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"ENHANCING INFORMAL ECONOMY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN CITIES: A CASE STUDY OF KINSHASA"

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ENGENEERING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT, UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG, FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE IN TOWN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

NOVEMBER 2006

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Science in Town and Regional Planning in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university.

_____

ALEXIS LINGANDU MABELE

This----------day of ---------- 2006

ABSTRACT

Informal economy is currently creating more employment than ever in sub-Saharan African cities by absorbing a large number of city residents. From West, East, Central and Southern Africa, informal economy is contributing enormously to the GDP and economic growth and development. Paradoxically, while it is doing so, little is being done to examine its potential and to provide it with appropriate management strategies as tools to support this sector and increase its productivity within the government revenue base. It is within this context that efforts have to be developed by exploring alternative strategies that can contribute to the debate of enhancing informal economy to increase its productivity, particularly in the city of Kinshasa. This could allow this sector to participate productively and purposefully to economic growth and development as well as to improvement of living standards of sub-Saharan African cities' residents.

DEDICATION

To my God Almighty, Creator of the whole universe

To my Lord and Saviour, Jesus-Christ

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want first of all to thank God who has provided me with energy, courage, strength and everything necessary to accomplish this work.

My greatest gratitude must be given to all staff and lecturers that have contributed in one or other way to the fulfillment of this work, especially to my supervisor Prof. Ken Simons whose highly learned supervision has revolutionized my thinking and shaped my determination to achieve this work and also to Prof. Philip Harrison who has provided me with an outstanding orientation in this work in order to achieve an academic standard.

My thanks must be given to my wife, Fanny Wanshi Malu for her patience and moral support during the years of my studies.

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I also want to thank Prof Richard Ganga-Limando of UNISA (University of South Africa) for his constant encouragement to achieve this work, and Prof. Michel Mbambi (University of Kinshasa) for his logistics support during my different data collection phases in Kinshasa.

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Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

The future of the new urban society in sub-Saharan African cities relies more on an informal economy than a formal one. As the formal economy has failed to cope with the influx of new entrants into the job market, the informal economy has provided an opportunity for unemployed urban residents to become productive, to generate income and respond to their daily needs. This is not a new economic sector in sub-Saharan African cities. Jacobs (1970) and Rogerson (1997) have indicated that it has existed for centuries in Europe and Africa.

Reynolds (1969) developed a model of two urban sectors, of which the service sector was composed of petty traders, street vendors, coolies and porters, small artisans, messengers, barbers, shoe-shine boys and personal servants (Thomas, 1992; Cheema, 1993). The credit for introducing the term informal sector in discussing the urban economy of developing countries was given to Hart in 1973 in an article entitled “Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana” as indicated by Thomas (Thomas, 1992).

The informal economy is divided into five categories: informal trading, informal manufacturing, informal construction, informal transport, and informal service (Perera & Amin, 1994). Given this subdivision of the informal economy, Portes et al (1989) define it as “a process of income generation characterised by one central feature: it is unregulated by institutions of society in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated” (Portes et al, 1989). As a result, we can define informal trading as a productive retailing sector that generates income for operators involved in its activities.

In Kinshasa, informal trading has become the main source of employment and income generation for the urban population since the formal sector has failed to absorb the urban unemployed residents. This capital city of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the second biggest city in Sub-Saharan Africa after Lagos, has been experiencing a mushroom of informal trading since the time when the country started undergoing an economic crisis in

the early 1970s, which was aggravated by oil price rise crisis of 1973 / 74 (Rakodi, 1997).

In the city of Kinshasa, the informal economy was a strategy of survival rather than that of trying to address the broader needs of a nation. The late President Mobutu of Zaire (DRC) talked of 'Article 15' which stipulates that it is an advantage to be the most daring, most resourceful and better organised individual. Piermay (1997) reported that the in-depth research conducted in Kinshasa on informal economy was reported in 1984 by Marc Pain, of which there were 80,000 traders in a population of more than 2, 4 million.

Today, informal trading is almost omnipresent in every space of the city. Unfortunately not much is being investigated about this fast growing sector within the city and no strategy is being made available to provide redirection for its management. This study, therefore, hopes to investigate informal trading in Kinshasa and make some proposals on how this sector has to be managed in order to contribute to the economic growth and development, and to the improvement of the livelihood of its urban residents..

Based on such statements, this study supports the following assumptions:

1. **Informal trading is an economic activity that contributes to economic growth and development in Kinshasa**
2. **Informal trading is an economic activity that provides an economic opportunity for the educated unemployed residents of Kinshasa;**
3. **Informal trading considers cultural values and beliefs.**

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

URBAN PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT PROBLEMS

Sub-Saharan African states have a history of a long colonisation period that only aimed at extracting resources. All administrative centres established during this period had a clear

mission of controlling the influx of Africans into urban areas and creating corridors for the extraction and transport of raw materials to the colonising countries.

Devas (1993) indicates, "…colonization played a dominant role in shaping their urban form. "As European nations competed with each other for overseas territory and for domination over international trade, they established urban centres to serve their needs. These urban centres were based on existing African settlements although sometimes they were established from scratch. "Their purposes were to serve as trading posts or as centres for the administration of the surrounding territory in order to facilitate the exploitation of the hinterland" (Devas, 1993:63).

This colonial administration system inherited by African elites after independence paved the way for African states and urban centres to degrade physically, administratively and economically. The new governments after independence had inherited a huge task that they were not prepared to deal with. Rakodi (1993) argues that the governments "inherited a pattern of urban development which was ill-suited to their needs, and often modelled on some far away city in Europe. Independence also meant the sudden withdrawal of technical skills needed to run the cities, and a dramatic surge in urban population, as a result of the removal of colonial restrictions on movement and the opening up of job opportunities" (Rakodi, 1993:36)

The legacy of colonisation inherited by the first African political elites, paved the way to what is being experienced today. Sub-Saharan Africa did not have the skills needed to run cities after independence. Urban management skills were very much absent, and these leaders ignored the consequences of unplanned cities that were to occur in the future.

Consequently, European countries became the role models in the development of sub-Saharan African states. Concepts that were adopted were not well understood and became unmanageable because of the lack of a cultural fit and appropriate skills.

The absence of appropriate urban planning and management strategies had implications on the management of collective interests, that is, physical or spatial management, administration and economy. However, planning has a history of order. At any period of European history, planning played a significant role in the ordering of cities. Hall (1992) argues that cities in Europe of both ancient and medieval times were planned, and through all these times when they had problems of economic and social organisations, people devised a host of regulations for a better ordering of the city.

Perera & Amin (1994) indicate that the "harassments and criticisms of informal economic activities are mainly due to what is perceived as the lack of order in their existence in the urban settings. The city of Kinshasa is experiencing today a mushrooming of informal trading as never before. This trend is not accompanied by any strategies that aim at ordering this sector or supporting and managing it in such a way that it contributes productively to the development of the city, and that continues to generate income in a healthier way to informal traders themselves.

Within the context of a failure of management strategies for informal trading, Yagannathan (1987) puts emphasis on the ineffectiveness of rules and laws to monitor and police this sector and the inadequacies of legal and administrative systems. Piermay (1997) and Turner & Hulme (1997) indicate that sub-Saharan African cities experience problems of such failure because there is an absence and a decay of supervisory frameworks and bodies for informal trading, while Rogerson (1997) expresses concern on the flood of new entrants into the informal trading that poses the problem of overtrading, with a consequence of a decline in incomes earned by people involved in these activities. Dodd (2000) is preoccupied by the appropriation of open spaces by informal traders. All these problems are related to the lack of strategies to the management of informal trading in sub-Saharan African cities.

However, Innes (1997) acknowledges that planning has the potential in the 21st century to be a leader among professions with public interest missions in finding ways to work on the most challenging tasks. Healey (1997) argues also in the same context that the

introduction of planning processes into governance has the capacity to challenge these forms because planning is a style of governance that describes governance activity.

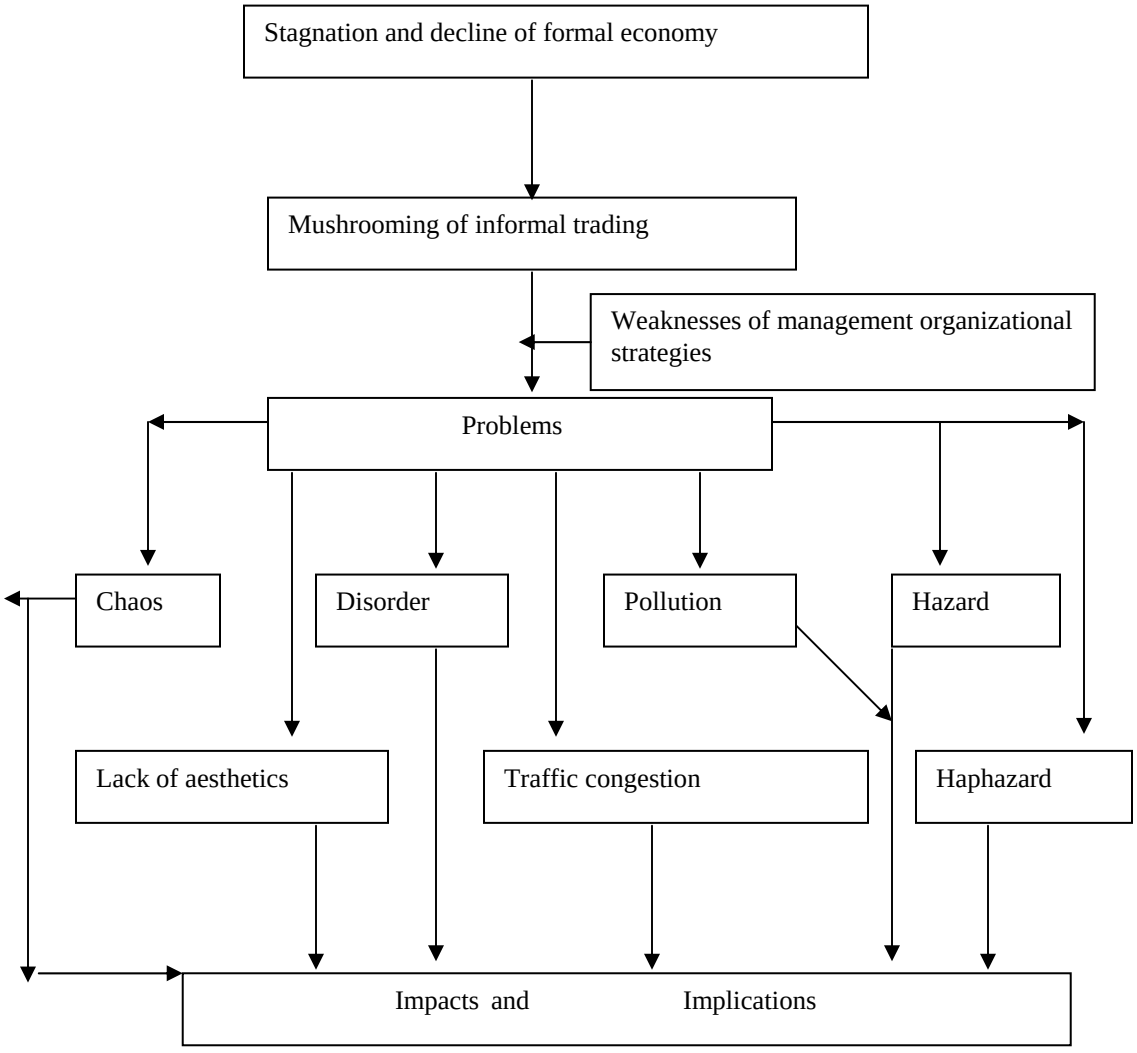
Given the emergence and the potential of informal trading in Kinshasa, and the fact that the majority of urban residents rely on it, the lack of organisational strategies poses a serious problem in rationalising and optimising informal trading. This has impacts and implications for the management of informal trading in this second biggest African city.

The formal economy, presently and for the foreseeable future, cannot provide employment for a large percentage of city dwellers in Kinshasa, therefore it is critically important that the informal economy, particularly informal trading provide a livelihood for very large numbers of urban residents; it should be facilitated, enhanced, aided, abetted in every way feasible by the government.

This study therefore aims at:

1. exploring existing spatial distribution of informal trading in Kinshasa;
2. describing informal trading practices in Kinshasa;
3. examining critically, existing policies or regulations or strategies dealing with informal trading in Kinshasa;
4. recommending changes to existing policies, regulations or strategies dealing with informal trading in Kinshasa.
5. exploring urban planning and management strategies currently used to analyze and enhance informal trading in Kinshasa for it to become more productive;
6. identifying existing institutional organizations dealing with informal trading in Kinshasa.
7. finding simple supervisory and regulatory strategies in the form of urban management strategies which would recommend and enable informal trading to be managed properly and to operate productively the city of Kinshasa.

Figure 1: ONE OF THE WEAKNESSES OF URBAN MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES IN REGARDS TO INFORMAL TRADING



Source: Author's own structure

1.2 METHODOLOGY

1.2.1 GENERAL APPROACH

The approach used in the development of this study has been to divide the research into three main components.

The first component comprises the theoretical background of the dissertation. This consists of the development of the theoretical frameworks related to the informal economy. This theoretical background needed in-depth research into various sources of information such as books, journals, reviews, magazines, conferences papers, workshops. Information from these sources form part of the theoretical framework used.

The second component of research encompasses the field trips for data collection and analysis. These field surveys have been divided into three. As the data had to be collected in Kinshasa, quite a distance from South Africa, different trips had to be organised to substantiate the degree of validity of data that were being collected.

The last component focuses on the discussion of findings of data and their analyses which have helped provide some recommendations suitable to the context of Kinshasa.

Following these sections, a conclusion on the whole research is made to indicate the relevance of the study conducted in addressing the issue of management of informal trading in Kinshasa.

1.2.2 RESEARCH METHOD

I have opted for a case study strategy because I wanted to investigate the phenomena in a real-life context of informal trading in Kinshasa, and also because of the sources of evidence used in this study. Yin (1994) indicates that case studies are the preferred strategy when ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-

life context. Informal trading is a contemporary phenomenon that needs to be investigated by using a case study method as a research tool. For, the reason of its mushrooming and its potential to economy and development are to be investigated and the way to manage it has to be provided after investigations.

Skinner's presentation (2001) on reflections on Durban's informal economy at Wits University, School of Architecture and Planning, described informal economy in Africa as representing 78% with 93% of employment. Adesanya (2000) has also discussed the alarming degradation of informal markets in Ibadan, Nigeria, where there is a lack or an inadequate infrastructure in all informal markets, a similar situation being replicated in Lagos. In Kinshasa, Brazzaville, Luanda, Lusaka, similar degradations exist, coupled with a population growth in these cities. Rogerson (1997) described these phenomena in Mozambique, Angola and Namibia, focusing on the intensity of informality in these countries and their gender division. Fapohunda (1985) has also associated informal trading in Lagos with a population growth that is created by a population network existing between urban residents with their fellows in the rural areas.

Kinshasa has been selected in this study to represent sub-Saharan African cities since it presents similar elements such as networking between urban residents and their countryside fellows, the deteriorating or inadequate or lack of infrastructure in informal markets, the population growth and where almost more than 70% of urban residents are connected to informal trading in one way or another.

Another reason for selecting Kinshasa to represent sub-Saharan African cities in this research is that it is the city where the researcher has grown up, and has access to collect information from different strata of society, understands the culture and speaks the different languages of the city.

The type of case study used in this research is an explanatory one since it seeks ways of addressing management organisational weaknesses of informal trading. Although the case study will be explanatory, a potential descriptive report will be developed, as

suggested by Yin (1994) on the communication of case studies. It is on these grounds that the case study will comprise a descriptive component in the report.

The strategy in this case study has been designed to ascertain the opinions and attitudes of participants in informal trading in the city of Kinshasa in DRC in order to devise strategies which address the management and organisational weaknesses of this sector. The intention was to apprehend how life is experienced for informal traders and how they perceive the attitudes of government officials towards them..

For this purpose, the data have been collected through questions and interviews as instruments used to access information. These questions and interviews will remain anonymous.

A. SAMPLE AND SAMPLING METHOD IN DATA COLLECTION

According to Armer & Brimshaw (1973), the research problem determines which units or groups in a society should be investigated. These groups or institutions have to be identified in order to allow the researcher to collect the necessary information.

Each city as a sub-entity of a state has its own institutional structures that determine the functioning of that city. Each institution or group in a city represents a form of power and influence on specific areas or issues of a city.

Sub-Saharan African cities differ greatly on their institutional organisations of urban management, which depends on their colonial legacy of administrative functioning. African English speaking countries have organisational models that differ from those of their francophone counterparts, for instance.

Most Anglophone cities have an urban government system that comprises a representative council structure composed of a Chief Executive and a mix of elected and centrally nominated councillors that control a local bureaucracy, with a wide range of local functions and an extensive base of local taxation. However, the francophone model

is based on “commune”, a direct creation of the central government composed of elected representatives, an executive mayor and a number of small administrative departments (Stren &White, 1989).

Kinshasa falls under the francophone model where there is at the local government level, a structure called “commune” (municipality) that is composed of an executive mayor and elected councillors who operate with administrative departments, with each having a specific duty to perform, a duty based on its functional responsibilities. Under these functional responsibilities, informal trading falls under different departmental units, ranging from the provincial to the local levels.

In Kinshasa, there are three levels of administrative departments that deal with informal trading. The first level is found in the governor’s office as the political representative of the government, since Kinshasa is ranked at the provincial level. The second level consists of the four administrative areas that govern the city, which has twenty-four “communes” or municipalities under their control. Each sub-region has a specific administrative territory which plays an administrative management role. The management of informal trading is mixed between the three levels of the city. It is under this comprehensive understanding of the structural organisations of the city that groups or institutions are sampled.

The sampling method that is used in this study is a stratified random sampling. This method “consists of taking random samples from various strata in a society, depending on what the researcher is interested in “ (Thomas, 1993:47). The different institutions or groups that form part of the selected samples are those which operate institutionally within the city and have links or influences on the functioning of informal trading. In Kinshasa, the groups or institutions and individuals selected to have links with informal trading are as follows:

- Public officials from national, provincial and local structures;
- Informal traders;
- Wholesalers;

- Hawkers;
- Customers; and
- Police.

These six groups form part of the selected entities that have participated in the process of collecting data on informal trading in Kinshasa. In each selected group an interview-questionnaire has been designed to obtain data needed for study. The interview-questionnaire for public officials (see appendix A) is designed to understand the role that government departments from all spheres play in the management of informal trading and also the policies or strategies designed to enhance informal trading productivity. It was important to grasp also how these different officials interact with each other and with informal traders and their activities.

The data collected from informal traders (see interview-questionnaire in appendix B) tends to describe the status of informal trading and informal traders in Kinshasa. It also seeks to apprehend their attitudes towards their activities and public officials. However, in wholesalers (see interview-questionnaire in appendix C) and consumers or customers (see interview-questionnaire in appendix E), I seek to find the link that exists between informal traders and these two groups in order to understand the dynamic of this sector. In these two groups, their social relationships with informal traders were something to understand properly in order to be able to locate the informal trading management issue in its real context.

Hawkers (see interview-questionnaire in appendix D) have been selected in this study, mainly as a group similar to informal traders although seen as mobile. Since any policy or strategy on informal trading in Kinshasa will automatically affect hawking activities, it was important that their views be heard and understood within the context of gathering information, in order to respond holistically to any form of informal trading management strategy.

As informal trading activities involve also items of which sources of supply are unknown, the role of police (see interview-questionnaire in appendix F) was important in order to evaluate the degree to which informal trading activities could be sustained.

The method used in the selection of these groups was by observing how this activity was conducted and who was involved in one way or another in its management and networking. It also required asking random questions to informal traders and officials from the city council economic department.

Black (1976) argues that to sample requires that the researcher decides on the size of people to be sampled or studied, on the cost of obtaining the elements, and on the convenience and accessibility of elements. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the size of units or groups to be studied was 200 because I wanted to draw different perspectives from different groups of people who are involved directly or indirectly in this activity. It was important for me to have a broad view and understanding of different issues of their attitudes to this economic activity that do not appear on the surface, which would allow me to make an analysis and provide recommendations that can address the concerns of different groups.

The proportional distribution of the size of these selected groups have been as follows:

- Public officials: 25
- Informal traders: 100
- Wholesalers: 20
- Hawkers: 20
- Customers (consumers): 25
- Police: 10

The reason for selecting 25 public officials was to understand different policies or strategies from different departments involved in the activity and management of informal trading. However, the motive of having 100 informal traders was to reflect views from different informal traders operating in different places and categories of informal markets within the city and municipalities. Those operating in a particular

location and belonging to a particular category of market may not see things in the same way since locations have influence on the potential of customers or consumers. This strategy was important in terms of analysis and recommendations. Hawkers were selected from different strategic points of operations while the police selected were those stationed in different informal markets for security reasons. The number of consumers involved were only those who do their shopping in informal markets. Wholesalers included those involved in imported goods and as well as those involved in goods that are produced locally.

B. SOURCES OF DATA

A mixture of sources has been used to gather the necessary data of the case study for analysis. The strategy has been designed to use archival records (maps) with an aim to view informal trading as: spatial distribution in the city; direct-observation; participant observation; questions and interviews; and documentation.

C. TECHNIQUES IN DATA COLLECTION

Two types of data have been used in this case study, that is, qualitative and quantitative data, which both have strengths and weaknesses.

Qualitative techniques have been used to understand what things mean to people in the context in which they live. For "qualitative data, with their emphasis on people's lived experience, are fundamentally well suited for locating the meaning people placed on the events, processes and structures of their lives, their perceptions, assumptions, prejudgments, presuppositions and for connecting these meanings to the social world around them" (Miles & Huberman, 1994:10).

In the context of Kinshasa, it was important that voices of both informal traders and government officials be heard and to include also other actors within the whole functioning and operations of this economic activity. As one of the government officials indicated to me that "it is good that such initiatives be developed, for we do not have the resources and infrastructure. "As a result, therefore, there is no plan, policy or strategy

available to address informal trading management issues. “People like you have to come and initiate such projects with a comprehensive approach on the matter”.

The development of public policy or strategies that affect the public, and that does not include the viewpoints of people who will be affected directly from them, runs the risk of being implemented wrongly and insensitively that may impact negatively on the lives of people.

Quantitative techniques have been used in order to gather data on a more objective basis in order to see the differences that exist between different groups involved in the operation of informal trading. It was important, for instance, to see whether the majority of informal traders were women or men, or what proportion of immigrants were also involved in informal trading.

