urban areas.

There is transportation service by truck twice a week between Kisangani and Lubutu, and about ten trucks run, on average, per day. Although it is very difficult to make a precise statement, these trucks generally belong to the distinct groups, such as Islamized people, or the Lokele. There are no Kumu who have trucks for transportation.

The owners of these trucks themselves often drive from Kisangani to Lubutu, and carry out commercial activities. At the same time, these trucks usually carry a large quantity of passengers. Among these passengers, there are many small merchants. The first category is of the traders, acting as “linkmen”⁵ between the rural and the urban area. They buy many kinds of industrial goods in large quantities at a low price in Kisangani, then carry and sell them at a high price in Lubutu, obtaining much profit.

In return, they buy agricultural products like rice, maize, bananas, cassava, meat of wild animals, etc, in the villages near Lubutu, or on the roads from Lubutu to Kisangani. They also sell these at a high price in Kisangani. Many of these traders are Lokele people.

Another category is the commercial class who have stores in the center of Lubutu : These are mostly the Nande people and Islamized people called Banguwana, especially Kusu : Exceptions are mostly one Kumu who is an original inhabitant of this area, and one Senegalese who immigrated from West Africa. These own all general stores, selling many goods such as salt, soap, and other goods, for everyday life and luxuries like radios. Fig. 4 shows the relationship between the location of stores in the street and

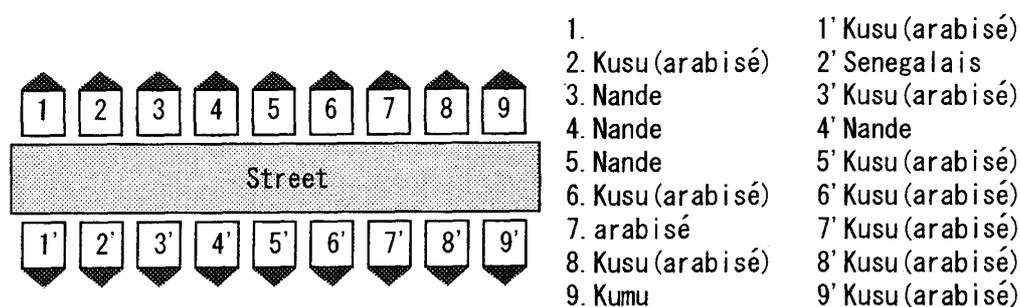


Fig. 4 Ethnicity and retail stores in Lubutu

⁵ On the other hand, apart from the above “linkman”, we can see another type of trader on bicycle recently. They buy consumer goods in the big cities and go around from village to village by bicycle to sell them to the villagers. Through this process they expand their activities day by day and sometimes make their own way in the world from small traders by bicycle to that of merchants who own stores in Kisangani. Concerning the ethnicities of Kisangani-Lubutu bicycle traders, they belong mainly to the Lokele and the Arabise, but the traders from Goma mainly consist of the Bashi.

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ethnic groups.

As shown above, the Kumu society does not seem to participate in the big capital of Kisangani, or even in the small capital in Lubutu. In addition, if we look at the status-quo of the Kumu society, the unarticulated relationship between capital and the Kumu society, based on the features of the community, can be seen. For example, we can see the development of new gold and diamonds works in this region. According to interviews with the inhabitants in Lubutu, some participants in the above works gained such a sum of gold and diamonds to the extent that they could afford buying a car or truck, though this is temporary achievement. However, during my stay in this area I never heard of a case in which the villagers developed some business by utilizing the capital from gold or diamond mining. On the contrary, in most cases the wealth has been used by villagers to buy luxuries like radios, bicycles, good clothes, or give to relatives as a gift, or used the money to eat and drink luxuriously. Furthermore, we can see that a large quantity of commercial goods flow into this region from the outside world, and that the villagers' desire to get cash is rapidly growing, in order to buy such goods. In this situation, we often see cases where some villagers begin small stalls inside the village, leading stratification inside the village.

But until now we have not heard of a case in which a small merchant, who started a small stall in the village, became a big merchant with a store in Lubutu, or a trader between Kisangani and Lubutu. Observed from the outside, the Kumu society seems isolated not only from merchant capital, in the big city but also from the local capital, though it may go to the bottom of the dynamics in the region, and does not precisely show the distinguished economical dynamics in the community level.