D. PROCEDURE IN DATA COLLECTION

This procedure deals only with the case study component, and not the whole research framework. After completing the theoretical part, at least in the draft, I had to embark on the following steps in the case study. As the city selected for study, Kinshasa, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Congo, is four thousand miles from Johannesburg, the only way to reach there was to fly.

Even though the city is my home, it was very difficult for me to travel to Kinshasa due to the cost of the flight and financial constraints to sustain myself. In a case study such as this, one is requested to travel several times for data collection. Fortunately, I first managed to get there in the middle of May 2003 for two weeks in order to observe the situation. As I had left this city for almost thirteen years, many things had changed, which made me seem like a stranger. People, their attitudes, perceptions and values had all undergone substantial changes.

It is on the basis of these changes that I had to find a particular strategy before starting my case study. This drove me to apply direct and participant observations. For two weeks

spent in May, I focused on interacting with different participants in order to understand the social behaviour from the places of work, residences, recreations, etc. At this observation phase, I realised that I had to include the different participants in my case study in order to get their views on informal trading since they have direct or indirect links with this activity. This also helped select the different government departments that I had to deal with in this research. I have also been able to see the spatial distribution of informal trading within the city with all its characteristics of networking and cultural elements that sustain it.

The second trip was in August 2003 when I spent three weeks to collect data from different participants that I had identified during my observation phase. The third and fourth trips were in September and October 2003 when I delved deeply into trying to ascertain the validity of views from the participants that I interacted with during my previous trips.

As people requested payments before they get interviewed and participate in any way in the process of collecting data, I was obliged to take into account what I could afford in this process. The lack of funds has been a major constraint that did not allow me to do what I intended to do during the case study.

The data collected from different units or groups in the form of questions and interviews have been recorded in tables to help the researcher discuss findings and make analyses.

This procedural strategy can also help the reader to make her or his own inferences about the analysis and conclusions made by the researcher on the study. The case study has to be open to alternative perspectives as these may arise for alternative cultural views, different theories, etc. By presenting the evidence in tables, the reader can also reach her or his own independent judgment regarding the merits accorded to the analysis.

It serves also to describe various layers of attitudes, behaviours and opinions from all the selected groups for investigation in this study in order to gather an amount of data for

analysis and also to help the reader see things from the participants' perspectives at this stage before making any inferences from the researcher's analysis. This will also enhance the qualitative evidence of the case study by presenting additional elements that may be needed for analysis.

E. LIMITATIONS IN DATA COLLECTION

It has been a tough exercise to gain access to information from government officials. In all of the departments consulted, apart from two or three, there has not been a meaningful written report on informal trading. All information had to come from the minds of people I was interviewing. Few written materials have been used to get information on what was needed. The appointments had to be postponed, in some cases more than four times on my way to places of appointments in order to meet. Some other people were requesting money before they could provide me with information. Others requested administrative procedures such as writing a letter to apply for permission to conduct research in their departments and a letter from the university allowing me to conduct such research.

There were also other officials that suspected me of being an inspector from the Ministry of Finance. All these elements made people reluctant to talk to me. They had to consult with their management team before meeting me. The political conflict has also made people become suspicious of outsiders where trust has become a difficult value to place on somebody. One official mentioned to me that when the country was divided into different administrative territories held by different authorities before being united, I was going to be interrogated by the Intelligence Service Agents because of the issues being asked that may disclose the whole strategic plan of the city, referring here to the spatial organisation of the city. It could lead, they thought, to the capture of the city by armed oppositional opponents.

Another factor in the limitations of data collection is the complexity by which informal trading is managed in Kinshasa. There are different departments involved at various levels with the activity of informal trading. This ranges from urbanism as the technical instrument of a planning ministry dealing with spatial planning, environment, public

health and hygiene, human health of foodstuffs in the market, economic affairs, planning of the budget and finance. It was quite significant to understand the role that each of these departments plays within the operation of the economic activity of informal trading. All these had to be understood and discussed so that a clear picture could emerge on how informal trading operates in Kinshasa.

1.3 CHAPTERS OUTLINE

Chapter Two will focus mainly on a literature review of informal economy and its description from different continents, that is, to try to establish the universality and heterogeneity of its characters. Chapter Two will end with new perspectives of informal economy within the sub-Saharan African context by trying to indicate the relevance of considering African cultural values and ethics by understanding informal economy in general, and informal trading in particular sub-Saharan African cities.

Chapter Three will comprise a description of informal trading in Kinshasa. This will start with a description of the city before elaborating on policies, spatial description and categories of informal markets in this city.

Chapter Four will encompass the presentation of all data from different selected groups in the survey.

Chapter Five as the final chapter will discuss findings, analyses of findings and recommendations. It will end with a general conclusion of the dissertation.

Chapter 2 INFORMAL ECONOMY AS A WORLD PHENOMENON

This chapter will cover the literature review on informal economy and explore also the universality and heterogeneity characters. On the universality character, it will discuss the matter in different continents to ascertain its growing emergence in the world as a productive economic activity that generates income for urban residents.

As Kinshasa is an African city, more emphasis will be put on informal economy in sub-Saharan Africa in order to show how this sector is so important to discuss, and how it remains a major alternative economic activity that creates employment in urban sub-Saharan Africa. From this point, different new perspectives on informal economy in general and informal trading in particular will follow in order to understand this sector within a purely African context, which may be slightly different from a Eurocentric perspective.

2.1 INFORMAL ECONOMY LITERATURE OVERVIEW

The idea of ‘formal’ is a relatively recent construction. For this reason, the divide between ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ is also recently constructed. But in spite of this divide, informal economy is an economic activity that supports millions of people in cities. As any economic activity, it has undergone a process of expansion and development during several decades. Moreover, every economic activity has its operational history.

Dating back from the Stone Age to the Industrial Revolution, the human economic activity was still informal. This moved from hunting and gathering to agriculture and non-agricultural occupations. Jacobs (1970) argues that in pre-Neolithic times, human beings lived from hunting and gathering, in small and economically self-sufficient groups, finding their food, making their weapons, tools and other manufactured goods. He argues further that archaeological findings have shown that in the earliest settlement, people were traders, artists, manufacturers and crafters. All these activities subscribe to today’s realities of post-modern era’s classification of that sort of economy as informal.

Imagination, creativity and innovation have played a key role in the process of change in economic activity throughout the human's walk of evolution. It is from the concept of evolution that the human being considers the previous work or activities as outdated due to improvement achieved in each specific human activity. In the human's walk through evolution, hunger for discovery, progress, improvement and invention have helped transform the thinking environment in which change and growth take place in every activity being undertaken.

Even during the Industrial Revolution there were reports that showed the difference in the degree of advancement in industry and commerce in different countries. There were countries that were more advanced in industry and commerce than others. This difference showed the different levels of organisational structures of networks, technology, locations, etc. that formed the operational system of economic activities of that period.

Adam Smith, the supply-led economist of the 18th century, reported in his publication of 1775 "the Wealth of Nations" that nations which were highly developed agriculturally were those that their industry and commerce were developed (Jacobs, 1970). In my view, he introduced here, at the conceptual level, a dual classification of economic activity between countries.

More recent research distinguishes informal economic activity by its production and exchange processes (Marcelli et al, 1999). The informal economy involves legal goods and services in which production or exchange is not effectively covered by state regulations.

This sector of economy is not always a set of survival activities performed by destitute people on the margins of society. It is not a euphemism for poverty. But it is a specific form of relationships of production. It is when we refer to it as a specific form of income generating production of economic activity that we attach to it a certain degree of value

and usefulness in our environments, and depart from the notions of dualism and social marginality.

2.1.1 EMERGENCE OF INFORMAL SECTOR CONCEPT

Nduna (1992) contends that "one of the most useful general reviews of the literature on informal sector studies is that by Rogerson (1985), written at a time when such studies were very much to the fore in the realm of social research" (Nduna, 1992:5). Rogerson (1985) argues that although the debates on informal economy can be traced back in the 19th century by British social science and later in the 1940s and 1950s, the academic discovery of informal sector occurred only during the 1970s, some thirty years after the first flourishes of independence in the Third World (Rogerson, 1985).

Gerry (1979) indicates that the axiom 'informal sector' started with Hart (1971) even though there may be prior claimants of the concept. Rogerson (1985) argues that "seminal paper by Hart (published as Hart 1973) was presented initially in a conference (held in 1971) at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex to discuss the dilemma of urban unemployment in Africa" (Rogerson, 1985:6).

However, Hart's concept of informal sector was based on a dualistic framework that laid its analysis on characteristics rather than relations (Nduna, 1992). She further argues that " this simple dichotomous framework was shortly followed by the report of the International Labour Office (here in after I.L.O.) mission to Kenya (I.L.O., 1972) which apparently and independently had also utilized a dualistic framework and distinguished the informal sector of the economy from the formal sector by means of seven features" (Nduna, 1992: 6).

Here are the distinguished features of informal sector as presented by Nduna (1992);

Informal sector was characterised by:

- Ease of entry;
- Reliance on indigenous resources;
- Family ownership of enterprises;
- Small Scale of operation;

- Use of labour-intensive and adapted technology;
- Skills acquired outside the formal school system, and has
- Unregulated and competitive markets.

By contrast, the formal sector was characterised by:

- Difficult entry;
- Frequent reliance on overseas resources;
- Corporate ownership;
- Large scale of operation;
- Capital intensive and often imported technology;
- Formally acquired skills, and
- Protected markets through tariffs, quotas and trade licences (I.L.O., 1992: 67 as quoted in Nduna, 1992).

Moser (1978) as quoted in Rogerson (1985) states that during the 1970s, the I.L.O. was building up the World Employment Programme and conducting a series of missions with the goal of creating employment oriented strategies of development. He continues by arguing that the reports of several I.L.O. missions incorporated the promotion of informal sector activities as one potential means of realising a development programme of 'redistribution with growth' (Moser, 1978 as quoted in Rogerson, 1985). Meanwhile, I.L.O. mission to Kenya was important by the fact that it recommended several measures to increase the employment generating capacity of the informal sector (I.L.O., 1972).

Rogerson (1985) argues on the emergence and acceptance of the concept of informal sector worldwide that the fact that the two big world institutions, I.L.O and the World Bank approved the concept of informal sector; this became of central importance in securing the rapid worldwide acceptance of this new concept in the development literature (Rogerson, 1985).

2.1.2 CRITICISM OF INFORMAL SECTOR CONCEPT

The 1970s showed the heyday period for the concept of informal sector, and consequently drew also a lot of academic inquiry. The result in various debates was that theorists started questioning the validity of the simple dualistic framework school of informal sector introduced by Hart. Given the fact that this dualistic model did not meet the reality on the ground, many criticisms followed.

The first criticism that surfaced was that the dualistic model lacked a concrete definition (Rogerson, 1985; Nduna, 1992). Other researchers were not satisfied with the method of defining informal sector, leaving it with a common feature of "a simple residual category, definable in terms of what it is not" (Lister, 1980:27; Rogerson, 1985:14; Nduna, 1992:8).

The second objection was based on the fact that these definitions failed to appropriate reality (McGee, 1978a) as quoted in Rogerson 1985: 14). On the same basis, Nduna (1992) argues that the term could not adequately describe the highly differentiated and complex set of activities and relations which comprise the urban economy. It tries to attribute homogeneity to all kinds of informal sector activities.

This homogenous character tended to believe in a single policy prescription which is applicable to all forms of informal sector activities (Bramley, 1978; Nduna, 1992). This led to a wrong trend that policies which aimed to address informal sector issues had to treat all informal sector activities as a single unit, ignoring that the different levels and kinds of activities each demanded a specific consideration when it comes to prescriptions (Gerry, 1979).

The third criticism of this dualistic, informal sector model was based on the fact that it is mainly descriptive and focuses its analysis on characteristics rather than relationships (Rogerson, 1985). It was also established through empirical research in the 1970s that there were linkages between informal sector and formal sector activities. It is the relations that exist between different components that lay foundations in the functioning of the

socio-economic system in place. It is therefore this complex set of socio-economic relations that lay the basis of any economic activity. Based on this argument on the relationships, Rogerson (1985) points also to the domination-subordination relationships between the two separate and autonomous economic entities.

The fourth objection was based on the fact that the conceptual framework lacked structure and organisational principles of any kind (Hart, 1976). In addition, the final criticism to the dualistic simple model in the development studies was noted by Hart's auto-critique statement, in which he revealed that the informal sector dualistic concept was "unhelpful even within the limits of a development planning outlook" (Hart, 1976).

Given the limitations of the dualistic model school of informal sector, theorists inserted the concept of petty commodity production as an alternative concept that fills the gaps of dualism.

2.1.3 EMERGENCE OF PETTY COMMODITY PRODUCTION CONCEPT

The petty commodity production concept emerged after several radical dualism theorists had failed to provide the concept with elements of analysis that fit into the reality. .Other researchers started to discard the fashionable image that surrounded the informal sector dualistic model. Rogerson (1985) quotes McGee's 1978 statement saying that the concept of dualism has given a time-honoured service to the analysis of underdevelopment but the time may well have arrived when it should be discarded (McGee, 1978 as quoted in Rogerson 1985:19). This indicates that the dualist model did not satisfy as a terminology that provides an appropriate methodology to analyse the developing world urban economy.

As Gerry (1979) concludes, the fundamental failing of the dualism was based on ahistorical, simplistic and over-aggregated analyses which focused its analyses on characteristics of enterprises or groups of people. Based on such conclusions of the dualistic model, an alternative approach, a petty commodity production emerged, which put its emphasis of analysis on the interconnections between co-existing modes and forms

of production and of the processes by which surplus is created and extracted (Rogerson, 1985). Nduna (1992) states that "deriving much of their theoretical impetus from structuralist commentators on the processes of development and underdevelopment, theorists who adopted an exploitation approach reconceptualised the informal sector as 'petty commodity production'. "The dualist model was abandoned completely by those who were attracted to the Marxian approach of petty-commodity production. The emphasis was now placed upon the existence of a variety of forms of production or labour processes and of their integration into the total political economy" (Nduna, 1992:10).

This new concept focused its examination on the structural linkages and relationships that existed between different production and distribution systems. As a matter of fact, local studies started being undertaken between the informal economy and the network of linkages that bound it to the formal economy (Nduna, 1992). The literature was founded upon the relations of co-existing modes or forms of production. Rogerson (1985) contends that petty commodity production literature concentrates firmly upon the structure and functioning of the economy as a whole, where the subordinate nature of petty commodity production to the dominant capitalist form of production becomes the focus of interest. The dualist model is replaced by a concept based upon a continuum of economic activities. There is a clear recognition of a variety of forms of production on work processes within an economy. The added value of petty commodity production to examine different categories of work outside the formal sector makes it to be in advance of the dualist model.

Forbes (1981) as quoted by Rogerson (1985) provides a good summary of advantages of the petty commodity production concept over the informal sector concept that advocates a simple dualistic framework. He argues that this alternative concept has the advantages because, first, it focuses on process rather than on characteristics of production alone where attention is drawn to the changing nature of small-scale production, the movement of people, capital and commodities, and ultimately underdevelopment. Second, the petty commodity production approach recognises the inevitable changes that occur in

underdeveloped societies. For “informal sector concept implied a timelessness with change being seen as a linear process from informal to formal sector” (Rogerson, 1985:31).

The third advantage advocated by Forbes as quoted by Rogerson (1985) lies in the fact that when “investigating the role of petty commodity production in terms of the functioning of the overall political economy, this approach raises serious questions concerning policy proposals for the promotion of petty commodity production” (Rogerson, 1985:31).

While on the one hand Hart (1976) started warning against the dangers of an uncritical acceptance of the petty commodity production approach, on the other hand, the late 1980s witnessed a shift in attitudes towards informal economy in general, and informal trading in particular. In countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and Kenya, programmes that supported informal sector started emerging.

During this period, the I.L.O. propagated two sets of policies that on the one hand, emphasised the deregulation, and on the other, put policy stresses on the development of pro-active measures to further the growth of the informal sector (I.LO., 1985; Forbes, 1985; as quoted by Nduna, 1992). In South Africa, for example, Nduna (1992) acknowledges that academics started to get involved in the investigation of street trading activities. They found in Johannesburg how these traders resisted the local authorities and contested even matters in courts of law, after having explored the prohibitive laws and the bureaucracy of the local state, and how enforcement agents compound the plight of those working outside the law (Nduna, 1992:14). This led to the planning of programmes for upgrading and development of the informal sector. Several centres of research were set up in South African metropolitan areas.

Informal trading subordination to capital was recognised in this commodity production literature, which led to regulations that constrained informal traders’ activities, and to antagonism between them and governments.

In Kinshasa during late 1980s and early 1990s, informal traders had undergone various forms of hostility, restriction and eviction in the central business district, but which never prevented them from challenging the attitude towards them. Despite their forced removals from the places of their activities, they were never tired of returning. This resistance and persistence from informal traders have weakened and decayed verbal or oral regulatory measures of government officials. Today informal trading is almost omnipresent all over the city and has turned up to be one of major income generating sectors for the urban residents of the city.

2.1.4 FROM PETTY COMMODITY PRODUCTION DEBATE TO INFORMALISATION CONCEPT

The fundamental point in the petty commodity production approach evolved around the analysis of the informal sector within the framework of its linkages to the formal sector, with more emphasis on subcontracting informal activity to the formal one. This thesis was further founded on studies conducted in the Developed World and Latin America. Unfortunately, the trend still retained a subordinate status of informal economic activity to the formal and perpetrated its marginal characteristics. It also retained the perception that it was a result of state failure to provide a good economic polity.

The informality character retained here displays elements of complicity between the formal sector and the state to reduce wage costs and enhance flexibility by making use of unprotected workers in the informal sector (Meagher, 1995). The promotion of the informal sector is seen “to lie in the prescriptions of free market economic deregulation and the provision of necessary infrastructure” (Meagher, 1995:262).

Based on such capitalist curve that was shaping the new directions of informal activity, a new awareness was revived to fill the gap. In formalisation appeared as an appropriate approach that represented a comprehensive and well-founded perspective to lead the debate. In this new perspective, informal economy is analysed as a social and historical process in lieu of it being analysed as a sector.

The capitalist tendency viewed informal forms of production and distribution as an opportunity to have a flexible labour force. Meagher (1995) quotes Linda Weiss (1987:218) who argues that "the necessary conditions for development of informality are not only provided by the features of an industry or economic sector, but also by specific socio-economic features of a society. "Such features as a dispersion of small-scale operators, a marginalized labour force and a dense system of social networks – all vital to the development of an active informal sector – do not simply appear with advent crisis" (Meagher, 1995:264). She continues arguing that the cases of Italy, East and West Africa show that these features are part of a "society's specific political and economic history which accounts for the greater susceptibility of such societies to informalisation". More and more, such features are being enhanced by state policies that fail to respond to the needs of a society, creating then a complicity to the expansion of these features within societies.

The analysis of informality in the Developed World, Latin America and Asia tends to emphasise the sub-contractual linkages of the informal sector to the formal one, leaving other categories of informal sector such as services, trading, and transport without insightful innovative ideas for support. It focuses more on making informal arrangements with manufacturing industries. This has created much criticism due to a biased trend that does not leave any room of understanding African informal economy.

Given such biases, Meagher (1995) warns of the trend to generalise the patterns of informalisation in the world. She indicates that caution is needed in trying to apply theoretical perspectives of informalisation in Africa based heavily on the Latin American experience.

A. INFORMALISATION AND SOCIAL NETWORKS IN AFRICA

In Africa, the social networks have always played a vital role in understanding economic activity. Meagher (1995) argues that anthropologists and economic historians that concentrated their research in West Africa highlighted the importance on indigenous ethnic and religious networks in providing a context of cohesion, shared norms, and an

economic infrastructure capable of coordinating trading operations outside the formal economic system.

Much of work has indicated that this trend has been central to the organisation of formal and informal economic activities in African countries. Furthermore, these social networks in Africa, particularly ethnic or tribal or clan and religious, have played a substantial role in controlling entry into the more lucrative informal sector occupations.

B. INFORMALISATION AND LINKAGES IN AFRICA

Studies conducted in Africa reveal little of forward linkages between formal and informal sectors in Africa compared to Latin America and Asian countries. Meagher (1995) indicates that the area of forward linkages in the formal productive firms in African countries lies in the distribution systems in order to expand the market to various areas, including rural areas. This trend is more prevalent in Nigeria and South Africa where formal enterprises use informal operators to extend their markets to the public. But it appears to be less coordinated as their Latin American and Asian counterparts.

In contrast to forward linkages, backward linkages between formal and productive firms and informal operators are more visible in Africa, involving a more exploitative relationship. For this linkage is based on the supply of inputs, spares and other products to enter into the production process of goods. It does little to integrate informal operators into the production level. The very visible forward linkages seen in Africa are in the areas of services and trade, with no substantial impact to develop the manufacturing industry.

The other element is that these linkages are grounded, not on the profitability of "efficiency and appropriateness of informal activity, but from the cheap labour and poor working conditions informal operators are willing to endure. "It is the fact that informal actors work longer hours, demand no formal wages, and have minimal overheads, which make them an attractive option to formal sector firms, particularly under current recessionary conditions" (Meagher, 1995:277).

This exploitative relationship between formal firms of production and informal operators constitutes the main characteristics of linkages involving informalisation in an African context. The absence of labour protection contributes to the limits of profit in the interest of labour force and society. The celebration of informalisation in this capitalist system, based on flexibility and entrepreneurship, means that informal operators have to accept working longer hours, having poor benefits, and working with unsafe machinery and in unsanitary premises.

Although, this historical debate on the theories and characteristics of informal economy has lightened our understanding, it is important that a discussion based on a comparative perspective be elaborated in the following section to add value to an understanding of informal economy in general and in sub-Saharan African context in particular, with Kinshasa representing sub-Saharan African cities. An understanding of specifics in informal economy is an essential starting point for interpreting systems of organisations grounded in social and historical processes that acknowledge cultural values and beliefs as forces of networks and organisations of economic systems.

2.2 INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE OF INFORMAL ECONOMY

2.2.1 EUROPE AND USA

Portes et al (1989) recognise the universality and heterogeneity of informal economy. Marcelli et al (1999) describe the participative character of people in informal economic activities in Los-Angeles County. Castells (2000) argues that this sector is present in London and as well as in Paris. Many households today in the First World cities rely entirely on informal economy to survive and to make their ends meet.

European cities have a variety of dynamics regarding the operation of informal trading. During my stay in March and April 2001 in Europe, I observed the informal trading in some cities of Europe. In Paris there are locations where economic activities of informal trading are operated. In areas like “Chateau Rouge” informal trading operates on a daily

basis, while in Paris 20th neighbourhood, informal trading along the street operates on specific days of the week. Along some streets and in specific locations one can see fresh food such as fruits, vegetables, fresh fish, etc. being displayed for selling. But these activities operate through a permit that is granted by the municipality. This permit allows selling along some streets and on specific days and locations that are indicated beforehand by the municipality.

In "Chateau Rouge", Berbes Avenue, hawkers and street vendors of different items operate on a daily basis. One can see different goods exposed in inadequate stalls whose sources of production and purchase involve some illegality. This can be proved, for example, through the production and sale of the body lotion called "HT 26", whose selling exclusivity is given to a big pharmacy in "Chateau d'Eau". But this product is illegally sold in some shops of Chateau-Rouge" and its source of production is legally unknown.

In The Hague, Holland, there is a market on specific days. Although there are selling permits that are given to those who operate there by the local authority, one can also measure the degree of informality. There are no warehouses where people can keep their stuffs, no toilets facilities within the area, no administrative offices within the market for control over items being sold, even though there is an administrative office outside the market that deals with market affairs in order to know whether they are legal or illegal. Many of items are industrial, and, therefore, their sources of provision must be clearly identified through an effective administrative control.

In Brussels, there is a flea market called " Marché de Midi", which is administratively organised with provision of toilets facilities and administrative offices, but whose sources of goods being sold involve both some legality and illegality.

The most successful dynamics of informal economy in European cities has been that of subcontracting the informal economy to the formal sector economy. Subcontractors have created a hierarchical dynamics of production and commerce. Within the production there

are subcontracts with small and medium-sized enterprises that specialise in a particular feature of an item to do the job for a particular big firm. There are thousands of small artisan-type activities that subcontract with other firms to render services on their behalf.

Although this phenomenon is omnipresent in countries of Western Europe, Italy is a specific case where this dynamic has generated impressive outcomes. Italy has a tremendous reputation in specialised products. In clothing, shoes, belts and other industrial items, Italy's products are highly valued. These commodities are produced by specialised firms that employ less than fifteen people, often involving family members.

Portes et al (1989) contend that these artisanal firms as they are called, increased through a decentralisation process that affected most provinces in Italy. They argue that the province of Modema experienced an increase of these artisanal enterprises from 4,970 in 1963 to 21,473 in 1975, or an increase of 430 percent. Today, Italy is a major supplier of high quality items generated by these artisanal enterprises.

Within the commercial dynamics, these countries have adopted a policy of wholesale and retailing. They have established a network between producer and wholesaler and retailer. The wholesalers are the exclusive purchasers of products from manufacturers, except big commercial companies or shops involved in retailing businesses, and these wholesalers in turn supply retailing shops. These networks established within these countries provide a conceptual framework of control of prices as they rise up and lower down.

Wholesalers determine a minimum quantity of each item to be purchased by retailers. They play an intermediary role in the commercial activities of commodities from producers. But it is in the retailing dimension that there are problems.

In retailing, there is formal and informal trading. The formal retailing comprises all selling that operate within the framework of a legally regulated environment, while informal trading involves all selling that operate outside the framework of a legally regulated environment. These involve items that are sold illegally in a legal environment

as the case of “HT 26” in Paris, and those retailing activities that are unregulated but that operate in either legal or illegal environments, as the case of hawkers, street vendings, etc.

In the USA, particularly in Los-Angeles County, Marcelli et al (1999) argue that participants engaged in informal economic activities are not self-employed, but rather work for private companies under less than favourable conditions. They work without legal contracts or on a daily basis. Some have celebrated the rise of informality as a sign of entrepreneurship due to cheap labour. But so far there is no fruitful policy-making that sustains this alternative as an income generating type of production for many households. They also contend that there is also evidence that domestic workers in the USA are also involved in informal economic activities.

2.2.2 ASIA

According to Caroline Skinner’s presentation (2001), the degree of informality of the economy of Asia varies between 45 – 85%. Hong-Kong is a specific case of informal economy. This part of China has 75 per cent of informal local firms which are export oriented, and have less than 50 employees, but which are connected to the world markets through small import-export enterprises. The China market has now entered the whole world through diversified products that target specific niches of the world markets. But these informal enterprises operate within a legally regulated environment and contribute to the boosting of the economy.

According to Perera & Amin (1994), the informal trading share in employment in Indonesia is 90%, in Bangladesh 62.3%, Pakistan 98%, and Thailand 55.3%. Indonesian cities have substantial proportions of informal sector enterprises and have adopted the concept of regulating informal sector enterprises in order to integrate them into the urban systems.

Many Third World countries have now adopted a policy of acceptance, regulation and accommodation as opposed to hostility, restriction and eviction. The attitude of the latter

must change unconditionally, and make way for the former and become part of the new landscape of urban development in their cities.

According to Sandee & Rietveld (2001), in the province of Central Java in Indonesia, a new strategy has been emerging of creating clustering as a possible strategy for small-scale firms to stay on board in the process of industrialisation and economic development. By definition, a cluster is a group of at least five industrial enterprises belonging to the same subsector in a village (Sandee & Rietveld, 2001). In this province there was an estimate of 4,400 clusters by 1989, which had 675,000 employees and occupied some 30 per cent of the total manufacturing employment. Today attention is shifting towards cluster dynamics, and the main issue is whether there are possibilities for the many dormant clusters to transform into more vibrant entities.

They argue that clustering enables small-scale enterprises to grow in riskable steps through collaboration. A small amount of capital, skills and entrepreneurial talents can be beneficial to one another when working together. Pooled imagination, creativity and innovation can enable small firms to make better products that will have to be sold in a higher income market.

In the context of this Indonesian strategy of informal manufacturing, collaboration and technological change have been used as innovative tools to keep these enterprises productive and income generating. A cluster may benefit all small-scale enterprises found in the proximity. There is a possibility of sharing information, purchasing inputs together, and visiting traders who may buy from different producers simultaneously. This collaboration may also occur in the case of rush orders that need additional labour at short notice (Sandee & Rietveld, 2001). Although competition may still be part of each firm's strategy to gain markets through marketing strategies, collaboration technology allows all firms belonging to a cluster to grow together, to sustain policies that allow them to operate and grow competitively in the market, and to draw projections collectively on how they think they have to improve their current technologies, working conditions and expansion of their activities internationally.

Informal economy, therefore, has the potential to contribute to the economic growth and development of Asian cities if suitable strategies are put in place, depending on each specific case and local realities.

2.2.3 LATIN AMERICA

Skinner (2001) indicated that Latin America is 57% in informal economy and provides 83% of employment. 40% of economy in Latin America is in urban areas. Informal economy played a major role during the 1950 to 1980 period. In this part of the world, the countries of the region had experienced an economic growth of 5.5% to the GNP due to informal economy. Their economies had quadrupled during these years. This sector occupied 30% of the active urban population (Portes et al, 1989).

In Huancayo (Mexico), the fact of limited large firms and the intense competition for survival means that the economic activities have to be carried out informally, through self-employment and in firms having less than ten workers in which these employees are often relatives. Porte et al (1989) found that 11 per cent of firms subcontracted work to small shops. This subcontracting was more frequent among the largest firms with 24 per cent engaging in it while the small enterprises were the most frequent users of home workers. These firms play a dominant role in the labour market either through direct employment or subcontracting.

They also ague that employment is informal when it is unprotected by the government labour regulations and welfare provisions. Informal employment is carried out without contracts or with purely temporary ones and payment is often by piece rate rather than by a fixed wage. In 1980, 22.7 per cent of Guadalajara's metropolitan population was employed informally (Portes et al, 1989).

The informal economy employment in this Mexican city is a strategy that employers use in different industrial sectors. In the food industry, informal employment is common since 34 per cent of workers are reported to being employed on temporary contracts,

without welfare benefits. Even in small firms, 28 percent are reported to suffer the same disadvantages.

Construction and construction material industries have also similar high levels of informal employment. Construction workers work on temporary contracts without welfare benefits. In construction material enterprises, 47 percent of workers are working informally. Of the three major Mexican cities, Guadalajara pays the lowest wages. In some types of employment in 1981, workers could earn more money in informal employment than in a formal one. This gives a picture of informal economy in Latin America and shows how it is structured in its urban economy.

Diermen (1997), quotes Despres (1990) findings that 50% of self-employed workers in one Brazilian city that were interviewed, including street vendors, reported earnings in excess of those reported by 80% of the industrial workers. Similarly, in a study of street traders in Ecuador by Teltscher (1994), it had been found a continuum of economic and social well-being which was contingent upon the nature of integration of informal activity. He contends that any analysis of an informal sector approach needs to encompass an intrinsic determinism embraced in petty commodity production. The linkages that exist between small and large enterprises are not to be pre-determined, but rather to be identified and investigated.

2.2.4 SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Africa as a continent is always labelled with a characteristic of informality in its economic activities. This characteristic is due to the mode of production and exchange processes of its economic activities. This continent is subject to a long history of dual comparison between the North and the South of the globe. The mode of transactions of economic activities that is practised in the North is not entirely applied in sub-Saharan Africa. This dual comparison has adopted a stereotyped view of economic activity in African cities without really trying to explore the true value lying within the landscape of their economic productivity.

The reality in sub-Saharan African cities is that the informal economy forms the major occupation of city residents' economic activities. Given this factor, this sector has become the new hope of income generation for the majority of urban residents since the formal sector has failed to provide and produce the necessary expectations of people and to absorb the unemployment that rages in sub-Saharan African cities.

The I.L.O. research found that in the 1990s, 93 per cent of all additional jobs in urban Africa would have been generated by the informal economy. In 1994, the World Bank estimated that the contribution of informal sector output to the total GDP of African countries ranged between 20% and 50% (Peberdy & Crush, 1998). Such findings show that informal economy has become the largest employment generator in sub-Saharan African urban economy (Rogerson, 1997) although traditionally, economists associated informal economic activity with developing countries, and emphasised its negative tax implications (Marcelli et al, 1999). Today, as First World investment in Africa is not a priority due to political instability and insecurity, informal economy is a palliative alternative to develop. Informal economy, therefore, is the way forward for economic growth and development of sub-Saharan African cities.

A. INFORMAL ECONOMY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN CITIES

Ideally every major Sub-Saharan African city needs to be discussed separately and deeply with emphasis on spatial, social and economic organisations. Such descriptions need to focus on the relationship dimensions of informal economic activities that prevail within these cities. Unfortunately there is no material at this stage that discusses these dimensions. With the case study of this dissertation, these dimensions will be addressed in an attempt to give a picture on the organisational strategies of informal economic activities in general, and informal trading in particular in Kinshasa. But at this stage, informal economic activities will be generally discussed in selected Sub-Saharan African regions and cities.

Based on this above-mentioned statement, Rogerson (1997) argues that " in certain parts of the continent, particularly in the urban areas of West Africa, the informal economy is

not a new phenomenon; rather there is evidence that the economies of many pre-colonial cities in West and North Africa have been 'informal' for centuries" (Rogerson, 1997:347).

Farvaque-Vitkovic & Godin (1998) indicate that in the Sahel and West African regions, the informal economy is becoming the dominant economic force, and the entire region depends on the flourishing of the informal economy, when even its added value is difficult to judge. According to Skinner's presentation (2001) at Wits University, the informal economy is 78 per cent in Africa with an employment rate of 93 per cent. 61 percent of urban African economy is informal. Furthermore, there are more women than men in informal economy.

Lagos, the economic hub of Nigeria and the largest and most populated city of Africa has a high level of informality in terms of economic activities. This has been accelerated due to urban natural population growth and migration from the interior of the country, with the latter being the dominant cause of population increase. This rapid rise of population in Lagos has also led to an increase in the number of unemployed in the city.

Fapohunda (1985) contended that most of migrants to Lagos were young and when they came to the city, they usually lived with their relations, friends or townsmen where, in exchange for board and lodging, they performed more households' duties. As they had inadequate education to get jobs in the city, they ended up to as apprentices to master-craftsmen to learn a trade. After their apprenticeship, they found themselves in informal economy. Most of the trade in Lagos is informal as most people do not manage to get employment.

Most export products from Lagos are traded informally, i.e., transactions for the exchange of goods are not done through banking institutions, but rather paid cash in the markets, with an immediate collection by the customers. Most people who buy goods in Lagos bring cash and buy their items from the big market of Lagos. Adesanya (2000) also

makes the point concerning the informal economy in Ibadan, Nigeria, a city of 2 million people, which has a high degree of informality.

In Ibadan, Nigeria, Adesanya (2000) reports, for example, that there are 45 informal markets identified of which only 45% are formed by local governments, while 33 % are formed by the community. Of the total of both kinds, 60% did not have toilets, 4% have conventional toilets but are not functioning, and 27% had bucket latrines. 35% of these 45 informal markets do not have access to water supply, 33% of the 45 do not have appropriate places for dumping solid waste disposal and only 20% of solid waste disposal are collected and dumped on the outskirts of the city. Only 35% of markets are planned. Apart from these 45% identified informal markets, there are hundreds of market places: mostly in the street and in front of houses. These descriptions show that informal trading in the city is a major economic activity and that the city markets are not in good condition.

In Mozambique, as quoted by Rogerson (1997) De Vletter estimated the contribution of the informal sector to be at around 40% of GNP in 1996. Angola and Zambia also present a high degree of informality with women embarking on petty trading and men involved in manufacturing, construction and other repair services; Windhoek, in Namibia, also has a clear gender division of labour involved in informal economic activities. Men are concerned with clothes, wood and other luxury goods while women are involved in specific goods such as fruits, gillet soup, etc. (Rogerson, 1997).

In South Africa, the informal economy has played a significant role in the economic growth of the country. Tomlison (1994) indicates that in South Africa under apartheid, the informal sector provided full-time employment for 1,7million persons and part-time employment for 2,8million persons with an equivalent of six to eight percent of the country's GDP. The overall employment was in the order of 4,5 million persons. Dewar & Todeschini (1999) indicate that the contribution to GDP of informal economy in South Africa rose from 5 percent in 1980 to 17 percent in 1992. This recent study indicates that this sector generated R 6 billion a year in income.

Informal sector's street trading in South Africa's cities also grew significantly in 1990s following the lifting of restrictions on movement and street trading that existed during the apartheid. The sector encompasses a wide range of vending, productive, service and trade activities in rural and urban areas, in the innercity, peri-urban and suburban communities as well as in informal settlements.

It is to be noted finally that the cross-border trade in Southern African countries contributes also to a large degree of informal trading. South African products are found in most African cities' informal trading.

Since 1990, South African trade with the rest of Africa has grown rapidly. Export trade with Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries tripled between 1992 and 1996 (Peberdy & Crush, 1998). The growth in South Africa's trade with the region and the rest of Africa, and the re-negotiation of trade agreements has implications for informal cross-border trade. Like formal trade, informal trade between South Africa and other countries in the region is growing. There are also indications that South Africans are aggressively participating in this movement of goods throughout the region. Some South Africans have created close ties with foreigners operating in informal economy in South Africa in such a way that these people have become associated with their foreign fellows in export business to their countries of origin in selling South African manufactured goods informally there, and also importing some items from those countries that they think would sell here. One example of this is art statues, craft products and business in antique items.

The growth of informal trading as well as the establishment of a formal sector in South African retail in the Southern region indicates that although economies in the other countries are not as strong as that of South Africa, there is an existence of a market for South African manufactured goods.

According to Peberdy & Crush (1998), informal trade should be seen as an integral component of a broader movement of goods and be included in regional trade agreements. Informal trade provides support income and development to a significant number of people from the region. This cross-border trade forms part of an integral part of the economy of the region.

Although distinctions are made between the informal and formal sectors, close relationships exist between them. These range from the subcontracting of work to the informal sector to the use of inputs in informal sector trade and production which have been purchased in the formal sector. Street trading and cross-border trade are just components of these diverse informal sector activities.

Peberdy & Crush (1998) indicate that in 1994, a study of female informal traders in Zimbabwe highlights the complex network of informal trade relationships that exist in the region. The study revealed strong networks existing between Zimbabwe and South Africa, Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. Of 23 traders interviewed, 22 travelled to South Africa, but many also visited Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique.

B. INFORMAL TRADING IN KINSHASA

Although the following chapter will focus its discussions on informal trading in Kinshasa, one needs to note that this category is really omnipresent in this city. It is a city with uniqueness when it comes to characterising informal trading economic activities.

There is an absence of recent update research, although an in-depth study was conducted in1984 in several parts of Kinshasa from which 37,632 small-scale activities were identified, employing 15,000 craftsmen and 80,000 traders, i.e., 37 percent of city jobs (Piermay, 1997). Today, with the decay of the state caused by different military extortions in the city, civil war, and political unrest, about 80 percent and more of the economic activities are said to be informal. And contrary to other city realities in the other parts of the world, the wealthy are those that are involved in the informal economy in DRC (former Zaire).

In the city of Kinshasa, informal trading was a strategy of survival rather than that of trying to address the broader needs of nations, as with the case of late President Mobutu of Zaire (DRC) when he talked of 'Article 15', which meant that the advantage goes to the most resourceful, most daring, and best organised individuals. Now that the formal economy is too weak to absorb the rate of unemployment, informal trading remains one of the alternative means to respond to the needs of urban people in this city. With this ongoing economic crisis, a new conceptual analysis of informal trading needs to be adopted, evolving around new values attached to the potential of this sector.

There are invisible aspects that are mainly hidden in the culture that outsiders may find difficult to understand and interpret when involved in the economic transactions of informal trading activities. This uniqueness of Kinshasa as an African city embodies characteristics of many sub-Saharan African cities as well as of those of their informal trading activities.

One need not compare Kinshasa with Eurocentric models of cityness but rather learn from it. The recent book published by DE Boeck and Plissart (2003) under the title: Kinshasa: Tales of the Invisible City has revealed some stimulating findings on how to understand Kinshasa with full recognition of its features that are unique. To note a few comments from the book review, it is indicated that there is another Kinshasa just as significant as the more physical, more visible city above. This other Kinshasa is portrayed in invisible aspects that underlie city residents' culture. This is reflected in aspects like " 'radio' of the streets: rumour, gossip, misinformation, distractions, lies, etc while others have to do with other systems of beliefs, meaning, hierarchy, authority, control and violence", as indicated in this book review, with much of it representing the oral tradition of sub-Saharan Africa, an ancient system by which information is distributed, a system that is alive today in African cities and that is become even more sophisticated. These aspects offer us a perspective that is crucial to the understanding of informal trading economic activities in this city. Informal trading is just another Kinshasa

just as it is a “spectacular city, a decaying city, a playful city, a religious city, a criminal city, and so on” as indicated in this book review.

Being an informal trading city, one needs to adopt conceptual thinking that reflects the realities of the city’s uniqueness in order to address purposefully its challenges. Based on such grounds, Piermay (1997) has conceptually divided the small-scale enterprises in Kinshasa into artisanal businesses and informal traders. In Johannesburg, Rogerson (1997) makes a conceptual division between the “survival enterprises” that represent a set of activities undertaken to secure low wage employment or unemployment, and “growth enterprises” which are very small businesses often involving only the owner, some family members, and at most one to four paid employees. These enterprises do not have operating permits, business licences, formal premises, accounting procedures, etc. and are more trade-related activities.

These two researchers, Rogerson and Piermay respectively, propose that decision-makers formulate a set of strategic programmes to furnish an appropriate environment for operations of survivalist informal enterprises, and that people focus on how the informal economy fits into the urban system. This can be sustained only if we develop new perspectives that add value to informal economy in general and informal trading in particular in the sub-Saharan African context.

2.3 A NEW PERSPECTIVE OF INFORMAL ECONOMY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Fapohunda (1985) argues that many theories in the past have approached informal economic activities with views that classify this sector as an activity of the poor, and associate with it an existence of a culture of poverty. This theory, therefore, implies that the poor have their own views and expectations of life and these are at variance with those of the rich.

According to him, the theory says this culture of poverty in which they are born permeates their lives and makes them incapable of responding favourably to, and taking

advantage of, new economic opportunities that could change their lives and culture, transmits the poverty from father to son and thereby perpetuates it. Once one is born into that culture, the children will inherit the poverty of their parents.

He contends that another school thinks of this situation as an issue of behaviour, attitudes and values. These form part of the response to people's immediate deprivation. If their opportunity structure is changed and they are given resources, their behaviour will change rapidly and after some time their attitudes and values will also change. The economic strategy that a government will pursue to address informal economic activities will have to be influenced by a theory that focuses attention on the provision of resources and opportunities.

One should also put emphasis on the fact that informal economy is making a substantial contribution to the nation's gross national product. In this case, it is a low cost supplier of goods and services to both formal and informal sectors of the country; it relies on indigenous resources and skills; it is a training ground for many workers in the urban centre and a source of much gainful employment (Fapohunda, 1985).

Diermen (1997) also sustains this approach when he states that it is the enterprise and not the individuals in the urban economy that are classified into formal and informal sectors. This statement raises also another dimension of informal economy perspective.

He continues by quoting some stimulating examples of Third World city experiences that have shown that the informal sector had better pay than the formal sector. In one of the Brazilian cities, Despres (1990) had found 50% of self-employed workers interviewed, including street vendors, reported earnings in excess of those reported by 80% of the industrial workers. In Jakarta, as quoted in Diermen (1997) Sjahrir (1993) found wages of skilled workers in the informal construction industry substantially higher than the wage of many factory workers (Diermen, 1997).

Similarly, Thamrin (1993) discovered that earnings of workers in small-scale shoe making establishments near Bogor and Bandung were higher than those of large scale enterprises in the same industry. Several researchers found workers in the informal sector were paid substantial higher wages than their formal sector counterparts.

In a study of street traders in Ecuador, for example, Telscher (1994) found a continuum of economic and social well-being which, she argued, was contingent upon the nature of integration of informal activity (Diermen, 1997). These findings contend the argument which acknowledges informal economy as an income generating production in the lives of many urban residents. Therefore, attaching to it some value of income generating production will contribute to the motivation of those involved to that activity to expand their business and grow as well.

This shows clearly that any tendency of trying to generalise models found in First World economies with attempt to transfer them into Third World ones has to be resisted. Concepts, for instance, of flexible specialisation and Japanese production methods are inappropriate in Indonesia (Diermen, 1997).