The high waves of commercial economy which have penetrated into the Kumu society caused another big dynamic, that is, rural-urban migration with the society. In the next section I would like to examine the internal structure of the Kumu society, which prevents the members from participating in the commercial capital from the following three points: The first point concerns the concrete aspects of the rural-urban migration phenomenon in this region, and its internal processes. The second point concerns the change of the structure of the employee system caused in the above process. The third point concerns the relationship between the changes due to urbanization, and those due to Islamization, on the structure of the employee system.

3. Urbanization and Islamization in the Kumu Society

1) The rural-urban migration phenomenon and the rural community in the Kumu society

There is a previous, good study carried out by M. Mbaya and F. Steffeller on the rural-urban relationship, especially the rural-urban migration phenomenon in the region near Kisangani, in which they have

already reported on the Kumu society (Streffeller, F. and Mbaya. 1986). They show that migration in this region has been caused by factors such as the fascination with the city, and commercialization, not the factors such as shortage of land. We can also understand that the phenomenon is expanding now through the fact that more than half of the inhabitants in the rural area expect to migrate from village to town (Streffeller, F and Mbaya. 1986).

But we can not precisely see the relationship between the process of migration and the rural community. Therefore, I have carried out research on the migration from a community-level perspective. The survey on migration was carried out at 10 villages, from Lubutu to Pene-luta 36km to the north-east of Lubutu.

The Kumu society has a lineage system which is patrilineal and patrilocal, and therefore the village has been supported by male inhabitants who mostly have blood ties in the village, (Sugimura, K. 1987-a, Mahieu, W. 1985). Therefore, in the case of male inhabitants, it is easier to identify the members leaving the villages than the case of female inhabitants, who move to a village to get married. Given that fact, the sample of my study is limited to male members in the village.

The village consists of several lineages, of various sizes, nested in a box. For example, in the case of the localite of Olema, the village is first divided into four main lineages, each is further divided into several smaller lineages. In the case of the above four lineages, that is, Osukwanjali, Oskwanbime, Osukwanbegale, and Oskwanbina, they are divided into 4 lineages, which consist of the smallest lineages in the Kumu society, called "Toa" (a unit of extended family), having one hut.

In the Kumu society, villages consist of several small lineages, and in this social context the members leaving villages can be discovered by identifying the members of Baraza (toa). Baraza is the smallest lineage inside the village, and at the same time a unit for eating, in which villagers take meals together twice a day. For example, in localité Olema, there are 4 main lineages, each one is divided into 1-5 of the smallest lineages (Toa), consisting of 6-10 households.

This Baraza is not only the unit for mutual aid but also the official unit for asserting socio-political rights in the society. Therefore, in the Kumu society, the rural-urban migration from village to town can be justified by whether the members who should belong to a Baraza are now present in the Baraza; and furthermore the members who left the village can be accepted through the Baraza system when they return back to their village.

Considering the internal structure of the community, Table 2⁶ shows persons leaving their villages, and the persons remaining in their villages. From Table 2, the number of the present male inhabitants is 109,

⁶ In the case of female members, who leave the village at the time of marriage, it is difficult to examine the relationship between urbanization and rural-urban migration.

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Present members	109	(38.8%)
Members Leaving villages	171	(61.2%)

Table 2 The present members and member leaving the villages
In the case of male persons of Olema

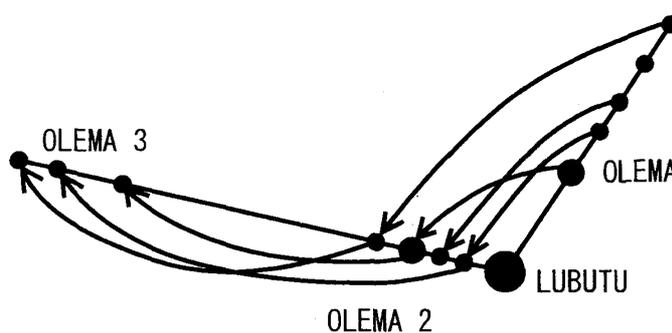


Fig. 5 The rural-urban migration process near Lubutu

and, on the other hand. There are 172 male persons who have left the village. Therefore, the percentage of those who have left Olema is 61.2%, which is consistent with the finding of the study which was carried out by Mbaya and Streiffeller (Streiffeller, F. and Mbaya.1986 P.57). But theirs lacks concrete analysis on the migration process, giving the impression that many migrants went to big cities like Kisangani directly from the village.