He argues further that “small-scale enterprises, as well as industrial systems, and their contribution to economic development in Indonesia, have to be grounded in Third World experience. Jakarta’s enterprises did not evolve in a vacuum. Their internal organisation and linkages reflect their particular spatial, historical and industrial experiences. Although global patterns of production have emerged, the uniqueness of localities remains crucial to any explanation of structure of business organisations. Within particular localities, national and local governments exert important influences on industrial development. Any future examination of ‘systems of enterprises’ therefore, must consider the specifics of place, time and industry” (Diermen, 1997).

One of the African countries that have given particular attention to the informal economy is South Africa. In this country, there have been two documents that have been conceived to address the development goals, notably, Reconstruction and Development Programme

(RDP) and Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). The former was developed by the ANC during the 1994 elections, which became then the government's official development policy. This document contains the following statement concerning the micro-enterprises in which category the informal economy fits in: "small businesses, particularly those owned and operated by black entrepreneurs, must form an integral part of the national economy and economic policy. "Micro producers should develop from a set of marginalised survival strategies into dynamic small entrepreneurs. "Policies to that end must focus on women who are disproportionately (represented) in this sector, especially in the rural areas" (African National Congress, 1994).

By 1996, Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) was developed with measurable goals and time frames to respond to the need for a macroeconomic framework that would define the national development strategy in greater detail. The goal of this new framework was to achieve an annual economic growth of 6% and job creation of 400,000 per year by 2000 (ANC, 1994). The South African Institute of Race Relations (1996/1997: 715) indicates that "about one third of the envisaged jobs would be created by the economic growth, some of which would be in the informal sector".

The same Institute continues by indicating that "the 1995 October Household Survey found that there were about 1.7 million working in the informal sector in South Africa, of whom about 1.32 million worked for their own account. According to a senior research officer at the Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency, there were 316,350 micro enterprises in South Africa. About 58% of self-employed in the informal sector in 1995 were African women. "For every man in the informal sector there are more than two women" (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1996/1997: 279). It also found in the 1996 study that a significant proportion of people who claimed to be unemployed were in fact productively employed in the informal sector of the economy. Their monthly personal expenditure matched that of unskilled people in full employment.

Given these findings, evidence has emerged on the role that this sector may play in urban development of today's cities. Informal economy has potential, which is still ignored, to

boost the economic growth of sub-Saharan African cities. It is here where the fundamental pattern of the new urban economy might be explored. There has to be consideration of the fundamental issues of managing this sector.

Yagannathan (1987) advocated the issues of inadequacies in the legal and administrative system of informal sector. He argued that laws and rules are often unable to monitor and police economic transactions and assure equality of access for everyone. The informal economy occupies between 30 to 70 per cent of the nationals gross national products in African countries. Based on its emerging role in the urban economy, there is an appeal to policy and decision-makers to understand the potential that lies in this sector to participate and contribute to development and a better life for all in these cities.

This can be achieved only if one attaches to informal economy conceptual considerations based on values of income generating production that is enhanced by cultural values and beliefs of a society. If in South Africa there are 58% of African women involved in the informal economy of 1.32 million people, this means that one needs to look at the matter in sub-Saharan African cities beyond the current development debates and therefore requires to incorporate the equation into the underlying cultural values and beliefs that underpin societies.

It is within this context that it must be, in the first place, considered as an income generating economic activity capable of providing employment, contributing to economic growth and development, and improving living conditions of city residents. This will help move away from the traditional considerations as if this activity was only for destitute people on the margins of the society, operating with small capital investment, and is of small size. Kinshasa's case shows that more than a few who operate in informal economy are wealthy.

The question of overtrade as underlined by Rogerson (1997) should be looked at differently. For given the population growth projection in Africa, there is a clear indication that the overtrading issue is there to stay. The bottom line is to find

mechanisms that can sustain and enhance the productivity of this sector in general and informal trading in particular. The Italian case has proved that between 1963 and 1975 there had been an increase of 430 percent of artisanal businesses. The outcome is that today with this increase of operators, the quality that these products have is such that they are in demand all over the world. Despite the increase in the number in these industries, the qualitative factor has expanded its niches throughout the world. This is also possible with the overtrading issue in sub-Saharan African cities. The qualitative factor will take care of the demand part of this issue throughout the different potential customers within neighbourhoods, that is, we need to create an environment that is suitable enough and sustainable to attract all classes of society as potential customers or consumers. Even though we can have overtrading which impacts on the profit share of these businessmen and businesswomen, the quality of environment that we create for these businesses will determine the viability of these activities.

2.4 A NEW PERSPECTIVE OF INFORMAL TRADING IN SUB-SAHARAN CITIES

One needs to understand that informal trading in sub-Saharan African cities has some values to be taken into account when thinking of enhancing its operations, that is, its functionality within the urban economy. Informal traders are not criminals and do not harass people.

Informal trading in sub-Saharan African cities has a cultural value that one needs to attach to it. It is not only about business, but also about socialising. It is about drinking together, eating together, making jokes, sharing ideas, projecting the future, spending the time, creating contacts with passers-by and various customers, thinking about living, etc.

In sub-Saharan African cities, there are destination shops and also impulse buyers. Street traders also participate in time and distance management when purchasing goods that one needs urgently. In this case informal trading is responding satisfactorily to the time and distance management of professionals and others that want to increase their level of productivity of goods and services. Imagine a case where a professional is rushing to his

work located far away and needs to buy cigarettes, and at the same time does not have enough time to stand in a queue of a shop to buy cigarettes. He or she would prefer to turn to an informal trader standing outside the shop or on a street to get quickly the cigarettes and rush away. In this case, the informal trader has participated in the time and distance management of this person to increase his or her productivity of the goods and services.

Moreover, informal trading in sub-Saharan African cities is part of life and needs to be looked at from an African cultural perspective. People using a Eurocentric cultural perspective complain about filth but most Africans (Blacks and others) do not see any inconvenience walking through where traders expose their products. Even African professional planners and civil servants who are trained in Eurocentric universities are also guilty of this attitude. If informal trading helps more people than it hurts, this means that one has to look at it differently from a cultural perspective and consequently has to instruct people in a healthier way.

Just as formal sector economy benefits some people and hurts others when one considers, for instance, the pollution issue generated by formally established firms, informal trading also benefits some and hurts others. If it benefits more than it hurts, this means that in the overall evaluation, it contributes to the well being of people.

Informal trading should be viewed as an economic activity that generates income and improves the living conditions of many urban residents in sub-Saharan African cities. It has an order of layers, starting from sales of cars, machines, TV, radios, stoves, etc. from one individual to another to the street selling of appliances, footwear, belts, clothes, cosmetics, sweets, biscuits, cigarettes, vegetables, and fruits, etc. This operates from homes, markets, and streets.

As long as informal trading can be managed properly to reduce its negative feature of filth and provide it with necessary infrastructure, technology and resources that can enhance its productivity, sub-Saharan African city officials need to start analysing it in

terms of function and form, and to see how people facilitate trading. For informal trading has close and strong relationships with formal trading: manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers.

More should be done to create a healthier society, materially, psychologically and environmentally where all people belong to and benefit equally in a mutually supportive way to allow the lives of millions to survive and continue to be part of the every day production of urban fabric.

In an interview I conducted in July 2003 in the Yeoville market, I discovered some revelations on informal trading. The Democratic Republic of Congo's national who is a trader in this market, whose husband died in April 2000 and who is left with three children to support alone, indicated that her capital of investment is now more than three times compared with her starting capital in December 1999. So from December 1999 to the end of July 2003, the investment capital had increased more than three times.

This woman specialises in foreign African foods stuffs and cosmetic products that are imported from West African countries such as Nigeria and Ivory Cost, Central African countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of Congo and Cameroon, East African countries such as Kenya (where Zambians go to purchase palm oil and bring them to sell here in South Africa) and Southern African countries such as Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Very often these suppliers give traders stocks in credit and come to collect money after one week or more. In this market, different communities specialise in different items. West African traders specialise in footwear, belts, clothes, watches, etc. while Central Africans specialise in foreign African foods stuffs and cosmetic products. South African nationals are mostly involved in local foods stuffs such as vegetables and fruits which they do not like foreigners to sell. There are, however, still a few West Africans who sell vegetables and fruits.

The woman trader indicated to me that about 95% of their customers on foreign foods stuffs and cosmetic products are foreigners. As to the local foodstuffs that South African nationals are specialised, the customer's proportion is shared between 50% South Africans and 50% foreigners. When asking about how they started to specialise in foreign foods stuffs, she said that it was through demands from the African transnational community living in South Africa. As this community started requesting their native foods stuffs, they also started telling their suppliers who are natives from those countries to start introducing these products.

She also indicated that they have about three to four different saving associations that have contributed much to their increase in capital. They have every day savings that range from R20 to R120 and even R200 that they give to one of the members of a saving association on a daily basis. This recipient is free to use this money in whatever way he or she wants. He or she can add stock, use it for household needs and save some either in foreign currency or in a bank account. But it is mostly foreigners who prefer to save their money in foreign currencies. They also have weekly and monthly saving associations. The weekly is a bout R300 in a group of 10 people. Every week, each member receives R3000 that he or she can use as he or she wants. An individual can belong to all these different saving associations depending on his or her capacity to sell on a daily basis. What is even more interesting is that these saving associations have no boundaries. They include both South African nationals and the African transnational community selling in that Yeoville market. So they are not discriminatory.

When I wanted to know about the management of these saving associations, she said that they have only one person who is also a trader in the market and who is a Ugandan national, acting as the manager of these saving associations. He has got registers which classify these different existing saving associations with a list of members in each of them including the amounts that have to be contributed. Every day from 5 p.m., he goes to each member who belongs to a particular category of the saving association to collect his or her contribution. In the end, he goes to the recipient of the day of each category to hand over what is due to him or her. This recipient may, voluntarily, give to this manager

either R20 or more for the work done and risks that he takes to keep this money. Sometimes when some people have not completed their contributions, he is obliged to keep this money until the time everybody has completed the contribution before bringing this money to the recipient.

Regarding the administrative fees, she told me that their monthly contribution per stall ranges from R75 to R600. Even though there are people who have arrears, the majority of traders are in order. She also said that most people who have arrears are South African nationals. The transnational African community does not have problems with administrative fees. This difference in monthly administrative charges is due to the kind of space one occupies as well as the square metres. Many other people interviewed in this market have validated this description.

This Yeoville market case shows to us that informal trading is an economic, social and cultural activity. It is economic because of economic transactions occurring between suppliers, sellers and consumers. The different transactions occurring there as modes of exchange show the character of production of goods and services.

It is a social activity when one considers the internal and external networking and structure of the activities. The way these informal traders collaborate between them and organise themselves in saving associations reveal to us a social character. These interactive movements that occur between them indicate the internal dynamic of informal trading economic activities. When one considers the trust that these businessmen and businesswomen place in each other, and chiefly the trust placed on the manager of existing saving associations indicate also the social dynamic character of this activity that contributes to the productivity of informal trading. Trust is part of the stock of social capital. The networking with their suppliers also indicate their social character.

Harrison (2002) states that a historical tradition of trust and social relationships is a predictor of stocks of social capital and of institutional performance. She quotes Putman's statement that "stocks of social capital, such as trust, norms and networks, tend

to be self-reinforcing and cumulative. Virtuous circles result in social equilibria with high levels of cooperation, trust, reciprocity, civic engagement and collective well-being" (Harrison, 2002: 67).

The cultural aspect of informal trading can be viewed in the context of associating it with links that exist between customers or consumers and different stuffs, specially foods stuffs that are sold in this market, whether they are cooked or not. The way people are attached to their native foods and their recipes indicate that informal trading is associated with the cultural dynamic of people. As such, it is important to say that informal trading is a cultural activity where people find their identity. Moreover, the fact that each trader pays his or her administrative charges indicates also that this activity contributes to the productivity of the urban economy, development and improvement of living conditions of city residents.

The recipient of every saving association uses his or her money not only for the purchase of the stock to increase his or her productivity, but also for household needs, and saves some money, either in a bank account or by exchanging it into a foreign currency, given the fluctuations of Rand. This indicates also that informal traders have future projections. The fact that the investment capital of this trader has been increased more than three times demonstrates the potential that exists in this business.

The foreign African foods stuffs that are introduced by the transnational African community, whose foods come mostly by air indicates also that informal trading is contributing to the airlines economic productivity by paying freight charges, customs charges and local transport charges starting from the country of origin to the one of destination. It is only by understanding these values and dynamics that informal trading can be perceived as a productive economic activity capable of responding positively to the competitive requirements of this fast changing world. This businesswoman whose husband passed away in April 2000, is capable to bring up her children properly and school all of them through informal trading. Casey (2001) also reveals the same realities of informal trading here in Johannesburg.

In Casey's dissertation entitled "Sitting on the African Renaissance" concerning an in-depth research on the informal sector in Johannesburg revealed significant findings about the way informal traders operate. His concern was to know how much capital was being generated by informal traders and how they expanded. The following is his statement: "When I inquired with one of the informal traders at Bruma Lake as to how she was able to expand, she stated that she and others had formed a saving association. She explains that at the end of every day 10 traders would put 50 Rand into the pool. Then after ten days one of them would receive 5000 Rand, which the recipients could use any way they wanted. Later I found this simple but effective saving method, called Stokvels, was being practised in one form or another throughout South Africa, particularly in the informal sector or micro-enterprises" (Casey, 2001: 11). He also indicates that in a survey conducted by Market Research Africa (MRA), some 29% of Africans were members of some sort of Stokvel.

He carried on quoting South Africa Survey (1996/1997) that, no one really knows how much money is generated by Stokvels, but Markinor, which is a South African owned market research group conducted a study in October 1989. It estimated that there are 24,000 Stokvels in the metropolitan areas. These have developed significant purchasing power with contributions totalling about 52 million Rand per month.

"However, according to Mabel Batyi, Marketing Services Manager of Putton Tupper Associates, it is estimated that Stokvels nationwide generate more than 200 million Rand per month. A 1991 study by the Markinor Group, revealed that membership in Stokvels grew from 680,000 in 1989 to 980,000 by the end of 1991 – a growth of 45%" (Casey, 2001).

This South African above-mentioned description shows clearly that the informal sector is a real "social safety net, generates employment and develops also its own finance capital" (Casey, 2001) that policy-makers need to understand, admire and find ways to support this fast growing sector in sub-Saharan African cities economies with a view to

enhancing its productivity in the urban economy. This needs to be understood within a cultural dynamics.

A. ROLE OF CULTURE, CIVILISATION AND ETHICAL VALUES IN INFORMAL TRADING NEW PERSPECTIVE

Casey (2001) states that a country's strategic advantage lies in its culture. In other words, each nation has a collective ability to express itself in a unique way that other countries will try to emulate but cannot duplicate. Sub-Saharan African cities are flooded with African cultures that should seek the underlying scheme for development strategies. Before developing and implementing a development strategy, it is important that cultural integrity be first identified to accompany development strategies. Culture is the basis of any development. When people start to discover themselves, development starts to lay foundations.

Mbeki (1998) indicates in his statement in the United Nations University in Tokyo, Japan, that it was the cultural revolution of Japan that has brought modernisation in Japan and is therefore a matter of relevance to the 'African Renaissance'. He said, " but in our voyage of discovery, we have come to Japan and discovered that a mere 130 years ago, the Meji Restoration occurred, which enabled your forebears to project into their past and their future. " And as we seek to draw lessons and inspiration from what you have done for yourselves, and integrate the Meji Restoration into these universal things that make us dare to speak of an African Renaissance, we too see an African continent that is not wandering between worlds, one dead the other unable to be born. "But whence and whither this confidence? I would dare say that confidence, in part, derives from a rediscovery of ourselves, from the fact that, perforce, as one would who is critical of oneself, we have to undertake a voyage of discovery into our own antecedents, our own past as Africans" (Mbeki, 1998: 8).

There is evidence that cultural values influence development strategies. The story related by Casey (2001) in his thesis is a great revelation to researchers. It is about a housing project in the Eastern Cape city of East London (South Africa), which also covered a

village, an African Township of Duncan Village. The government wanted to replace the shacks by constructing new housing, a project that people were excited and enthusiastic about since it was to be provided with indoor plumbing and electricity. About 200 people were gathered so that the model could be shown to them. When the residents saw the model, they rejected the housing plan. He says that the residents explained to them that the new housing was not on a large enough plot of land to enable them to add on to allow their parents to come live with them in their senior years. “The British coordinator of the project attempted to explain that the housing was just for their immediate family. “But how about our parents?”, they asked. “We can build senior citizens homes for them so that they won’t be a bother to you”, the British coordinator politely suggested. The residents at the meeting were horrified at the thought of leaving their old people alone. “They keep our preschool babies, what is to become of them?”, they asked. “Well”, said the coordinator. “The children can be placed in child care centres and you then pay the centre for their care. But they will gain early education”. After vociferous attacks from the residents in languages none of us understood, the people stood up and walked out. They could not simply accept a development plan that appeared to break up their family and violate some of their most cherished traditions. And perhaps they have a point. After all, are they really better off with a system which undermines a collective responsibility for each other?” (Casey, 2001: 16).

The above paragraph makes us reconsider our positions on the directions we may want to turn into when it comes to policies that deal with development strategies. Any development plan has to be grounded on cultural values of a society that will be the beneficiary of the plan for its success. In informal trading, there are cultures of collective sharing norms and networking that have been established to resist any form of models of urban planning and management of informal trading in sub-Saharan Africa if they happen to ignore cultural implications linked to it. This is often seen with street traders in Johannesburg innercity. All the time, officials chase informal traders away from streets or other places, but they always come back in other forms. They can be removed for few hours or days, but they always manage to come back on streets to trade. The same resistance and persistence attitudes were used in Kinshasa during the eighties early

nineties when there were attempts to remove informal traders in the central business district streets.

Based on these attitudes, the international experience has also shown that the Chinese people are prodigious traders and the family is the basis of unity and collective force in their cultural dynamics. Kobus van der Wath (2004:63) indicates that "the very act or process of doing business in China can be acutely uncomfortable, frustrating, peculiar, unpredictable, and sometimes too much to bear. "The reason is simple: culture. "The Chinese world view, habits, values, practices, and tactics are different. This will impact on every part of the business process".

The Sunday Times newspaper of October 3, 2004 contains an article entitled "ZUMA'S CHINESE LECTURE TO BUSINESS: South Africans need to adapt to ritualised culture". In this article, it is indicated that South Africans would need to adapt to a more ritualised business culture. It further argues that "there is a special way of dealing with the Chinese: sometimes you find yourself having signed on paper and the details come afterwards. "Ian Barnard, chairman of the South African China Business Association and head of Multichoice in China, summed up the challenge: the Chinese would rather do business with us ……simply because we are not a threat – but if you're not on the ball when a law or a policy or a market changes, with friendships established, then you're gone; forget it". This supports my views that each society has particular cultural values that impact on the way of doing business.

The same case applies also to the Japanese. They are culturally intelligent and hard workers. The technological innovations of Japan are the products of intelligence and hard work, which are grounded on the rediscovery of the Japanese Cultural Revolution more than a century ago. The Meiji Restoration of 1868, a revolution that terminated the 300-year of Tokugawa feudal period laid a basis in Japanese rediscovery (Masai, 1994). A foreign doctor who had worked in Japan describes the following: in the work place, that when a stranger is intelligent, Japanese people will promote him or her to be their head. While in this position, Japanese people will focus on studying the degree of that person's

intelligence and conceive of something new that will surpass that person's intelligence so that he or she can be replaced by a Japanese. So competition in intellectual exercises is highly valued in Japan. This exercise continues to operate from one person to another, bringing them innovations in the workplace.

Culture is something that societies build, based on their life experiences. It is a way of living of a society. Different societies have their ways of living, conceiving and building their cultures. And Africans have to build and to reconstruct their cultural values by trying to integrate inputs from other societies that are viewed as positive and workable in their context and that can impact positively to their productivity.

We should believe that Africans as a whole have something to learn about Chinese, Japanese and other Western cultural values that have implications on the operations of their economic productivity.

Therefore the issue of reconstructing cultural values for African participants in the performance of informal trading becomes crucial. As with the Chinese, the family, clan and tribes and ethnicity provide a good foundation of cohesion in their society. Often, just as their Chinese counterparts, in case of a problem, members belonging to the same family or clan, tribe or ethnic group contribute to lend a hand to one of their members, whether for other social reasons or for starting a business. This forms part of a social organisational framework and shows a sense of a collective responsibility which has a cultural value.

It is important that business people in informal trading sub-Saharan Africa cultivate values of hard work, business organisational framework and projections. These ingredients can add a new dimension to the cultural values needed to enhance productivity of informal trading economic activities.

To understand informal trading in sub-Saharan Africa means also to appreciate the way traders organise themselves economically. Informal trading represents here how sub-

Saharan Africans lay the foundations of doing business. This particularity can serve as the beginning of a process of developing informal economic activities in this part of the continent.

Debates on informal economy have focused analysis on concepts, definitions and characteristics. Less or probably none has embarked analysis on cultural aspects of it. It is important that this dimension be included in understanding and interpreting this economic activity within its African context where invisible aspects play a significant role in systems of economic organisations. Just as other scientists such as anthropologists and economic historians have revealed to us the particularity of African systems of economic organisations and social networks, it is also important to start thinking of the role that cultural values play in the production of informal trading economic activities.

This needs to be understood within a conceptual framework that includes elements of collective shared norms such as collective responsibility where collective solidarity plays an important role when it comes to common interests, collective interdependence where family, clan and ethnic ties dictate the options that favour their interests, and humanness, that is, 'I exist because you do too', meaning, therefore, that we belong together to sustain each other, be it in support mechanisms that favour mutual growth or in policies that impact on our activities. It is only by extending our analysis of informal trading to cultural values and belief dimensions that we can be able to move away from generalisations to specifics of localities in understanding economic organisation systems, and therefore provide remedy frameworks that will deal purposefully with plights of our societies.

A cultural value is a product of the environment and a need of a society at a particular time. It is important to remember that something that had worked more than 500 hundred years ago may not be relevant today. However, there are ethical values and philosophies that were important during ancient times that may constitute a good foundation for developing something relevant to our contemporary society.

The major obstacle impeding the development of sub-Saharan African cities is partly due to finding core values that are an intrinsic part of their culture in order to develop those values within the framework of a modern context. Some Western social scientists tend to think of African cultures as something of the past and not of contemporary Africa when it comes to studying it (Casey, 2001).

Africa is portrayed as a continent of conflicts, civil war, insecurity, suffering, poverty, antiquity values, etc., a continent that has no foundations of human values. As a result, it is to be assisted with different kinds of aid. Social scientists may have a point in having that perception, but this becomes misleading when images become foundations of opinions that are used to justify a perception.