Most of the migrants from the 10 villages in my survey moved to villages near Lubutu, and only 10% of the migrants moved to Kisangani. The important characteristics concerning the migration process in this region explain why the migrants move from village to town. First it is a special feature in this area that the migrant process develops into “mother-child” village relations. For example, localité Olema in Twabinga has built a second village, Olema 2, 5km from Lubutu and most of the migrants who moved from Olema to Lubutu inhabit this village.

Fig 5 shows how people move from the village to urban area. Related to the above phenomenon, we notice the internal mechanisms of the above migration process, in which the lineage system plays an important role. For example, in the case of Olema, the village is divided into four main lineages, which are also divided into smaller lineages, as we have already seen. In Olema 2, where the villagers in Olema migrate, new Barazas have been constructed in a unit based on the above lineage ; These are lineages at a

higher level than the smallest lineage in Olema (main four lineages in Olema as I have already mentioned) ; This decreases the number of Baraza of Olema 2, and makes relationships of Olema 2 correspond to the ones in Olema. Concretely speaking, in the case that a villager belongs to a Baraza (Mangaya), of the Oskwanjali, (one of the main four lineages) ; and if he migrates to Olema 2, he will belong to a Baraza, which can correspond to all the members in Oskwanjali in Olema,built newly in Olema 2. Thus, through the new Baraza which migrants organize in the new home, the Baraza system is maintained as a mechanism for social and mutual aid :

On the other hand, what is the relationship between Olema and Olema 2 in daily life? In the case of Olema and Olema 2, the mother-child village relationship between the members of the two villages is very strong. Often members visit their villages and each other. Furthermore, many villagers leave and return from Olema to Olema2 through the social aid of the Baraza system. There is mutual social aid between the two villages in daily life, In the case of marriage and funeral ceremonies, the importance of the relationship based on lineage system is stressed more than that of the unit of village based on shared territorial bonds. In this situation, villagers think that they have two Barazas in Olema and Olema2 by which they eat together freely, in spite of the fact that the members of the two Barazas live and manage lives separately. Therefore, the principle based on blood ties, as Goran Hyden (Hyden, G 1980) calls it, the "Economy of Affection", not only remains, but also plays an important role in this society. The rural-urban migration phenomenon, based on mother-child village relationships which have been examined through the case study in Olema and Olema 2, is dominant in this region. Therefore, concerning the aspect of social structure of the rural community, the above process has maintained and utilized the tradition of the rural community rather than having dissolving it.

2) From peasants to peasants

Here I would like to grasp the trend of the change of "structure of employee" which has been experienced through the rural-urban migration process in the Kumu society. In the advanced countries, we have experienced changes in structure of employee from primary industry to secondary or third industry, in which peasants change to non-peasants, preparing labour power for industrialization in the rural-urban migration process. But, in this region, most industrial goods are introduced from the outside world and therefore there have not developed much of a modern indigenous industrial sector, as seen in advanced countries. From the information obtained during the field reserch in Olema,in Olema2, and the residential area where most migrants from the Lubutu region live today, the life style of each seems to be very similar, though each of the above three places experience different influences from the urban sector. For example, in Kisangani most migrants from the Lubutu region live as peasants utilizing shifting cultiva-

tion, as do peasants in Olema and Olema2. Therefore, in considering the dynamics of the structure of employee in the Kumu society, we should stress the importance of the change to off-farm employee more than that from peasants to non-peasants seen in the advanced countries. Fig. 6 shows the change in the structure of employee within the rural-urban migration phenomenon, through a comparison of the inhabitants in Olema, Olema2 and Kisangani, classified according to geographical distance from Kisangani.

Considering the dominance of primary industry and the importance of commercialization characterizing the dynamics of the Kumu society (Fig.6), the structure of employee is divided into 6 sectors : These are agriculture, hunting, fishing, mining of gold, and others, which include public service, and the various works of the informal sector, unlike those in advanced countries. Referring to the dynamics of this region today, there appears to be many kinds of off-farm occupation, which are essentially divided into two main categories. One category consists traditional activities such as hunting and fishing. These are still regarded as important activities in the present Kumu society. Concerning the traditional secondary industries, oil manufacturing and the alcohol industries in the village are also still important. However such industries like traditional handicraft and smithery are of low priority due to the penetration of modern industrial goods into the society.

Another category of off-farm employee is of new works, added recently, which range from formal sector work such as public employee, agricultural adviser, school teacher and modern services like hotel cooks and merchants to informal sector works, including shoe mending, watch repair stonecutting, and drivers and their assistants.

In addition to the above types of work, the interest in the mining of gold and diamond is increasing recently in the Kumu society. An examination of Fig.6, with respect to these of off-farm employee trends, shows a considerable difference between Kisangani and Olema · Olema 2, and this implies strong efforts made by the Kumu people in Kisangani ; They are eager to go commercial although their attempts remain on a small scale. On the other hand, the high ratio of people mining in Olema and Olema2, as shown in Fig 6, implies a rise in motivation of inhabitants to get more cash today ; This seems true especially when one considers the trade-off relation between the decreasing number of people in hunting/ fishing and the increased number of people in mining.

But the most important thing that we should understand in Fig.6 concerns the stability of the agricultural sector in the Kumu society throughout the rural-urban migration process, in spite of the changes involving off-farm employees. We can see that no matter how the inhabitants move from Olema to Olema 2 or to Kisangani, and approach the town, the importance they attach to agriculture does not decrease. The rates for involvement in the agricultural sector in Olema, Olema2 and Kisangani are respectively 90%, 70% and 92%, through which people can ensure their autonomy (Fig.6).

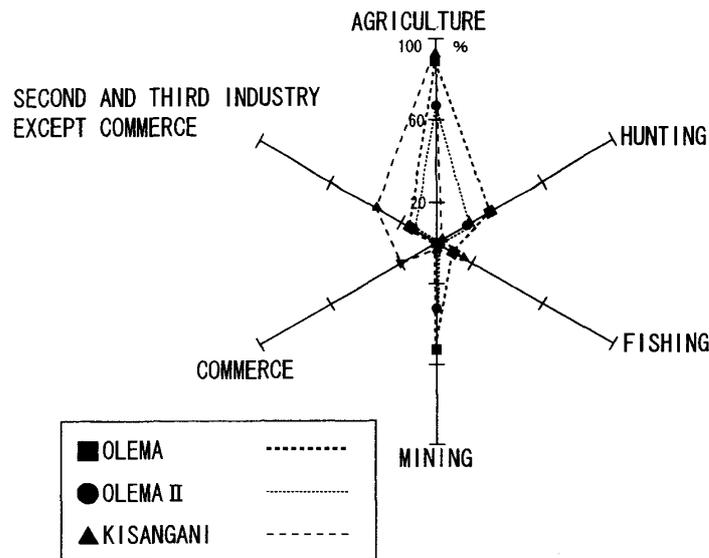


Fig. 6 Urbanization and the structure of employee in the Kumu society

(ha)	2,<	2	2~1	1	1~0.5	0.5	>0.5
Olema			9.3%	69.1%	12.4%	3.7%	4.6%
Olema2			8.3%	62.5%	4.1%	4.1%	20.8%
Kisangani	2.9%	2.9%	5.9%	44.1%	0%	24.5%	17.6%

Table 3 Urbanization and farming scale in the Bakumu society

Table 3 shows the stability of the agricultural occupation in the Kumu society in detail ; It has been mentioned in the dynamics of the rural-urban relationship, and also from the point of view of land holding. Even though there exists to be some difference in the site of landholdings owned by the peasants in Kisangani, Olema and Olema2, the difference is not big.

We can see that stability among peasants and the communal mutual aid through internal systems of the Kumu society have been maintained during the rural-urban migration process ; This has prevented the community from being dissolved, unlike in advanced countries. Therefore, we can say that even though the Kumu society is getting near to the urban sector, in terms of the urbanization, the difference between the two that is inside the community and outside the community remains, and the community in the village is keeping its independence from the outside world. We should therefore reconsider the importance of the dynamics of African rural community, relating it with the commercial activities carried out by specific social groups as seen in chapter 2. The urbanization without industrialization can't be realized in the Kisangani region until the merchant capital combines with the unique dynamics of the community in this

region.