Casey (2001) indicates that "Kenya is represented as being the Masai tribe, not the University of Nairobi, or South Africa as animals and Zulu dancers, but not the high tech nuclear reactors or modern ports. Culture, however, is not stagnant, it is dynamic. There are elements of old Africa, even ancient Africa that could have a profoundly positive impact in contemporary Africa" (Casey, 2001: 17). The recent book written by De Boeck and Plissart (2003) on the city of Kinshasa as "Kinshasa: Tales of the invisible city", the Kinshasa City Exhibition at the Art Gallery of Johannesburg that opened on Sunday 11th June 2006, and the lecture on this exhibition on Wednesday 14th June 2006 by the co-author of the book Philip DE Boeck, make interpretations on the city residents that perpetuate the same philosophy. These urban residents are portrayed through the "NGULU" concept as argued by DE Boeck, meaning the desire to go abroad, as being their stereotype because they consider Europe as a paradise, have lost value in themselves, therefore consider themselves as dead persons as they make themselves become refugees under the concept of "BWAKA NZOTO", meaning 'to throw one's body', even though the fundamental reason of people going abroad is natural and based on the search for opportunities and a better life, being then a worldwide phenomenon. Many misinterpretations had been made during the presentation of that book in the seminar, reflecting that misrepresentation and therefore perpetuating that philosophy. To cite a few, the statement of the Congolese musician "WERRASON", calling himself as

the “King of the Forest” and interpreted in the book and during the presentation of the book on 14 June 2006 at Wits University in Johannesburg as considering all city residents of Kinshasa as animals that need to be eaten, therefore perpetuating the notion of lack of values in these urban residents, even though the real reference and meaning attached to this statement is that he is referring to his colleague-musicians that he is their King since in their musical competition he sees himself to be at the top of them all. What was more surprising is the fact that Philip De Boeck, a Belgian anthropologist and co-author of the book considers the views of an interview made with one of street kids of Kinshasa as representing the views of city residents composed of various professionals. He has ignored all the positive attributes of Kinshasa residents that make them unique, such as social cohesion, hospitality, collective responsibility and solidarity, humanness, joyfulness, etc. It is only when we start understanding these things that we can be able to learn from other people’s experiences and values, and combine them to create a healthier environment that is mutually beneficial in our development strategies.

Before making the choice of any alternative models of development of sub-Saharan African cities, planners need to look at the past, first of Africa and of the world in order to draw insightful light on ethical philosophies that need to be incorporated in the core values of African development and to serve as an inspiration to sub-Saharan African cities policies-makers. Considering such an approach means that people have to incorporate “relevant elements from societies that knew the importance of moral values to underpin socio-economic development” (Casey, 2001).

A few years back in Johannesburg, as Casey (2001) indicates, President Thabo Mbeki made a call to a few people at the Karos Indaba Hotel in Johannesburg to respond to the African Renaissance conference. In that occasion, Dialo Diop presented a paper entitled “Africa: Mankind’s Past and Future”. In his presentation, he talked about the Ancient Egypt as the foundation to break the conceptual prison of the African mind. He stated that “Now, after political liberation, the priority is to decolonise the minds, in so far as any renaissance process first starts with a degree of cultural awakening. In this regard, the precursors and perpetuators of Pan-Africanism, particularly the seminal works of (Chekh

Anta) Diop, have already paved the way. In the opinion of Dialo Diop, the return to Egypt in all domains is the necessary condition to reconcile African civilisation with history, in order to build a corpus of modern human sciences, in order to renovate African culture. Egypt will play within a re-thought and renewed African culture the same role as Greek and Latin antiquities within the Western culture" (Makgoba, 1999: 9).

Dr Myles Monroe, in his gospel teaching under the theme 'We are the Keys of the Kingdom' in 2003 on SABC 2, indicated that the credit must be given to Greek philosophers who were the first to establish the conceptual frameworks of relations existing between society and individuals, and chiefly with the concept of government that they called 'ecclesia', even though it was actually Romans that came to implement those philosophies. He said the Greeks were the first to conceive the philosophy of democracy and senate in the world. The word 'ecclesia' is the Greek word for senate. When the Romans invaded the world they were smart, took the philosophy of governance of Greeks and implemented it. So the Romans were the first nation of the world to establish a system of governance based on senate and democracy, on how to rule the masses. In China, it was "Confucianism that provided an ethical philosophy for relations between individuals, society and government" (Casey, 2001: 19).

Within the context of informal trading, cultural ethics can enable sub-Saharan African cities policy-makers to see "the positive attributes of informal trading that could be facilitated". Strangely, as in other African countries, South African banks and economists had been complaining that South African blacks do not save money. The research, however, has demonstrated that a significant number of these traders save their money through informal savings associations. This shows clearly that "African cultural ethics should be considered in understanding the development of capitalist enterprises" (Casey 2001).

One view of a framework of enhancement of informal trading in Kinshasa needs not only to locate it within a geographical perspective, but rather also to see it within its links with historically social, cultural and political contexts.

2.5 CONCLUSION

Informal economy is there to stay in sub-Saharan Africa. Its emergence cannot be denied and therefore needs to be looked at differently. Its characteristics and potential deserve new perspectives in order to draw insightful elements that will serve as guidelines in understanding this sector and finding ways to facilitate it to contribute to economic growth and development, and as well as to living conditions of residents.

The literature review in this chapter has served to indicate the conceptual debates on the sector while international comparative perspectives have ascertained its universality and heterogeneity characters. The discussion of the African informal economy has paved the way to understand its role within an African economic context and to introduce new perspectives that need to be understood and analysed within a purely sub-Saharan African context.

Given this comprehensive discussion on informal economy and informal trading in particular, the following chapter will concentrate only on informal trading in Kinshasa, including its spatial and management dimensions.

Chapter 3 INFORMAL TRADING IN KINSHASA: SPATIAL DESCRIPTION AND URBAN MANAGEMENT

Kinshasa is an African city which once enjoyed an economic stability during the late sixties and early seventies. It is a city that has undergone a political dictatorship regime for almost 37 years. It is one of sub-Saharan African cities with a high rate of population growth, and finally, it is a city which is experiencing a high level of decay due to government mismanagement, political conflict and civil war.

Being ranked as the second largest city of sub-Saharan Africa after Lagos (Piermay, 1997), the understanding of dynamics regarding Kinshasa's informal trading economic activities will give the reader a broad view of what should be done in light of appropriate planning and urban management strategies.

Residents of Kinshasa need to find ways based on their own experiences that shape the organisational framework of their economic activities. Each continent has got its own political culture that influences the daily activities of its people. It is recognised today that Western urban planning and management strategies are conceived in terms of their own realities and political culture that has undergone changes over time and space.

Based on such realities, Africans also need to adapt to changes occurring in their urban space and incorporate practices that fit into their culture and systems of operations of their economic activities.

The mushrooming of informal trading in Kinshasa has to be perceived within that framework of understanding in order to find solutions based on the realities of the local political culture and experiences that lay foundations of what can be called "emerging growing cities".

That is why this study has to include a historical perspective in order to allow the reader to grasp the diachronic aspect of the politico-socio-economy of the city. From this point,

further investigations and description on informal trading, spatial organisation, and management will follow.

3.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY

3.1.1 HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION

The city of Kinshasa was created by Leopold II in 1881 as the starting point to link the inland of the Belgian Congo with the Matadi port. This occurred when the railway was completed from Matadi to the city in 1898. At this period, it had not yet acquired the rank of a capital city. After this period it was promoted to the rank of the administrative centre of the territory (Piermay, 1997).

In 1919, the city was ranked as the Middle Congo's (Moyen Congo) district capital. It then became an urban district in 1923 and was promoted to the rank of the capital city of Belgian Congo in the same year even though the decision took effect only in October 1929 (Ministère des Travaux Publics, Aménagement du Terriroire, Urbanisme et Habitat, 1999). According to this Ministry, this decision resulted in the construction of an administrative neighbourhood called at that time "Kalima" but which is changed today to "Gombe". In 1923, the city port was built to enable the development of the remarkable upstream river network. The restrictive character of the colonial authorities meant that the African migrant workers could only stay there as temporary residents and had to return to their villages when employment ended. In 1967, the city's name "Leopoldville" changed into "Kinshasa", and became the headquarters of politico-administrative institutions of Conception and Command. The city has a particular status which is equal to a province, having 4 districts, 24 communes (municipalities) and 318 neighbourhoods.

Cheema (1993) indicates that in 1900, Kinshasa's population was 5,000; 1930: 40,000; 1950: 209,000; 1960: 402,000; 1970: 1,820,000. In 1984, the census indicated that Kinshasa's population was 2,664,309 people. According to Piermay (1997), Kinshasa's population was estimated to 2,632,000 inhabitants during the scientific census of 1984. Today, the population is estimated to be more than 7 million.

The city has a border with Brazzaville, the capital city of the Republic of the Congo, making them the closest capital cities of the world. After independence from the Belgians in 1960, the city started to experience an influx of migrants from small towns and villages of the country, a trend that was strictly prohibited by former colonial authorities. Ever since, this urbanisation issue became dramatic as the population growth increased due to both the high birth rate and migration factors. Especially, the 1958-1959 crisis for independence struggle and the civil war (1960-1965) resulted in a massive influx in population to Kinshasa as people considered the city to be a safer place than the rural areas where bandits were raging and no laws were being enforced.

The dictatorship regime that was introduced in 1965 when late President Mobutu took power was carried out by his successors. During the late Mobutu's regime, the administrative machinery was paralysed and consequently the supervisory body of the state machinery started decaying, leaving room for all kinds of mismanagement practices.

Despite the strong economy of the country in the late 60s and early 70s, the "zaireanization" (meaning that local people have to take over foreign-owned enterprises in DRC (former Zaire), the increase in oil prices and debts contracted during the crisis precipitated the decline of the economy (Piermay, 1997; Rakodi, 1997). This economic decline coupled with the decay of supervisory bodies demanded new ways of survival for the population.

In 1958, the formal sector offered one job for 3.3 inhabitants. However, the ratio turned into 6.3 in 1967 and 6.1 in 1978. In 1971, Kinshasa accounted 20% of employment and having 17.4 percent of GDP (Piermay, 1997). This collapse of both economic and administrative bodies that resulted in Zaire (DRC) during Mobutu's regime made regulatory authorities invisible. He continued arguing that people had to strive to make ends meet and consequently the formula "article 15" appeared and spearheaded by Mobutu himself, meaning that the advantage goes to the most resourceful, most daring, and best organised. This paralysed the city's functional apparatus which led to chaos.

The civil war of 1996 and 1997 which took Kabila's regime to power has contributed to further deterioration of the economic fibre. The new authorities did not learn from their previous counterparts. On the contrary, they worsened the situation in trying to exclude other political leaders from the management of common interests.

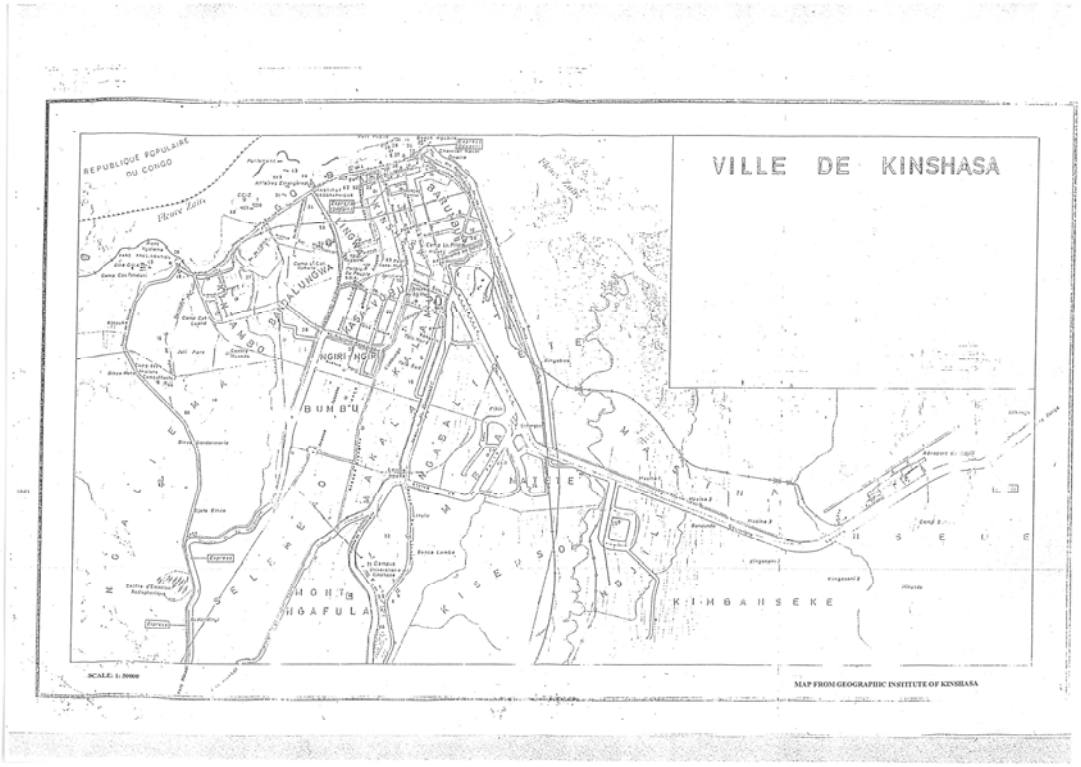
With lack of management expertise and experience, these new bosses had embarked on policies that furthered the decline of economic activities and as a consequence created another civil war and ethnic conflicts. The consequences of these are that people have left their home towns and villages due to insecurity and lack of basic services and have come to seek refuge in Kinshasa, destroying the fabric infrastructure of the city because of its incapacity to absorb and cope with the influx of people on the one hand, and on the other hand to accommodate them into the urban economy of the city. As a result, the majority have found niches in informal trading, in such a way that the city has become overpopulated and almost every public space has turned into an informal market.

Today, with the government of national unity and reconciliation headed by Joseph Kabila and supported by four Vice-Presidents within the presidential political space with each Vice-President coordinating and supervising a particular commission that ranges from political, development and reconstruction, social and cultural, to economic and financial, there is a dire need to rethink the informal trading dynamics and potential within the city, and to enhance its productivity through appropriate and practical urban planning and management strategies.

3.1.2 GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

According to the Ministry of Public Works and Development (Travaux Publics et Aménagement du Territoire) (1999), Kinshasa is bordered in the east by Bandundu province, in the west and the north by the Congo River, making it the border with Congo-Brazzaville, and in the south by "Bas-Congo" province. See the following map1.

Map 1: Geographical map of Kinshasa



Source: Geographical Institute of Kinshasa, 2003

It is 9,965 km² and is situated at 49°19' south latitude and 15º18' longitude west. It is characterised by a tropical hot and humid season with a dry season that extends to four months, from the end of May to the beginning of September. It rains yearly for more than 100 days in such a way that there are four main streams that cross the city to the river Congo. These main streams are N'sele, N'djili, Kalamu and Makelele. All the time that there is a big rain, there are cases of flooding in the city.

As indicated before, the Kinshasa's space covers 9,965 km² of which only 590 km² is urbanised, while the rest is peri-urban. Agricultural space occupies 94.07% of the urban space. The business district covers only 150 km² which represents only a population of 100,000 to 200,000 people. The industrial area covers only1,800 km² or 3.05% while the norm is about 80 to 100 km² for a city of 100,000 inhabitants (Ministère des Travaux Publics et Aménagement du Territoire, 1999).

3.1.3 SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT DESCRIPTION

To understand this section, one needs to distinguish between the Ministry of Urbanism and that of Planning in the context of DRC. Urbanism in DRC is the technical instrument of planning since it focuses on the execution of spatial development programmes made by the Ministry of Planning for the development of the country. Its missions comprise the following: defining the strategies for the implementation of national orientations; accomplishing studies that allow to orient policies; accomplishing spatial plans of urbanism; elaborating organisational texts and regulations; and making the follow-up and control of implementation of decisions taken by the government. However, planning focuses more on the design (conception) of these development programmes for investment.

A. COLONIAL PERIOD

According to Ministère des Travaux Publics et Aménagement du Territoire (1999), in 1881, Kinshasa was occupied by a constellation of small villages. From 1890 to 1911, there was the construction of the river port and the railway that ties Kinshasa with Matadi harbour. From 1911 to 1929, the administrative neighbourhood (Gombe) was built. The city was promoted to the rank of the capital city of the Belgian Congo in October 1929, and finally the development of housing and industry was constructed around the port and railway station.

From 1929 to 1945, the planners built the old neighbourhood of Lingwala with an industrial area in Gombe where the textile industry was built in the west. They also built Ndolo airport and the extension of an industrial neighbourhood near the river port of Funa. The reinforcement of the business district, the extension of the city towards the south-east, and the construction of N'djili airport all took place during this period. From 1945 to 1960, there have been constructions of planned neighbourhoods of Bandal, Yolo, Matete, Lemba, the industrial area of Limete, an extra-customary centre of Ndjili and the University of Kinshasa in the south.

One cannot describe Kinshasa's spatial development and leave out the role that planning has played in the development of this city. During the colonial period, urbanism was the norm for planning frameworks in the Belgian Congo.

According to Kapinga (1984), Congolese cities were set up in terms of the colonial structure. The Belgian colonists established their urbanisation policy based on the colonial policy which shaped relations of dependence where they implemented different social functions and a society that was segregated.

Kapinga (1984) quoted Jean Dresch's statement that indicates that "Congolese cities held two humanities that lived more or less cut off from the external world, even the law separated and opposed them" (translation) (Kapinga, 1984: 4). He further quoted Heymans M.C.'s statement that reveals that Congolese centres were marked by the development of European neighbourhoods, indigenous agglomerations receiving only secondary care. Even Verhaegen B. was also quoted saying that the colonial heritage is a great infrastructure without people and without structures, bound to an inexorable chaos.

According to the urban economic department head of the city of Kinshasa, Mr Kabeya, an important aspect of colonial segregation structure in the city was ranked at the three levels. The first rank was the administrative area and the business district which was occupied by Europeans, followed at the periphery of these areas by fellow western African citizens who were brought to Kinshasa for work by colonists, and the last category was for the Congolese citizens who occupied the rest of areas. After independence, the Democratic Republic of Congo inherited this structure which they had to reorganise. During this period, the colonial power severely restricted the migration of people to the city.

On the 1st July 1947, the law on decentralisation was set up to respond to European and African claims to participate in power. But this decentralisation policy ended up with deconcentration. There was no province, no district, no territory that benefited any legal personality. The colonial administration remained centralised and authoritative. But in

1958, the budgetary decentralisation occurred effectively. The following allowances were set up for each province where 27,9% of expenditure was allocated to the colonial authority, headed by a General Governor who represented the colonial power in the Belgian Congo, 14,9% to the Leopoldville province that included also the capital city, 5,2% to the Equator province, 8,5% to the Eastern province, 6,5% to Kivu, 10,3% to Katanga and 6,7% to Kasai (Ministère des Travaux Publics, Aménagement du Territoire, Urbanisme et Habitat, 1996). But all these changed after independence.

B. AFTER INDEPENDENCE

After 1960 when the DRC acquired its independence, the fundamental law set up new political and administrative laws of the country and at the same time retained some legislative and regulatory arrangements of the colonial period, such as the decree of June 20th 1957 on urbanism, and the decree of October 13th, 1957 on the organisation of cities. According to the Ministère des Travaux Publics, Aménagement du Territoire, Urbanisme et Habitat (1996), the decree of 1957 on urbanism is no longer adapted to the realities of urban development today and must be entirely reviewed.

Residential neighbourhoods that were previously occupied by Europeans became gradually occupied by new political elites. The preoccupation of reconstruction of former indigenous neighbourhoods stopped and disappeared from the central government programmes. With independence, most of the measures that were imposed by the colonial administration to restrict freedom of movement and establishment of so-called "indigenous" people disappeared, which resulted in the exodus of young rural people to urban centres in search of better education conditions and employment.

The setting up of new services of urbanism and the appointment of new agents to do this job encountered some problems due to the departure of the colonial administration civil servants and the absence of native personnel initiated to the problems of urbanism. To respond to this matter, provincial governments signed in 1963 a series of studies programmes with "Office des Cités Africaines".

But due to some problems that prevailed in cities, the central government called the international technical assistance to help. It is in this respect that French experts arrived in 1964 to undertake the study and development of the city of Kinshasa.

According to Kapinga (1984), in June 9th 1965, ONL (Office National de Logement) was created to replace the "Office des Cités Africaines" that was set up in 1952. The mission of this new institution was to assure a policy in terms of coordination, planning, execution and control of diverse components of the problem concerning the habitat of population in urban as well as rural areas (Kapinga, 1984).

He continues by indicating that when Mobutu took power in 1965, he included planning as one of his aspects of economic policy. In his speech of December 12th 1965, he stated that the immense increase of population in Kinshasa creates a lot of problems of urbanisation. Therefore he declared the relevance of planning in setting up four (4) decisions:

1. to elaborate an economic and social development plan to allow the boosting of economic activities between 1966 and 1968;
2. to establish planning departments at the national and provincial levels;
3. to set up three national economic development pools;
4. to reduce the number of provinces and to transform them into administrative institutions.

From 1970, late President Mobutu gave urbanism a planning status and a political dimension. On March 31st 1971, he stated in his speech in Paris that "among other objectives, let's cite the development of urbanism, which constitutes an important point of social progress…" (Kapinga, 1984). On November10th 1971, the Minister of Urbanism and Land Affairs stated during the world day on urbanism that "urbanization can only be effective within the framework of a political, economic, social and cultural programme that supports and justifies it. "The old conception of urbanism considered as an operation of aesthetics, a matter of urbanists, has to be abandoned at the expense of an economic and social urbanism…".

During the speech of the Minister of Public Works and Territory Development on June 2nd 1972, he stated that "urbanism must be included in the dynamics of development of our country. "It is not going to be only a regulatory urbanism and with constraints, indispensable plans and regulations will be conceived to arouse and facilitate actions on the ground, to make our cities a harmonious development, a good place of life for Zairean populations …(Kapinga, 1984:`13).

The late president Mobutu's speech of December 5th 1972 constitutes the basis of the development plan of cities in DRC. For a development, urbanism plan is an instrument of planning in time and space. It is a document that contains some arrangements that allow to organise the community life of territories, or a territory or a part of a territory.

He states in his speech that "to govern means to forecast and to forecast means to have a plan, that is, to avoid working by accidents, to avoid working under pressure of events. Every plan is interested in the future, in finding its foundations on the elements of the past. We think that we have to build the present in taking into account the future. We have to bear in mind not only our present status but also of the coming generations.