3) Urbanization and Islamization in the Kumu society

(1) The state of existence of Islamic society in Lubutu

As already discussed in chapter 2, islamized groups play an important role as indigenous capitalists, not only in a big city, like Kisangani, but also in a local center such as Lubutu ; They work side by side with specific commercial ethnic groups, namely the Lokele and Banande. As it is very adaptable to the characteristics of the above dynamics, how does Islamization influence the rural-urban migration phenomenon in the Kumu society ? Here I would like to examine the above mentioned change in the structure of employee through urbanization, relating it with the Islamization phenomenon as another characteristic of urbanization in Africa. Lubutu is used as a case example.

Lubutu⁷ is located in the center of the Kumu society, and the penetration of Islamization has been high. Therefore, it is a good place to examine the triangle relationship among urbanization, Islamization and, the rural community, which seems to regulate the above two phenomena.

In order to clarify the relation between Islamization and urbanization, we should examine the state of existing Islamic society in Lubutu, especially the state of Islamized Kumu people. The islamized people in the Lubutu area reached 1200-1500 persons, who are organized in a regional community, in a nest from bottom to top. They inhabit the rural area near Lubutu, forming villages like Kumu people, except that few persons have stores in Lubutu.

The villages built by islamized people are very different from the Kumu villages in terms of social structure, even though the landscape is very similar. For example, in one village there are several ethnic groups living together. And, from the socio-psychological point of view, islamized Kumu have little identification with the social institutions, and customs of the original Kumu. Rather, they live in sympathy with Islamic culture, which goes beyond ethnic group differences. For example, in Kaluluma, a localité, about 4 Km away from Lubutu town, the villagers are all islamized. They consist of several ethnic groups : Kumu, Leka, Kusu, and Kwenge. They are incorporated in several groups such as the Sangalimene group as an Islamic religious community.

Table 4 shows the subsistence economy of Sangelima groups compared with that of the Kumu. The members of Sangelima groups are similar to the Kumu in the involvement of sector, and most of them have agricultural fields. But there are big differences between the two groups when the non-agricultural

⁷ The study carried out by Mbaya and Steffeller mainly concerns Kisangani and rural villages, but information about the local center is very scarce. Therefore it does not cover the concrete immigration process.

Table 4 The economic activities and their characteristics of the Islamized people in Kaluluma

number of household	age	scale of field	other activities	ethnicity
1	66(years)	1(ha)	government commissioner	Leka
2	56	1	bricklayer	Bagubagu
3	54	1	electrician	Kumu
4	43	1	bricklayer	Mkawange
5	42	1	bricklayer	Bbagubagu
6	39	0.7	?	Leka
7	36	1	shop assistant	Leka
8	35	1	fishing	Bbagubagu
9	37	1	driver	Leka
10	30	1	teacher	Bagubagu
11	32	1	hunting	Leka
12	30	1	mining	Kumu
13	26	1	scrap dealer	Mukyange
14	27	1	?	Leka
15	23	1	bricklayer	Bagubagu
16	26	0	soldier	Leka
17	40	1	preacher	Kusu
18	33	1	bricklayer	Kumu
19	59	1	fishing	Kumu
20	32	1	fishing	Kumu
21	32	1	fishing	Kumu
22	?	1	fishing	Kumu
23	43	1	judge	Kumu
24	37	1	preacher	Kumu
25	?	1	fishing	Kumu
26	30	1	technician	Kumu
27	25	1	dviver	Kumu
28	21	1	sentry	Kumu
29	26	1	scrap dealer	Kumu
30	37	1	bricklayer	Kumu

sector is considered. As shown in Table 4, there are several kinds of jobs, like bricklaying, scrap dealing, shop assistants that we do not see in the original Kumu society, in Kaluluma. This village's characteristic structure of employee can equally be seen in islamized groups in the region near Kisangani. The members of Banguwana and the jobs mentioned are equally linked among all the ethnic groups. As we have seen, big merchants having stores along the road in Lubutu are the Kusu people, not Kumu people, ex-

Urbanization and Islamization in the Kumu Society

Table 5 Ethnicity and the structure of employee
inside the Islamized societyBakumu 21 persons

Commerce	White collar	Religion	Military	Artisan	Others
shop assistance 1	judge 1	preacher 3	soldier	bricklayer 5 technician 2 painter 2 shoepainter 3 scrap dealer 1	sentry 1