These words have shown that late President Mobutu had in mind planning considerations that he associated with urbanism. But it was only until 1988 that he established a department of urbanism and habitat that started dealing effectively with urbanism issues in Zairian (Congolese) cities, and Kinshasa in particular.

This capital city is divided into four urban districts of urbanism and habitat which are Funa district, Tsangu district, Mont-Amba district, and Lukunga districts, which cover 24 communes (municipalities), each having a number of communes under its supervision. It has to be noted that there is also a planning department at the city level that deals only with investment plan programmes for the development of the city. It must also be noted that the Ministry of Urbanism is a technical instrument for the Ministry of Planning.

From 1960 to 1985, there has been an extension of spaces between neighbourhoods (urban development in the plains). The city has experienced also peripheral extensions on the valley sites. Moreover, from 1985 to 1999, there have been east extensions of neighbourhoods beyond the N'djili airport, south extensions on the Mont-Amba valleys, and west extensions following the Matadi route towards Kimbondo.

3.2 POLICIES OF INFORMAL TRADING IN KINSHASA

To understand policies of informal trading in Kinshasa requires an explanation of the concept 'informal' as perceived within the city's political and economic spheres. What is 'informal' refers not merely to the evasion of taxes payment but more also to the characteristics of activities performed by city's residents. The lack of infrastructure to monitor the daily activities of operators gives room to classify such activities as informal.

This concept cross-cuts many sectors of activities in the city. Even the administration in the city is still informal given the fact that it still relies on manual recording of activities which results in losing records of those activities that had been registered. The lack of a computerised system to conduct activities makes the administration inefficient and ineffective. By relying on such a system of operating, the control system becomes itself weak, inefficient and ineffective. As a result, operators take advantage of the situation to disclose only a portion of facts when it comes to giving reports or making control of what is being done. For the case of those who are involved in economic activities, the records they present for paying taxes become unreliable.

It is then within this framework that we need to understand informal trading in this city, an economic activity devoid of appropriate and productive infrastructure to grow, devoid of an efficient and effective management system. That is why it is essential to grasp first of all how different institutions are involved directly or indirectly in the operations and productions of these informal trading economic activities. This drives us then to discuss how different departments participate in one way or another in the management of informal trading in Kinshasa.

Firstly, the Ministry of Economy and Trade has now set up a new Department of Informal Economy since June 28, 2003. This department should be considered as the basis of institutional framework for informal trading. But one must know that this new institution is not yet represented currently at the city level, nor at the city's local level. It has not yet put in place a policy on this matter, but rather is still thinking on how to tackle this new area. But there are main directions in which the department has been guiding its thoughts. These directions will be pinned in this section. And other departments within the city that have been selected for interviews during the data collection phase, having direct or indirect links with informal trading will also be covered in order to grasp their policies concerning the management of informal trading.

3.2.1 GOVERNMENT'S DEPARTMENTS' POLICIES

DRC has three mains spheres of the government that are national, provincial and local governments. The city of Kinshasa has a special status of a province given its population size. It is governed administratively by a city council headed currently by a governor and his two deputies, four districts, twenty-four municipalities and 318 neighbourhoods.

But the management of informal trading involves several departments from different spheres of the government, whether directly or indirectly. It is then within this framework that different departments' involvement within this sector will be discussed below even though the responsibility of the daily management of almost all of the informal markets is given to municipalities.

A. DEPARTMENT OF INFORMAL ECONOMY AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

According to the head of this department, Mr Kalonda, the main policy of the department is to seek those who are in the informal economy in order to introduce them into the formal economy. There are three categories in informal economy within this framework. The first category represents all those who are in a commercial activity, including informal trading.

These people have to be identified and grouped in terms of the nature of activity and then need to seek people to represent them at the state level, i.e., form organisations that will be dealing with their issues. The state will have then to find markets for them internally so that they can also start paying taxes. There are many commercial activities that do not pay taxes, however; they constitute a big portion of taxes being lost. A tangible example of this can, for example, be tyres repairmen, battery chargers, egg producers and sellers, etc.

The second category represents all people involved in import activities that are unknown at the ministry. These people are defrauders. In this category, you will find a lot of West Africans, Lebanese and Indians. The last category deals with people who escape taxes in creating conditions of stabilisation by employing day labourers. The department has to gather categories of common activity to help understand their production capacity and find local markets for them.

The reason to this is that the state is running the risk of seeing those who are in the formal economy to join the informal in order to avoid harassment. According to this head of department, people who are involved in informal markets pay taxes and contribute to the development of the country.

B. URBAN DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING

It is known that informal trading activities impacts on planning. The urban department of planning is actually the planning department at the city level which has a provincial status. According to the head of this department in Kinshasa, Mr Komba, informal economy is an area which is not properly understood at this department. They do not have any policy on informal economy, including informal trading. But in 1996, there was a project concerning informal economy, but unfortunately was not financed and was, in fact, abandoned.

According to him, there are only two urban markets in Kinshasa that are at the charge of the city council. All the remaining markets are at the municipalities's administrations

responsibilities for management. The two urban markets are the Central Market located in the central business district area and the market of freedom located in the Masina municipality area.

The function of this urban department of planning is to get involved in development planning programmes at the whole city level, including informal economy programmes. This department prepares the policy of development of the city. Its mission is to prepare, in collaboration with all provincial services and institutions, instruments that help comprehend the economic and social life of the city of Kinshasa; to coordinate programmes that are prepared by urban services and make them a provincial programme, notably those concerning investment projects, to execute, check and evaluate them; to study and appreciate personnel, financial and material means that must accompany its mission; to drive works of different socio-economic commissions; and finally to establish reports periodically on the way development projects and programmes are moving.

As this department is not represented in municipalities, its head is thinking now how to set it up in the local levels throughout Kinshasa. The department was created in 1988 and his head is an economist and a planner from UDEP of Dakar. This department of planning has an investment budget that is used to elaborate programmes related to the development of the city. Every plan of the governor of the city has to be elaborated and executed by the urban planning department.

According to this head, informal trading is due to the lack of government capacity to orientate this sector. The tendency of the government now is to frame informal trading through permits to allow them to operate. People organise themselves and the government comes only to grant them permits in order to operate.

This department collaborates with urbanism, environment and land affairs departments in terms of social aspects but not technical ones. It deals with social problems while urbanism deals with the distribution of land in terms of activities that take place there. At the time of construction, the planning department has to intervene to deal with social

aspects, to see whether it is socially acceptable to build, taking into account problems of erosion, for example. The role of the Ministry of Planning is to design programmes of development. The urban planning department role is to follow and execute those programmes at the provincial level.

C. URBAN DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMY

This department is decentralised throughout the city. Municipalities represent decentralised administrative entities. According to the head of this department, Mr Kabeya, there are several layers of markets in Kinshasa, ranging from urban, informal, street markets and vendings.

Informal trading started since 1970s after the "Zairianization" (meaning that local citizens have to take over firms that belonged to expatriates). People who lost their properties during "Zairianization" started to evade the law as they knew the structures. They started importing goods within illegal frameworks that they had created. This became even more intense after the democratisation of 1990, looting of 1991 and 1993 and looting of AFDL (rebellion that took Kabila's regime into power).

People who lost their properties started, as said before, importing goods and using unemployed women to sell for them. This informalisation reached even the aviation and navigation sectors. Today, 90% of the economy is informal. Presently, there are no structures set up to have any influence on informal trading. People involved in informal trading depend technically on the economic urban department but managerially and administratively they depend on municipalities. They only give directives to prevent informal traders from being disturbed. They are based more on the conception level and create pools of economic activities throughout the city. For example, the department was asked to make estimates of needs of the population of Kinshasa on foodstuffs, a population estimated to more or less 7 million.

Such data are only found on drafts and not in any book which discusses the economic aspect of the city, as the foodstuffs are mainly those that are sold throughout all informal

markets in Kinshasa. These estimates constitute the major component of items sold by informal traders in Kinshasa. These estimated items comprise manioc flower, maize flower, white rice, beans, peanuts, plantain bananas, sweet potatoes, potatoes, palm oil, vegetables, flower, sugar, bananas (fruit), meat, fish, fruits, eggs, soya, tomatoes, onions, squash, etc. The forecasts were done in terms of tons needed for a population of more than seven million.

There are regulations that are there but not in use. The documents cannot even be found. The legislation does not allow the department to control all economic affairs of the city. It is the ministry of economy that deals with all these economic issues.

The city was not studied to help a harmonious functioning of the economic activities. These economic activities have been monopolised by Western Africans, a situation inherited during the colonial period where the colonial power established them at the periphery of the central business district, an area that is widely occupied by them. No study has been conducted into planning economic activities in the city.

There is no funding of the projects related to data collecting. The head of this department has to do everything himself by his own means. Every appointed governor appoints an administrator who is responsible for running informal trading in Kinshasa. This administrator is part of a team of the governor's cabinet. Normally, this appointment is illegal and unknown. All municipalities, commonly called communes, provide the economic urban department of the city with the price-rise of goods for informal traders and not management. The relationship between this economic urban department and urbanism is on the granting of sites and cultural activities and hotels.

D. URBAN DEPARTMENT OF URBANISM

Urbanism as a technical instrument of the planning department has played a huge role in the spatial development of the city. Among its functions, the ones that relate to spatial organisation impacting on informal trading are the follow-up on the execution of

urbanistic plans, protection and control of sites, and the examination and taxation of files dealing with authorisation to build, etc.

It has to be noted that this department has a particular structure. There are four urban departments of urbanism that are in charge of 24 municipalities. But each of them fulfils, among many others, the following missions: to control urbanistic norms in order to assure a harmonious rational and aesthetic development of urban agglomerations; to prepare documents and data for the elaboration of development projects of urban areas; to prepare particular plans of development and site; to control and assure the protection of sites, servitude, green spaces and others.

The reason to understand the role of urbanism at the city level is to understand its spatial planning role and see how it impacts on informal trading at the local level, since it is also represented there. This applies also to the environmental urban department.

E. URBAN DEPARTMENTS OF ENVIRONMENT AND HYGIENE

The main role of urban department of environment is to protect the environmental health, to see who is qualified to obtain the permit to operate, and to prevent people from falling sick. The second role is to see the degree of sanitation, and the wastes that informal traders produce so that the services of the environment can proceed to their collection. It is on this basis that the department of environment grants permits to informal traders before they start to operate. For a market is a place where sanitation concerns should be considered.

This department has a policy of working together with municipalities. But there is a problem of equipment, and a pollution tax that targets all industrial and commercial activities. Unfortunately, there are no norms on the degree of pollution from diverse activities.

The tax on pollution started since the creation of the department of environment in the DRC. Informal traders pay only the tax on sanitation, which is under the management of

the municipalities. The urban department receives only the tax on pollution. There are noise, soil, air and liquid pollutions. But there are no norms set up to categorise these pollutions in terms of the tax that the polluters have to pay. The amount paid for pollution is arbitrary.

The localisation of economic activities needs the collaboration of urban departments of environment, urbanism, land affairs, hygiene, etc. Informal traders who are involved in foodstuffs selling have to deal with the hygiene service. As the environment department deals with public health, the hygiene deals with human health, chiefly those foods that can be contaminated by various viruses that can affect human bodies. This hygiene service has to see what is happening in foodstuffs.

Informal traders involved in foodstuffs need to obtain a certificate of good health that is compulsory to all and is sold every four months. A similar periodical sanitary inspection is also done to those involved in foodstuffs activities at the formal sector. Those who sell foodstuffs in shops have to undertake this periodical sanitary inspection to make sure that those foods cannot contaminate people.

The environment urban department is working on a new policy to deploy surveillance squads in municipalities in order to follow the quantity of waste daily produced by informal traders in the markets for the purpose of daily management of sanitation. They are also thinking about training people to do the job.

3.2.2 PUBLIC OFFICIALS' PARTICIPATION IN THE SURVEY

Public officials that I contacted are from different departments, ranging from national, city (provincial) and local levels. The emphasis evolves around specific behavioural characteristics of these officials. The attitudes of these public officials in the survey vary.

From a national level, different ministries have been targeted: Ministry of Planning (commonly called 'Minitère du Plan'), Ministry of Urbanism and Habitat which is the

technical instrument of the Ministry of Planning in charge of spatial organisation or planning, Ministry of Environment, and lastly the Ministry of Economy. Each of these ministries has portrayed different attitudes.

In the Ministry of Planning, the Secretary General (Director General) has requested me to write a letter in which I have to indicate that I am applying for conducting the interviews and questions. This was for administrative purposes. I also had to provide a letter from the university allowing me to do research on the subject. But the Ministry of Urbanism and Habitat has been very helpful, given the interest of the research. It has provided me with necessary materials concerning urbanism and its role on the spatial planning. Officials have been very helpful in providing me with information.

In the Ministry of Environment, on my first day I was refused access to research by the coordinator. But on the second day when I made an appointment to meet the Secretary General (Director General), the latter directed me to some of his directors for interviews.

In the Ministry of Economy, I went to directly meet the director of informal economy, which is a new department created since 28 July 2003 to deal with informal economic activities in the country. I have also had an open interview with him, although he did not have much to say since the department had just been created. This director showed a lot of interest in the research and encouraged me to keep in touch with him. In general, he is also expecting new insights from this research.

The city officials of the above-mentioned ministries had an encouraging attitude even though all information came from their heads, meaning that there was no written information. What is encouraging is their availability and willingness to participate in the interviews and keep permanent contacts. They have shown interest to continue providing any help, even from afar. They have given me their contact numbers with keen interest to continue research. Some have even requested copies of this final work, even though some were reluctant at the beginning. But sometimes I had to go back four times or more for an appointment in order to be received.

At the municipalities, public officials were also helpful to respond to all questions and interviews, even though some asked for money before they got involved. As in the case when there is an administrative decay, these officials struggled to respond to questions because of lack of policies in place. In general, they were helpful. Their attitude was positive and they were ready for any reform to happen that renders services to the state. However, they lack leadership and resources to get into the process of reform. The following table gives indications of responsibilities of different spheres of the government on informal trading matters.

Table 3.1: Types of activities of public officials in informal trading

ACTIVITIES	**NATIONAL LEVEL**	**CITY LEVEL**	**LOCAL LEVEL**
Policy	In preparation in informal economy depart.	No	No
Site allocation	No	Yes	No
Site protection	No	Yes	No
Environment protection	No	Yes	No
Events and facts recording	No	No	Yes
Cash flow recording	No	No	Yes
Permits allocation	No	Yes	No
Taxes, fees or other charges collection	No	Yes	Yes
Directives	No	Yes	No
Maintenance of informal markets	No	Yes	Yes

3.2.3 MANAGEMENT OF INFORMAL TRADING IN MUNICIPALITIES

In Kinshasa there are 24 municipalities called “communes”, which one can identify on the map with boundaries between municipalities. They are also composed of 318 neighbourhoods. All of these municipalities have the same organisation. Each municipality has twenty-one (21) units: secretariat, accounting, marital status, population, culture and arts, economic affairs services, agriculture and development, personnel, environment service, social affairs service, hygiene, community development, urbanism, sport and leisure, budget and control, order to pay, youth, dispute service, habitat, tourism, public works and territory development. Many of these units form part of the revenue base of municipalities in this city.

The most concerned with the management of informal trading at the municipality level are urbanism, environment, economic affairs, budget and control. It is on the basis of these elements that informal trading will be discussed separately in each of these departments in order to understand its role in the management process.

A. URBANISM DEPARTMENT

The urbanism department at the municipality is the eye of the urban department of urbanism. It attends to the norms of urbanism at the municipality level in order to avoid anarchical constructions. Its functions range from demarcation of lots, demolitions, construction, verification of additions of space, protection of sites whether public, green spaces or park of attraction.

As to the violation of public space, there is always an Act from the minister to demolish a particular place. This department works in terms of Acts that are published in the law. Currently (2004), there is no policy from the municipality level concerning informal trading. It is this unit that plays the planning role at the municipality level. The minister is still waiting for his policy to be adopted in the parliament during this transitional period.

Holistically, there is a deficit on urbanism. People who are supposed to pay for their construction activities, for example, do not pay the requested taxes. They make personal arrangements with certain agents to undertake the job.

Concerning the encroachment into public spaces by informal traders, the municipality's task is to record the event and report to the urban department in order to decide whether to chase those people selling illegally there, or to demolish the area or to leave them alone.

B. ENVIRONMENT DEPARTMENT

This department is called a technical service of the environment. It has three services which are: the conservation of the nature (coal, wood and cutting down trees); cleaning up of the area (development of works): maintenance of the city, gutter, waste management, maintenance of toilets; and continuous surveillance and control of places such as shops, drinks stores, cold rooms, terraces, hotels, bakeries (industrial, semi-industrial and artisanal).

The surveillance is limited only to the recording of facts at the municipality level. For the conservation of nature, one has to pay for the permit at the urban department level. For the cleaning, the department has to control the different establishments that are there. Informal markets generate a lot of solid waste. And the department is asked to record these facts that end up in the payment of taxes quarterly every year. The department is in charge of the maintenance of informal markets, although the collection of solid waste is done by the " Programme National d'Assainissement" (National Programme of Cleaning up).

C. ECONOMIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

According to Luti-Suaminu (2003), the economic affairs department at the Commune serves as the economic police to seek for and record offences and to protect consumers from businessmen and businesswomen in order to avoid prices rises. It is headed by an inspector. It has a secretariat, controllers and investigators.

The head of this service has the following tasks:

1. to police trade at the municipality level (seek and record offences);
2. to supervise works within his or her service in order to attend to the good functioning of the national economy and protection of consumers;
3. to receive particular complains; and
4. to draw up, sign and transmit files that need to be addressed legally to its urban department.

His deputy is responsible for daily administrative works, to write his report to the head, to receive different correspondences and register them before submitting them to the head. Controllers and investigators are on the ground to control and record offences according to the economic law put into effect in the DRC. The department investigates the supply of goods from the country of origin to their entry into the DRC up to the selling price. This has to be done in terms of the price structure.

The price structure is composed of elements that make up a price. It is an administrative document of a trader to justify the selling prices of products in the shop. It comprises the purchase price to wholesalers, handling, transport, and provision for depreciation which is set up arbitrarily at 2 % by the legislation in effect and the profit margin.

The price structure of an imported product encompasses the following: FOB (purchase price), assurance, CIF price (assurance and assurance costs), customs (OFIDA), control Congolese Office (OCC). When out of customs there is the forwarding agent, transport, handling, packaging, the profit margin to the wholesaler. The wholesalers are not allowed to resell imported products at a higher price than the one set by the law, which varies from 20 to 25%.

The price structure is limited to wholesalers only, whereas retailers' price structures are limited to transport, handling and profit. The control on prices done by this service is a

posteriori and not a priori. The liberalisation of the economy in 1983 came with the price structure of a posteriori. Before this date, it was a priori.

There are annual taxes for informal markets called licenses or trading dues and also daily charges that vary from 70 FC (Congolese francs) representing $0,14 to 100 FC which is equivalent to $0,24 (this rate is between August and November 2003). Officials working in the neighbourhoods collect daily charges from street traders for their functioning. Informal markets are administered by municipalities while street vendings or street trading by neighbourhoods officials. Street trading or vending is a category of informal trading that sells goods at streets, either in groups or individually. It is often scattered along the streets, has no specific or permanent locations, and is not identified by the municipality.

D. BUDGET AND CONTROL DEPARTMENT

This department is actually the key one within the Commune because it is the finance department of the municipality. It is this department that receives payments from different taxes, charges and fees at the municipality level. It is the heart of the Commune. It is also a department where the heart of the local authority is found. The functioning of the Commune depends on how this department is managed and functions transparently.

It is divided into two sub-units which are: ‘finance’ and ‘budget’. The finance subunit is composed of the delegated official entitled to make payment, a bookkeeper who is a cashier, an assistant bookkeeper, an assistant tax-controller in the informal markets, two tax-collectors in informal markets. However, the budget subunit comprises the authorised agent who is the controller of the expenditure (taxes revenues and different expenses at the municipality), and three auditors. In this unit, there are two kinds of bookkeepings, one focused on expenses executed and the other one on the authorised expenses.

The authorised agent who controls the expenditure is the key person concerned in revenue. He or she is the chief of tax revenue and expenditure. He or she makes the budget of revenue and expenditure, executes and makes the follow-up after each quarter,

and furthermore, makes the assessment statistically, and makes the report that is handed to his or her superior for decision to be made. He or she is the controller. When the local authority wants to make any expenses, he or she has to apply to the authorised agent. It is up to him or her to decide. If the authorised person is absent, the local authority, who is the main person entitled to make a direct expenditure can ask the bookkeeper to make a direct expenditure that the latter will have to justify to the authorised person within 48 hours, otherwise it is considered as an embezzlement. It is the bookkeeper who must bring justifications because of his/her cashier status.

Coming to the authorised expenditure, after receiving all payments of revenues, the authorised person makes orders of expenditure at the end of the day on what he or she was asked by the local authority after examination and approval. It is up to the authorised person to decide on the expenditure in respect of the estimates of expenses. After this, he or she will go to the local deputy authority in charge of credit to see what has been decided. But unfortunately this system is not respected. It is only when the budget urban department requests the statistics that people start experiencing problems. Often the bookkeeper who is the cashier deals directly with the local authority. The government does not see payments of revenues due to frauds.

Kinshasa's Communes rely mostly on taxes of informal markets in order to survive and function. They are their main income base. Among taxes of municipalities of Kinshasa, one can note the following: tax on environment, civic status charges such as marriage, divorce, death, birth, etc.; population (identity cards, residence, certificate, family composition, succession services, family conflict), habitat services, lots conflicts, urban services, hygiene service, culture and arts activities, business permits, business licenses taxes, certificate of physical fitness, etc.