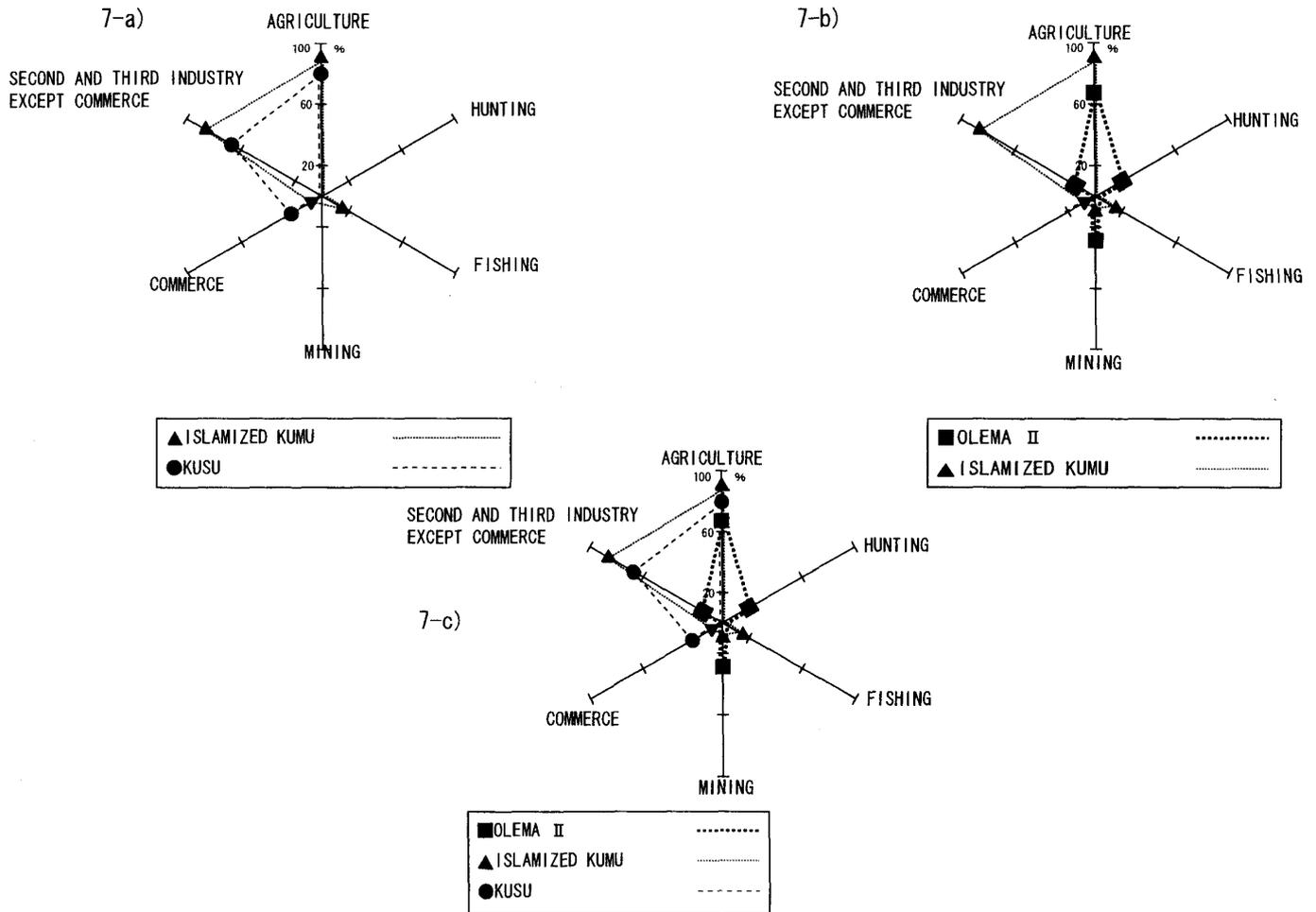
Bakumu 34 persons

Commerce	White collar	Religion	Military	Artisan	Others
merchant 3	secretariat 1	preacher 2		bakery 1	assistant 1
business 2	teacher 2			gardener 1	driver 5
president of company 2	town councillor 1			cook 1	warehouse man 1
manager 1	agriculturist 1			scrap dealer 1	
	adviser 1			bricklayer 2	
	inspector 2				
	accountant 1				
	doctor 1				

cept one Kumu merchant. Table 5 shows the difference in occupational structure between the two groups of islamized people originating from Kumu and Kusu, based on research carried out in four villages near Lubutu. (Sugimura K.1987-b)