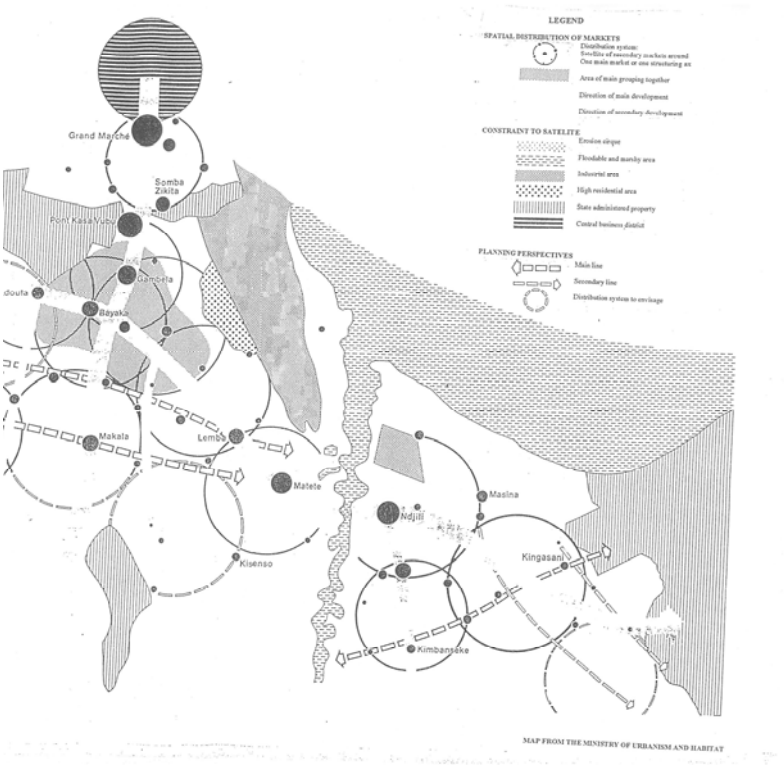
In one of Kinshasa's Communes' budget official that agreed to meet and be open to me but preferred to keep her anonymity, statistics of revenues from January 2003 to the end of June 2003, showed that the municipality registered a total revenue of 17,620,945 FC (Congolese francs) or ($ 42,978) of which informal markets represented 10,530,995 FC

or ($25,685). But one must note that this amount of 10,530,995 FC represented only 34% of what was due while the 17,620,945 FC represented only 15.68% for these six months. This means that if the municipality manages to improve its good governance practices on urban management of its income base, this Commune's (municipality) informal markets will have to be providing every six months a total amount of 30,973,514 FC (or $75,545) while the whole Commune's revenue will have amounted to 112,378,475.8 FC (or $275,094). Remember that all these are informal and that this Commune represents the medium potential of Kinshasa's informal markets' economic activities. If one has to take these figures at the standard of 24 Communes of Kinshasa, this means that one will have to multiply these figures by 24 Communes in order to get the real figure of what informal markets can contribute to the development of Kinshasa, and the country in general and what these informal different taxes, charges and fees can make for the city, and the country as a whole. To calculate, informal markets can make every six months: $75,545 x 24 = $ 1,510,900 while the whole revenue will amount to $ 274,094 x 24 = $6,578,256, all for a period of six months. To evaluate them in the period of a year is only to multiply by two, which is for informal markets $1,510,900 x 2 = $3,021,800, and all Communes revenues per year will come to $6,578,256 x 2 = $13,156,512. All these are for the city of Kinshasa at the municipalities' level only, without considering what the whole urban economy generates, which is extremely greater than what we have in municipalities.

3.3 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMAL TRADING IN KINSHASA

Although informal trading in Kinshasa has experienced an unprecedented expansion today, the late President Mobutu's government had a spatial planning framework for development of markets in the early 1970s, which were considered as important centres for economic activities by the majority of city residents. The following map2 will give us some indication of this spatial framework in order to understand the role that was placed on satellite informal markets as early as 1970s.

Map 2: Conceptual framework of spatial distribution of informal markets in Kinshasa in 1972



Source: Ministry of Urbanism and Habitat of DRC

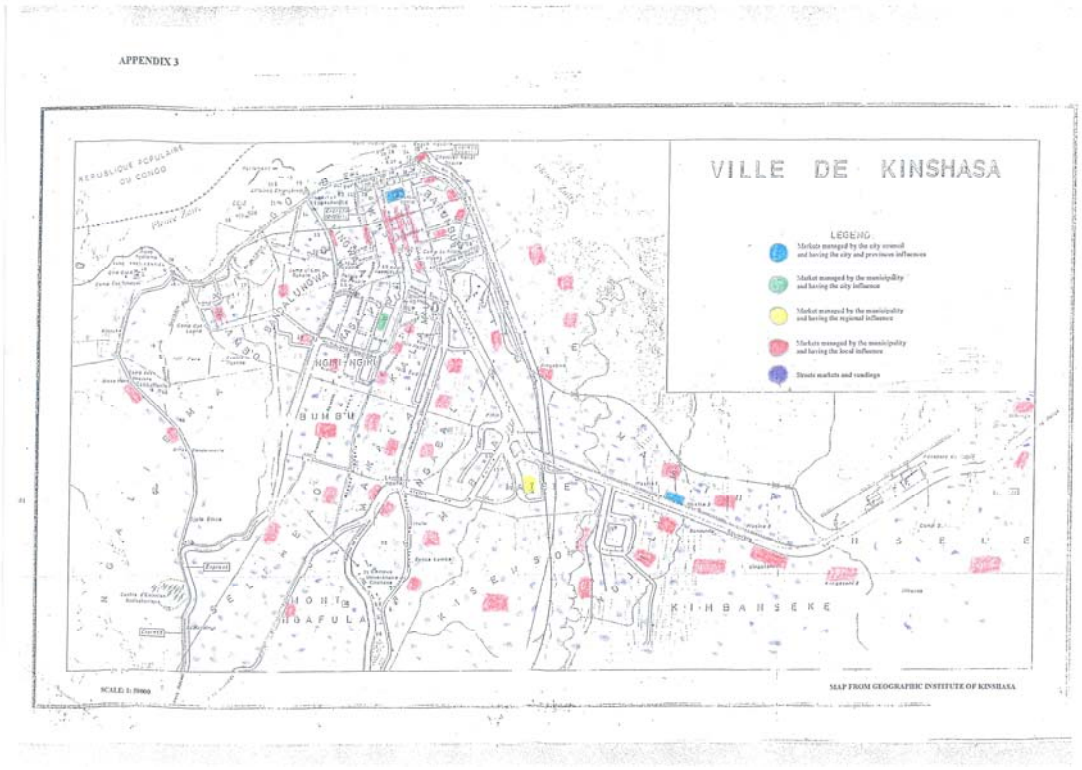
However, the economic crisis of the DRC that started since Mobutu's regime has aggravated unemployment and consequently driven people to informal trading for survival. In each of the 24 municipalities (Communes), one can count one, two, three or more informal markets. These exclude hundreds of other streets markets and vendings hanging around, and that one can see in each neighbourhood of Kinshasa. These markets are classified as informal due to the characteristics attached to the environment. The kinds of infrastructures that one finds in these informal markets are inadequate, inappropriate and in some cases inexistent. The areas in which informal traders operate are often hazardous physically, socially, environmentally and even psychologically.

One has to note that there are 318 neighbourhoods in Kinshasa that are divided within 24 municipalities. Neighbourhoods are the lowest administrative structures of the city within a decentralised administration management system.

These informal trading markets represent an important infrastructure for the distribution of products, particularly the supply of foodstuffs coming from the countryside. These markets are places where people are concentrated in trading, but with no adequate sanitary infrastructure in some, and with none at all in others. According to a study conducted by the Centre for Nutritional Planning in 1994, it was found that 70% of fish and 46% of meat had 'vibriocholerane' (kind of microbe) in the informal markets in Kinshasa (Ministère des Travaux Publics, Aménagement du Territoire, Urbanisme et Habitat, 2002).

3.4 CLASSIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION OF INFORMAL TRADING IN KINSHASA

Map3: Current spatial distribution of five (5) categories of informal markets in Kinshasa.



Source: Author's own categorisation of informal markets in Kinshasa

3.4.1 CATEGORIES OF INFORMAL TRADING IN KINSHASA

In Kinshasa, one can currently put five main categories of informal trading grouped into informal markets. The first group represents the urban markets. That group is marked in blue on the map. These urban markets are managed by the city council and not by municipalities. These markets are the Central Market (Marché Central) found in the CBD (central business district) and the Freedom Market found in the Masina municipality. This Freedom market is the latest market built and started operating in June 2003. The management teams of these two markets are appointed by the governor. The influence of these markets goes beyond the city level. They have national influences, given the varieties of items, their size, the number of people trading, the infrastructure and administrative facilities set up there.

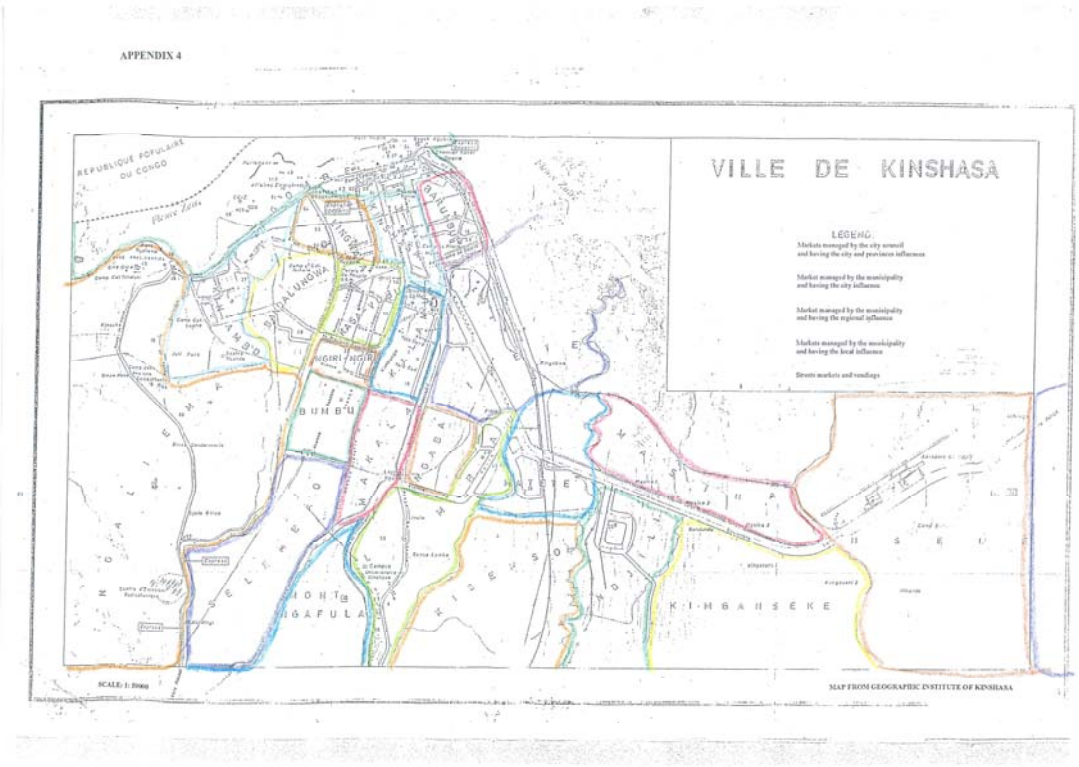
The second category comprises one market called 'Marché Gambela', located in the Kasa-vubu municipality. This is marked in green on the map. Although it is not considered as urban it has a city influence with basic inadequate infrastructure. It comprises also a variety of items, has a considerable number of people and its size is bigger than those of other markets apart from the two above-mentioned ones. It is under the management of the Commune. The third category is the market which has not only the influence of the municipality, but also its surrounding neighbourhoods (Communes). This is the Matete market and is under the management of the Commune. It is marked in yellow on the map.

The fourth category represents all those markets found in municipalities, often with no sanitary infrastructure. One will find two or more of such markets in each municipality. It is these markets that contribute more to the budget of the municipality and to the development of the city. They are marked in red on the map and one can identify them all over the city.

The fifth category encompasses all the street vendors that are subject to the neighbourhoods' management. It is not the municipality that manages these street

vendors, but rather neighbourhoods' officials for their functioning. These officials serve as administrative officials in areas that they occupy. These markets are marked in purple on the map and one can identify them throughout the city.

Map 4: Demarcation of Kinshasa's of twenty-four (24) municipalities called 'Communes'



Source: Geographical Institute of Kinshasa

3.4.2. DESCRIPTION OF INFORMAL MARKETS IN KINSHASA

In January 2002, the Ministry of Public Works described three markets of Kinshasa. In that description, the infrastructure of those markets was discussed, which will be discussed below. The common features are that these informal markets portray a state of decay with no capacity to deal with the expansion of economic activities in their areas.

The demographic factor occasioned not only by the natural birth and rural-urban and small towns-urban migrations but also by those fleeing the civil war from remote areas to

find refuge in Kinshasa, has driven these people to informal trading and has contributed to the deterioration of the infrastructure due to overpopulation and overuse of it. The lack of appropriate management skills have led to unsustainable attempts to deal responsibly with the deterioration. The following is the description of the three informal markets as discussed by the Ministry of Public Works in the study conducted in 2002.

A. FREEDOM MARKET AND CENTRAL MARKET

The recently built market called Freedom market, has been built under modern infrastructure with administrative facilities and infrastructure that allow better management of trading within that location.

The Central market, commonly called 'Grand Marché' was renovated in August 1987, of which 10 pavilions were built without cover, 4 pavilions with straw huts, 1 pavilion for latrines, 10 pavilions with open spaces. It has 20,000 stalls and is administered by a specific market administration which is under the management of the governor.

The latrines capacity was to deal with 3,000 people per day. This number includes traders, customers and visitors. According to the report of January 2002, presented by the Ministry of Public Works and Infrastructure, the following sanitary equipment has been registered:

- 1 central latrine pavilion subdivided into 10 doors for men, 13 doors for women, 1 urine place for men;
- 2 toilets in pavilion, 2 for the market administration;
- 2 doors for urine in pavilion, 1 where private people are selling drinks.

The toilets that were upgraded in 1987 are now blocked. The human waste is full and needs to be channelled towards underground places in order to allow these toilets to be functional. But unfortunately, there is no public structure from the market administration, neither from the City Council, nor from Ministry of Public Works that had the upgrading plan done in 1987 to allow intervention projects in case the toilets are blocked.

These human wastes are located in small rooms within the area and the market administration has to empty them every month to allow the toilets to be operational and avoid overflowing of human waste in the area. The toilets doors do not close, the pavement has completely deteriorated, urine and water facilities are not operational and the electrical connection does not function anymore due to the absence of materials.

B. GAMBELA MARKET

This is one of the oldest markets in Kinshasa with an upgrading infrastructure. It has a building dating from the colonial period. It contains 6,000 informal traders in stalls and the market is built with concrete materials. It is administered by the municipality authority. The infrastructure has completely deteriorated.

The facilities in this market comprise 4 toilets, 2 showers and 1 urine place for men and 4 toilets and 2 showers for women. The water reticulation network was destroyed by street children who squat every night in the women's local service. The water installation is no longer functional.

The latrines capacity cannot deal with the present demand. The toilets that were upgraded 10 years ago are now found in a state where, it was noticed, the works were not properly executed. As a result, the toilets have to be emptied every quarter. This installation needs to be rehabilitated, including its sanitary equipment. Water facilities do not function. The solid wastes are dumped next to the latrines building and people around the market dump their waste in the open spaces of the market. This situation aggravates the market's sanitary defects.

C. MATETE MARKET

This municipal market plays the role of a central market in the south-east of the city. It is located in a planned township near the Justice palace, the football stadium, etc. Given its growth, the market has reached the surroundings of the palace, threatening to occupy even the stadium.

During the building of this market, there were no latrines built, and traders did not know where to go in order to relieve themselves. As a result, these traders organised themselves to build 5 latrines for women and 4 for men. But unfortunately this construction was badly planned and executed and was sold in 1987 by the Commune to a businessman who manages it until today in an unsanitary state.

The agents of Sport at the municipality tried also to build 4 latrines at the stadium in which they make people pay user fees. Hygienic services of the municipality also followed the same example in building 4 latrines that they make pay through user fees. All these latrines are in a very bad state. The market is found now in a state that the sanitary situation continues to worsen due to rain water collecting and surrounding the market, which makes it dysfunctional.

D. OTHER MARKETS

The remaining categories of the markets display common features: they have unsafe stalls, have no toilets, water and power facilities. They have no administration facilities within the market which deals with the management of the market, apart from the finance agents from the municipalities that go on daily basis to collect the daily fees from these informal traders.

In this category there are informal traders within informal markets and also informal street traders. The former have built stalls by the Communes and have a permanent status, while the latter bring their own small tables to display their items or put them on the ground. They are also mobile and scattered throughout almost all areas of the 24 Communes of the city due to the economic crisis to occupy formal jobs. As already stated above, in every Commune there are two or more informal markets and several street trading places that are found on the corners of streets or along main streets and strategic areas.

3.5 CONCLUSION

To understand the informal economy in Kinshasa means also to grasp its historically political, spatial and institutional dimensions, for each city or country develops through its own political and economic experiences and history. The dramatic decay of institutional machinery and physical environment of the Kinshasa is mainly due to the absence of planning in the city, which deals with the unprecedented issues that surround our society.

The emerging of informal trading that has mushroomed in this city is a defensive response to the economic challenges that these urban residents are faced with. The other way of looking at it requires our attention to be drawn to its potential as an income generating economic activity that responds to the needs of many households. The fact that the government keeps a close eye on it to expand its revenue base legitimises the potential of this sector to contribute to economic growth and development, and to the living standards of these urban residents. Therefore much is needed to support this sub-sector of informal economy in order to play a really productive role in this city by creating an institutional machinery that is more efficient and effective in its daily management, and building an environment that is conducive to sustainable operations of informal trading economic activities.

It is then on this basis that the following chapter will discuss the data needed to give us ideas on the way we need this activity to be managed in the city.

Chapter 4 SURVEY DATA PRESENTATION OF INFORMAL TRADING IN KINSHASA

This chapter will cover the data collected during the case study survey in the city of Kinshasa, data based on questions and interviews. Some of data from documentation and open interviews are already covered in the previous chapter. These results represent a general status of informal trading in Kinshasa. These results are also extended to other groups that were associated in the research of this subject as they are directly and indirectly involved in the activities of informal trading in this city.

The first group represents public officials. They were investigated since they are those who make policies or strategies that structure activities of communities. 25 (twenty-five) public officials were selected from national, city (provincial) and local levels. Their views represent the status of public sector involvement in informal trading in this city.

The second entity represents the major one group in this study and its proportional distribution of size is as follows: 100 informal traders were selected from different informal markets in Kinshasa representing different items that are sold in those markets, mainly hardware, spare parts, clothing, foodstuffs and cosmetics.

The third group that will be covered is hawkers. Their representation size is 20. And their results represent the views of the majority of hawkers in this city. Wholesalers have also been included in order to understand the network and link what binds them with informal trading in Kinshasa. Only 20 of them were selected and their views represent the general perspective of wholesalers in this city.

Customers represent another group in this study. Their participation was crucial to this research since they represent the consuming power in informal trading. It was quite important that their views be taken into account. Only 25 were chosen and their views represent the general perspective of the majority of informal traders' consumption.

The last group, but not the least, that was selected, was the police. They were associated as an entity to help understand their role in the activities of informal trading in this city.

All these data from different groups were collected by means of interview-questionnaire as instruments in the qualitative and quantitative techniques of this research method (see appendix A,B,C,D,E, and F). The study was undertaken at least in each category of informal markets in the city, using either of the sources to obtain data during the data collection phase. The emphasis in types of data differs from one group to another. Therefore data from each group will be presented respectively in tables as follows:

4.1 PUBLIC OFFICIALS

Informal trading plays an important role in the economic life of the city of Kinshasa. The particular attention that is placed on it when it comes to taxes' payment shows that public officials consider this particular sector of economy to be important. The creation of a department of informal economy, the active participation of various urban departments and the maintenance of daily contact with informal traders' operators mean that this sector is productive for the development of the city.

The various types of activities in which public officials are involved in as seen in table 3.1 give more credit to the potential of this economic activity. This should be considered as the foundation of what has to be conceived as concerning its management. These elements such as site allocation, permits allocation, directives, maintenance, taxes' payments, etc. indicate a starting point from the public sector to structure the productivity of informal trading.

4.2 INFORMAL TRADERS

Informal traders in Kinshasa believe that their current situation can change only if the government designs policies that can add value to their activity and contribute to the uplifting of their social lives. As most of them are working on a full-time basis, they feel

it is important that government assist them in providing infrastructure and support mechanisms to allow them to grow their business.

The attitude of most of informal traders is that they view their business as a profession and would like to see it grow. Even those who consider the activity as survival still want to continue doing it.

Despite their commitment to continue conducting informal trading economic activities, their relationship with government officials is very bad. They accuse these officials of making them pay a lot in administrative documents, various taxes and fees, which all contribute to an insecure working environment to do business and also slow down the pace of their activities. They accuse public officials of not providing a good environment to do business, but who try to discourage their efforts to improve. They feel that it is with a lot of sacrifice that they do this business.

Officials who are considered as impeding their growth are local administrative civil servants, officials from the departments of finance, economy, environment, hygiene and also those of small and medium enterprises. Some officials demand administrative fees which are compulsory while other officials come with different kinds of taxes and fees to be paid either daily, quarterly or yearly. Table 4.1 to table 4.18 give indications of data collected from 100 informal traders in Kinshasa, representing the general views of the majority of them in the city.

Table 4.1: Participation of informal traders in the study in terms of age groups

	Below 20	20 to 45	45 to 55	55+
No. of people	10	50	30	10

Table 4.2: Number in each age group of informal traders living with a spouse or a lover

	Below 20	20 to 45	45 to 55	55+
Yes		50%	40%	65%
No	100%	50%	60%	35%

Table 4.3: Number in each age group of informal traders having any dependent children

Below 20	20 to 45	45 to 55	55+
0%	60%	90%	90%

Table 4.4: Level of education of informal traders in Kinshasa

Any primary	Any secondary	Any tertiary
15%	50%	35%

Table 4.5: Family size

None	1 to 3	3 to 6	6+
15%	20%	30%	35%

Table 4.6: Daily income in dollars

From $10 to $ 100	From $100 to $150	From $150+
62%	23%	15%

Table 4.7: Length of time spent in informal trading

Full-time	Part-time
100%	0%

Table 4.8: Opening time of informal trading activities

Morning	Noon	Afternoon
100%	0%	0%

Table 4.9: Days of business

Weekdays + Saturdays	Sundays
100%	15%

Table 4.10: Growth in informal trading business

None	Slow	Fast
35%	60%	15%

Table 4.11: Duration of participants in informal trading activities

1 month to 1 year	1 year to 5 years	5 years+
14%	70%	16%

Table 4.12: Sources of capital for informal trading economic activities

Oneself	Family	Spouse	Credit
15%	78%	7%	0%

Table 4.13: Sources of supply

Wholesalers	Middlemen	Self-production
92%	8%	0%

Table 4.14: Origins of items in informal trading

	Foodstuffs	Clothing	Spare parts	hardware	Cosmetics
Within DRC	90%	2%	0%	0%	30%
Imported	10%	98%	100%	100%	70%

Tables 4.15: Attitudes of informal traders towards their activities

Profession	Survival
70%	30%

Continuity	Discontinuity
85%	15%

Table 4.16: Relationships with public officials

Hostile	Neutral	Helpful
90%	10%	0%

Table 4.17: Relationships with consumers

Friendly	Not friendly
100%	0%

Table 4.18: Public officials dealing with informal trading

Economy	Finance	Environment	Hygiene
100%	100%	70%	40%

4.3 WHOLESALERS

Most of the wholesalers interviewed have their suppliers overseas while the remaining rely on local firms. The feeling of wholesalers in the city is that government officials consider them as sources where they obtain their milk on a daily basis to survive.