According to Table 5, there are few merchants and persons who are involved in modern jobs, but many persons have miscellaneous jobs among the islamized Kumu. In the case of the Kusu, many persons belong to the merchant, public employee and service categories, forming a class of "white-collared class" including school teacher and, agricultural advisers, in the region. On the other hand, there is a small number of persons belonging to the class of petty workers among islamized Bakusu, compared with the Islamized Kumu. Putting the above facts in context of the historical process through which Islamization was carried out by the Kusu and Tetela near Kindu, we can surmise that the differentiation of classes, such as ruling class and the ruled, based on the ethnic groups among the islamized people, has been carried out in the region near Lubutu. Based on the above discussion, then, I would like to consider how the

Fig. 7-a, b, c Urbanization Islamization and the structure of employee of inhabitants in the region near Kisangani



incentives contained in Islamization operate in the Kumu society in this region, compared with the one of urbanization, which has caused the rural-urban immigration phenomenon.

2) Urbanization, Islamization, and Rural Community

Fig.7-abc examines the above question through comparison of the change of structure of employee caused by each of the incentives, that is, urbanization and Islamization, in Olema 2 and in Kaluluma. First, Fig.7-a shows the relationship between the structure of employee and ethnicity among the above Islamized societies in Kaluluma. The structures of employee of both Islamized Kumu and Islamized Tetela are very similar, even though there exists some difference such as ratio of commerce.

Fig.7-b examines the difference between Islamized Kumu and non-islamized Kumu in Olema 2 and Kaluluma. There is a big difference in structure of employee between the two groups. In spite of the same chance of being on off-farm employee in the two villages, the ratio of modern jobs in the islamized

Kumu is very high, and, on the other hand, that of mining is very low in the islamized Kumu, compared with non-islamized Kumu.

According to interviews, islamized Kumu do not identify themselves with the traditions of the Kumu society ; On the contrary, they have consciousness as Banguwana. Therefore, in spite of the differences among the Islamized groups, there are strong social relations between the Kumu and another Islamized groups like the Tetela and Bakusu.

Fig.7-c examines the influence of Islamization on the change of the structure of employee within the urbanization phenomenon through the combination of the above two figures. The difference between Islamized and non-islamized people is bigger than among the islamized groups. We can suggest that Islamization introduced heterogenous elements into the Kumu society that the rural-urban migration phenomenon could not introduce. On the other hand, we have to notice the following things. Even though Islamization is very adaptable to the characteristics of the dynamics in the region near Kisangani, it can't exert such a large influence so as to dissolve the structure of the community in the Kumu society as we have already seen. In other words, there exists the division of work between the ethnic group which supports the commercial sector and the most ethnic groups of cultivator which can't participate in it in the region near Kisangani. Therefore, Islamization in region near Kisangani is solely connected with the activities of commercial ethnic groups and is the driving force of african capitalism without industrialization only in the surface of economic dynamics in the town.

4. Conclusion

This study aimed at realizing the concrete aspects of the urbanization phenomenon and accompanying Islamization in Africa today, through case studies in the region near Kisangani. As already discussed above in chapter 2, very few Kumu people have participated in capitalist business, in spite of the rise of rapid indigenous capitalism near Kisangani. In addition, there is no trend of change from peasants to non-peasants like in advanced countries. Considering these facts, we can understand that in the region the commercial economy and the urbanization phenomenon develop, but the socio-economic structure of the rural community remains as it was, through the dynamics of the rural-urban migration phenomenon.

In order to make the meaning of the above phenomenon clearer, it is necessary to reconsider previous ideas on the rural-urban relationship. For example, Sakamoto presents a clear image of the rural-urban relationship when referring to the Japanese experience, in Fig.8. (Sakamoto,K. 1980, P.19) Fig.8 shows that agricultural and rural areas offer agricultural products, labour power, capital, and land to industrial-urban area, and also conserve the environment ; in return, they receive industrial goods (producer's goods · consumer's goods), information, and culture from urban areas. Kisangani region, labor power and

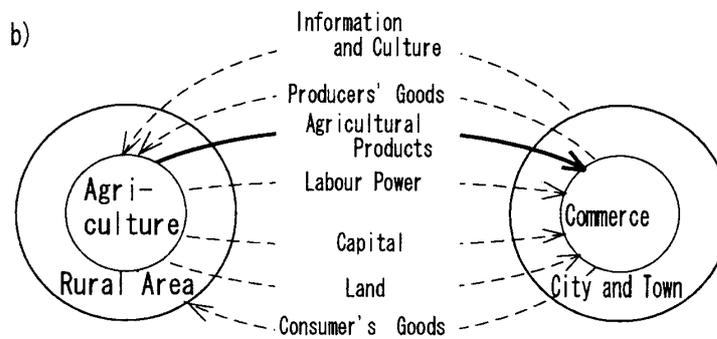
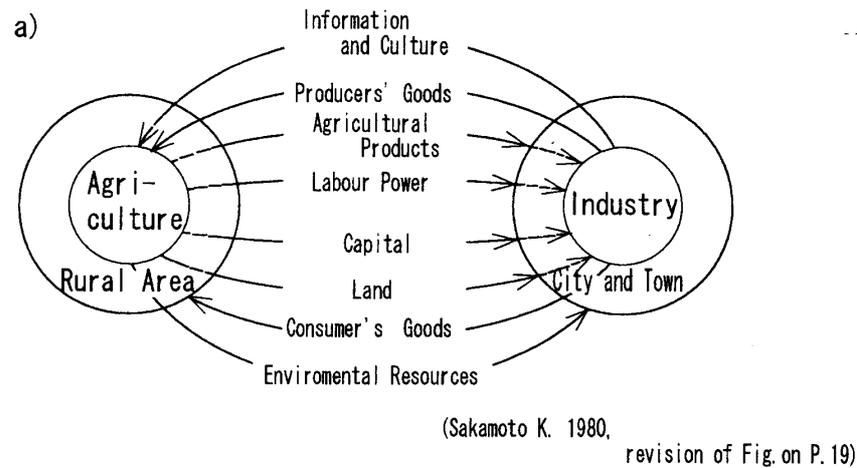


Fig.8-ab : Two types of dynamics of rural-urban relationship in Japan and Africa

capital flow from rural areas to urban areas is deficient, and the flow of producers' goods from urban areas to rural areas, which caused rapid changes in agricultural system in the advanced countries, is also very small. Therefore, the rural-urban relationship in the Kisangani region concentrates on the exchange of agricultural products from rural areas and consumer's goods from urban area. The commercialization in the above relationship is rapidly expanding.

It is necessary to stress the importance of the structure of the rural community in order to realize the real characteristics of the dynamics of the rural-urban relationship in Africa. For example, returning to the discussion on African capitalism in the beginning of this paper, most previous studies, lacked a clear perspective on the assessment of the internal social structure. In the case of the region near Kisangani, we can see that research tends to regard the rapid quantitative growth of indigenous capitalism as a sign of industrial capitalism. But the perspective is not given a close look, especially the dynamics at the community level, which lies in the background of the above dynamics : Therefore, the characteristics of the dynamics produced by the combination of the rural and the urban sectors unique to Africa, have not been understood.

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Returning to the characteristics of the social dynamics expressed in the combination of urbanization and Islamization in the region near Kisangani, we must grasp not only the particularity of activity at the religious and cultural level, but also the continuity between the Islamized people and other commercial ethnic groups on the socio-economic level. This movement of Islamization will develop, amplifying such features of the dynamics of the rural-urban relationship, unlike in advanced countries. In other words, the combination of Islamization and urbanization seems to develop sympathizing with African capitalism mentioned above, in a crevasse between the world system and African rural community.

The coexistence of urbanization and Islamization in the African continent discussed in the beginning of this paper should also be reconsidered, from the point of view of the above relationship between the characteristics of African rural community and African capitalism. This is an important subject for future research. The finding from this study can't be generalized to other areas of Africa. It is necessary to take account of the particularity in the above case, based on a middle town of Kisangani, not on a big city of Kinshasa in Zaire, or the characteristics of the rural community in the background of Kisanagni, which has left the traditions of a typical tribal society more than in most places in Africa.

In order to make the importance of the above point clear, we need to do the same research on another ethnic groups in the region near Kisangani, and make a comparison with another area in Africa. As mentioned earlier, this is the task to be done in the future study.

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