They view government officials as their opponents since they oblige them to pay for different administrative documents, various fees, taxes, etc. while they do not provide any back-up policy to assist them. The customs duties increase all the time, which make their business difficult.

Wholesalers were selected in terms of the following items: cosmetics, clothing, foodstuffs and spare parts. Only 20 of them were interviewed and this number was divided as follows: cosmetics 4, clothing 6, foodstuffs 8 and spare parts 2. The tables will indicate to us the different views based on types of items.

The following table indicates only how the researcher divided the interviewees in terms of their items. The number represents also the kinds of items that are more used in informal trading.

Table 4.19: Division of wholesalers interviewed in terms of their types of specialties

	Cosmetics	Clothing	Foodstuffs	Spare parts
No. of people	4	6	8	2

Table 4.20: Sources of supply of goods to wholesalers in terms of selected specialties

	Cosmetics	Clothing	Foodstuffs	Spare parts
Within DRC	25%	16.66%	87.5%	0%
Imported	75%	83.34%	12.5%	100%

Table 4.21: customers that purchase more the 4 types of items selected above

Types of customers	Cosmetics	Clothing	Foodstuffs	Spare parts
Men	40%	45%	30%	0%
Women	60%	55%	70%	100%

Table 4.22: Mode of payment of goods by wholesalers

	Cosmetics	Clothing	Foodstuffs	Spare parts
Cash	100%	100%	100%	100%
Credit	0%	0%	0%	0%

Table 4.23: Relationships of wholesalers with public officials and police

Hostile	Good	Neutral	Helpful
90%	0%	10%	0%

Table 4.24: Public officials dealing with wholesalers

Economy	Finance	Environment	Hygiene
100%	100%	0%	3%

Table 4.25: Place of payments of taxes, fees or other charges

	Taxes	Fees	Other charges
Bank	100%	50%	0%
Government departments	0%	50%	100%

4.4 HAWKERS

These active individuals who seem to be located in strategic nodes of the city where there are busy activities have reported that they do it because of poverty and lack of resources to go to school. They concentrate in busy areas where business is intense and walk long distances in strategic points. Although they believe that they earn enough to make a living, most of them feel tired since they walk long distances to sell their goods..

They are strategic business individuals. They deploy themselves in strategic places during lunch time when people go for break. The central business district and other nodes of the city constitute strategic points for these hawkers to conduct their activities.

While many of these hawkers are originally from Kinshasa, others are the product of war and insecurity in other parts of the country. They fled war and insecurity and came to find refuge in Kinshasa. As the economy cannot afford to accommodate them or their tutors, they have no other choice than to turn to hawking for a living.

Some of them bribe public officials and police as these try to bother them and threaten to arrest them. Others do not care and manage to deal with them illegally. There is an illegal cooperation between hawkers and police and the public officials, who, sometimes take their goods without paying.

Hawkers are selected in terms of age groups and the number of them that were interviewed is 20.

Table 4.26: Representation of **s**elected age groups of hawkers

	From 10 to 20	from 20 to 30	From 30+
Representation	50%	25%	25%

Table 4.27: Relationships of hawkers with public officials and police

Bribery	Nuisance	Do not care at all
5%	40%	55%

Table 4.28: Areas of business for hawkers

CBD and busy areas	Main corridors and strategic points
65%	35%

Table 4.29: Justification for motives to do hawking business

Motivated to make money	For survival	others
75%	20%	5%

Table 4.30: Length of time spent in hawking

All day	Half day
85%	15%

Table 4.31: Hawkers' views representation

Majority's views	Individuals' views
45%	55%

4.5 CUSTOMERS (CONSUMERS) IN INFORMAL TRADING

The majority of Kinshasa residents consider informal markets and street markets as their areas for daily shopping as there are no supermarkets in the city apart from the central business district where one will find a few supermarkets that serve only the minority of residents, chiefly the elite, the Asian and European communities based in the wealthy areas of the city. Informal markets play an important role by responding to their needs, which vary from foods, clothing, hardware, spare parts, toys, etc.

Many customers prefer to do their shopping in informal markets that are located nearby to avoid transportation costs to travel long distances to do shopping. The majority of these consumers also contend that they have specific retailers from whom they do shopping due to social ties based on various motives such as cheap prices, presents, quality, credit, credibility, etc. which form part of the social capital between the sellers and buyers to continue supporting one another.

Customers said that by having specific retailers to buy from, they develop trust, establish good relationships, benefit favours and good prices, and can have also goods on credit in future. For those who purchase rare materials, they have no other choice than going to those specific informal markets specialised in the selling of those kinds of items.

Others have argued that informal trading is not good because of fraud and tax evasions and monopolisation of prices of some imported items. It does not follow the norms and impedes the development of the country. They accept it because they have no other alternative for the time being and view it as a business grounded in illegal practices, which is there because of the economic crisis of the country. But it will have to be transformed into formal business. On this point, they contend that as it supports thousands of households, it has to be registered and managed properly due to taxes fraud, corruption, lack of rules, risks, robberies, etc.

One must note that all the 25 consumers were asked all the questions, and they represent the consumers' views in the city of Kinshasa.

Table 4.32: Areas of shopping for Kinshasa's consumers

Informal markets	Shops or supermarkets
80%	20%

Table 4.33: Shopping time for consumers

From 8h to 12h	From 12h to 18h	No specific time
56%	28%	16%

Table 4.34: Consumers with ties to specific traders

Ties to specific traders	No ties at all
76%	24%

Table 4.35: Reasons for choice of ties with specific traders

	Yes	No
Cheap price	76%	24%
Credit offer	76%	24%
Credibility	76%	24%
Destination places	76%	24%
Quality	76%	24%
No comments	76%	24%

Table 4.36: Satisfaction of consumers with relationships to traders

Satisfied	Not satisfied
84%	16%

Table 4.37: Percentage of consumers' relationships with informal traders

Relationships	No relationships
72%	28%

4.6 **POLICE**

Legally, the police have no specific mandate to get involved in informal trading activities. Their role is to protect people and their belongings. As informal trading is part of economic activities, their role focuses on making sure that this sector is legally operating. The relationship between police and informal traders and consumers resides in the fact of seeing the former protect the two latter groups.

Their relationship with government officials is to assist them in the matter of crimes. If there are informal traders who commit crimes and then officials ask them to intervene, this is one of their mandates to assure security within the city. The police have only to follow the directives of government officials and apply what they tell them to do.

On the other hand, the police also contribute to different disturbances of consumers who come to buy stuffs from the markets. Very often they disturb or arrest them for unnecessary matters such as identification documents when there isn't any, lack of invoices or proof of sources of money, etc. in order to try to get something from them. This attitude penalises informal traders since many potential consumers decide to change their destinations to purchase items.

4.7 CONCLUSION

Data presented in this chapter are a result of interviews-questionnaires instruments designed to record information from different selected groups for the purpose of this study. As different groups have different interests in the activity of informal trading, it was then important for the purpose of this study to select only those groups that are more close to the activity. One cannot design a policy or a strategy on informal trading without taking into account the way this policy or strategy will affect those who participate, whether directly or indirectly, in the production of the activity.

Based on this, the following chapter will discuss the various findings from these data and those discussed in the previous chapter in order to make an analysis that will lay the foundations for recommendations.

Chapter 5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim in this chapter is to present some findings based on investigations made in this case study. The results obtained in this research show how informal trading economic activity is perceived and managed in this giant sub-Saharan African city.

On presentation of these findings, the focus will be based more on interviews from informal traders even though they will be extended to field work tales and other groups selected for study.. The discussion will encompass also some findings from the reading materials that have discussed some spatial and urban planning and management of informal trading in the city of Kinshasa.

It begins with a reiteration of the assumptions which drove me to this study. At the same time, it is to be noted that not all the findings will be discussed; only those that have links with informal trading. After a discussion of findings, a brief analysis will be made followed by some recommendations as how informal trading could be managed in Kinshasa.

5.1 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1.1 REITERATION OF ASSUMPTIONS

To make things very clear, it is useful that this section starts with a reiteration of assumptions. They will give us a basis on which a critique of Kinshasa's organisational framework for management of informal trading will be made.

The first assumption affirms that informal trading is an economic activity that contributes to economic growth and development in Kinshasa; the second assumption contends that informal trading provides an economic opportunity for the educated unemployed residents of Kinshasa; and finally, the third is that informal trading considers cultural values and beliefs.

5.1.2 FINDINGS

A. PLANNING ACTIVITIES

The case study of the city of Kinshasa has revealed that much of planning activities took place during the colonial period. In this epoch, the railway and industrial, commercial, administrative and residential areas were constructed. During this period the business district was reinforced and the planned neighbourhoods were also built. The industrial area was centred along the railway and to the west of Gombe where specifically the textile industry developed.

From 1960 until today, the city has only experienced some extension of urbanised spaces without appropriate urban planning measures and construction. Many of these extensions have been the result of self-help construction policies without government participation. Their only participation has been in the allocation of land and the layout of cadastral requirements.

The pre-independence period has also revealed that the city was planned and segregated between Europeans, other Africans and Congolese nationals. Gombe (municipality), which used to be originally called Kalima and the CBD were occupied by Europeans while the peripheries of the CBD and Gombe were occupied by West Africans. The Congolese nationals were planned then in the third position, spatially speaking. This structure was already predicted for chaos by some writers, such as B. Verhaegen during the 1950s.

Since the colonial time, urbanism has always been the norm in planning frameworks, which focused more on cadastral requirements and distribution of land in terms of the needs and development frameworks. This was inherited by the new elite after independence because they retained legislative and regulatory arrangements, although these are not adequate in the current situation.

Because of the departure of European civil servants that had expertise on urbanism matters, various problems started to occur that ended up with the signing of various programmes with 'Office des Cités Africaines' in 1963 and later in 1965 with 'Office National de Logement (ONL) having the mission to coordinate, plan, execute and control.

When late President Mobutu took power, he gave urbanism a planning status and a political dimension. Although his regime was keen to see urbanism become effective on the ground, it was only until 1988 that the department of urbanism and habitat was set up. When policies put in place are not accompanied by actions on the ground, they become utopia. Despite the late Mobutu's devotion to urbanism policies, there had been little effect in terms of action that was needed to accompany it. Urbanism in Kinshasa has played only the role of allocating residential and industrial areas for development. The aspect of procedural frameworks in planning has not been visible in Kinshasa's development programmes, apart from isolated actions. The planning department in Kinshasa is concerned only in investment development programmes. Moreover, this department is not represented at the local level, making it very inefficient and ineffective on the ground. This is partially due to the lack of trained planners and the inadequate organisational structures of planning departments.

B. INSTITUTIONAL ORGANISATION FOR INFORMAL TRADING

From the case study it is clearly established that there are so many government departments that are involved directly and indirectly in the activities of informal trading. Each government department has a specific impact on informal trading, either through taxes, fees, administrative documents fees, or price control and hygienic conditions. Each department has its own operational structure concerning informal trading.

The environment departments from provincial and local levels of the government deal with informal trading through different taxes and permits that they grant to informal traders before they begin to operate. These departments keep daily contact with informal

traders because of various kinds of waste that they produce every day during their activities.

This in turn impacts on the public health in the city. The hygienic departments also deal particularly with a category of informal traders who are to pay also specific fees and taxes. These encompass only those informal traders that deal with foodstuffs. Those that sell foods in the market have to prove that they are healthy by paying fees to be granted certificates that are valid only quarterly, and have to be renewed on quarterly basis. They also have to pay taxes for foods that they sell.

However, urbanism departments deal with the protection of sites, whether public, private or green. Often informal traders are champions on the colonisation of public, private and green spaces. What happens is that when informal traders invade a place as described above, local officials of urbanism only make reports to the urban departments in order to decide. Meanwhile, they deal with these informal traders illegally in terms of making them pay fees to remain on the sites.

Moreover, economic departments of the government deal with informal traders through prices control. What they actually do is that they check the purchase price and try to compare with the selling price in order to determine the profit margin of informal traders so as to protect the consumers. Their control is a posteriori and not a priori. Those who do not collaborate within these principles end up by paying fines.

On the other hand, there is a budget and control department that is in charge of finance within each municipality and reports to the urban department. In principles, all the payments of taxes, fees, permits, administrative fees, surcharges, etc. have to be centralised within this institutional framework. However, each department tries to run its finance on its records that do not reflect the realities on the ground as there is a lack of a clear and transparent mechanism when it comes to the finance management of public revenues, whether within municipalities or urban departments.

However, the records of the statistics have made great revelations in terms of income that informal trading generates in the city. The figures have shown that the total revenue of informal markets only, excluding street markets and vendings revenues, will make within six months an amount of $1,510,900 while within a year it will amount to $3,021,800. This indicates the capability of informal trading in Kinshasa in terms of contributing to development. But these statistics have also shown that there is a great deal of corruption by public officials since only about 34% of these revenues from informal markets are received into the municipalities' cash books. If one has to consider all the services within the municipalities as indicated in the statistics, only 15% of the total revenue is received, while the rest is split between public officials.

C. SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMAL TRADING IN KINSHASA

From the case study and the old map of the city, it is established that informal trading was well planned long ago when the population was less in order to absorb those that were keen to get involved in this business But unfortunately its current expansion and spatial distribution in the city show some degree of spatial disorganisation and mismanagement. All the 24 municipalities have informal markets, street markets and street vendings. The number of informal markets varies from one to two to even four, while street markets and street vendings are in their hundreds all over the city, a number that is very difficult to count for the whole city.

The municipality is concerned only with informal markets that are managed by them, while street markets and vendings are in the charge of neighbourhoods spheres for their functionings. This shows that the three layers of informal trading in Kinshasa are recognised by the government since it has grouped them into separate institutional structures that are responsible for their daily management and functions.

The first layer encompasses those markets that are managed by the city council. The second comprises those markets managed by municipalities. The third represents street markets and vendings that are managed by neighbourhoods' structures.

As it is illustrated in the old map, there are different levels of markets, whether big or small. But unfortunately this old map does not reflect the current situation which is many times more than what is recorded in this old map. As the city council does not have up-to-date maps of the city that comprise the current situation, the only means I had was to describe the current reality as done in the case study and attach to this description a map (see map3) with indications of the current situation on the ground.

D. FINDINGS FROM DIFFERENT INTERVIEWS CONCERNING ASSUMPTIONS

The findings from different interviews held from different categories of interviewees based on the three assumptions of this research are that people recognise the potential of informal trading as an economic activity since all informal traders pay various layers of taxes. By paying these various taxes, we assume that their contribution to the state's revenue contributes to economic growth and development, and also we understand that public officials depend on informal trading to function administratively.

The estimated 25% contribution of informal trading at the municipalities' level in Kinshasa indicates clearly that this economic activity has potential, is productive and generates income that contributes to the improvement of living conditions of those who produce it. By doing so, it is automatically making an important contribution to the economic well being of many residents of Kinshasa. This is sustained by consumers interviewed, who ascertained that 80% of people do their shopping in informal markets that are destination areas that respond to the needs of people in terms of supplies of stocks needed by city residents.

Although these consumers acknowledge the contribution of informal trading to economic growth and development, they regret the fact that the money generated by this sector ends up in the private pockets of officials.

It is also true that informal trading provides economic opportunity for the educated unemployed residents of Kinshasa as findings show that about 35% of informal traders

interviewed have completed their tertiary education while 50% have their high school education levels. It is established that as there is no formal jobs creation, people have found their niches in informal trading as their profession. About 70% of informal traders interviewed consider their activities as their profession and have acknowledged that their businesses grow slowly and are also keen to make more efforts so that their activities contribute more to their living standards through growth of their businesses.

Concerning the third assumption, we contend that the particularity of relationships between informal traders and consumers is that they have established specific ties due to some cultural values (such as strong ties to their kinship and family support, too much talking while in business that plays a significant psychological impact in the process of sustaining business, saving associations, the concept of 'Ubuntu' (love, respect), and ways of greetings and response, etc.), and beliefs that make them particular in the way of doing business. Both informal traders and customers have built some intimate relationships that have recognised credibility as a value which ties both of them to their business relationships. Some have social reasons that link them while others have specific values put forward that tie them together, such as favours, credit, cheap prices, discount, trust, etc. All these constitute an important stock of social capital that is a meaningful ingredient in the production of income within this economic activity. The engagement of consumers to maintain constant links with their traders, the co-operation between these two groups, the trust that is placed between the two, one providing goods on credit and the other continuing to come on a regular basis to purchase from the same client provide enough evidence of the social capital. These social ties, which appear in an African context as cultural, are also enhanced by ethnic and religious networks as Meagher (1995:272) put it, "In the African context…anthropologists and economic historians who, concentrating in West Africa, have highlighted the importance of indigenous ethnic or religious networks in providing a context of cohesion, shared norms, and an economic infrastructure capable of coordinating trading operations outside the formal economic system". " Much of the work on African patronage networks suggests that these have been central features in the organisation of a substantial proportion of economic activity in African countries, in the formal as well as the informal sector" (Meagher, 1995:274).

Although it is established that informal trading is an important economic activity for the residents of Kinshasa, the findings have also shown the lack of assistance of management organisational strategies on the part of public officials within the context of urban planning and management of informal trading in Kinshasa. This assumption is proved by the testimony of public officials during interviews that informal traders organise themselves, and they, public officials, just come to distribute them permits to pay taxes.

Moreover, informal traders have testified that they experience a great deal of harassment and all kinds of bother from government officials who do not provide any infrastructure or assistance with capital to sustain their activities. On the contrary, they have created a harsh business environment that impedes the expected growth of their businesses. They lack a cooperative and friendly and responsive attitude, that impact on informal traders' efforts to improve and grow.

E. FINDINGS FROM TABLES

TABLES 3.1

Table 3.1 covers different responses concerning the questions and interviews held with public officials. In this table, I found that since the city has been promoted to the rank of capital city of the country, there has no policy concerning informal trading. Although a department of informal economy has just been created in the Ministry of Economy, there is not yet a policy dealing with informal trading from any level of government, although the department has thought about some areas. For the time being, there are no rules, no planning and planners within the city or specific responsibilities assigned to a category of public officials to deal with informal trading activities, except the fact of granting permits and collecting taxes, fees and other forms of charges that they have burdened informal traders with. From the national and city level structures, there is no any form of data recording information from informal trading activities except at the local level, where one can find very minimal information on revenue recorded in statistics in a very unprofessional way, and also on events and maintenance of informal markets that exist on paper only but not in reality. Public officials have also recognised the contribution of

informal trading in their functioning and development of the country, although statistics have shown that only about 34% of revenues of informal trading are recorded while the balance ends up in the pockets of private individuals.

TABLES 4.1 TO 4.18

These tables are focused only on informal traders in the city of Kinshasa. It has been found through the questions and interviews organised with a number of 100 informal traders that most of the age groups of informal traders range between 20 and 45. 80% of informal traders are between 20 and 55 years old.

50% of informal traders between 20 and 45 and 60% between 45 and 55 are living with spouses or lovers. 60% of those who are between 20 and 45 and 90% of those between 45 and above have all dependent children. It is also found that 35% of informal traders have tertiary education while 50% have high school education. However, only 15% have primary education. Moreover, about 20% of informal traders have 1 to 3 children, 30% have 3 to 6 children while 35% have 6 or more children.

The findings have also shown that these informal traders work on a full-time basis and also make profits which range between $10 to more than $150 on a daily basis. On this finding, 62% of them make profits that range between $10 and $100, 23% between $100 and $150, while 15% between $150 and more. The table has also shown that about 60% see their businesses grow slowly while 15% are experiencing a fast growth.

Most of them have been in this activity for more than a year since the table indicates that about 70% have been in informal trading from between 1 year and 5 years while 16% between 5 years and above. About 78% of the starting capital of informal traders comes from family gifts, 15% from personal saving while 7% from spouses' gifts. During difficult times of business, about 37% of informal traders receive assistance from family members, 35% from own efforts and 28% from spouses.

As already indicated in the previous section, one must also remember that 70% of informal traders consider their activities as a profession and 85% of them are determined to continue doing this business. Most of items found in informal trading activities are foods, clothing, spare parts, hardware and cosmetics. 90% of foods come within DRC, 98% of clothing is imported, 100% of spare parts is imported and about 90% of hardware is imported while the remainder comes from within the DRC.

The findings have also indicated in this table that 90% of public officials and police are hostile to informal traders in one way or other while only 10% of them are neutral. But concerning their relationships with their consumers, it is found that 100% are friendly. Most of the public officials who deal with informal trading are from the economy (100%), finance (100%), environment (70%) and hygiene (40%) departments.

TABLES 4.19 TO 4.25

Generally speaking, most of wholesalers' items come from abroad. Many of their customers vary depending on items. Concerning cosmetics items and foods stuffs, most customers are women even though men are also involved. Most of the customers for spare parts are adult men.

The mode of payment practised here is cash. Wholesalers do not accept other modes of payment while they themselves only use banking transactions to import their goods because it is currently imposed by the law. Before, they could also bring cash abroad and do their transactions. This form of practice is now prohibited by the law. Their relationship with public officials is very bad. 90% of wholesalers contend that public officials are hostile to them; those who are mostly involved with them are from the economy and finance departments while those from hygiene are involved only on imported foodstuffs.

TABLES 4.26 TO 4.31

Most age groups that are involved here are between 10 and 20 years old. The findings show that 50% of hawkers are between 10 and 20, while 25% are between 20 to 30 and

the other 25% between 30 and above. Just as their informal trader counterparts, 40% of hawkers experience nuisance by the police while 5% try to bribe them and 55% do not care at all about the police or public officials.

For their activities, 65% prefer to do their business in CBD and busy areas while 35% prefer main corridors and strategic points. 75% are motivated to make money as they earn almost 100% of profit. 20% do it for survival reasons. The majority of hawkers work on a full-time basis as indicated, with a percentage of 85%, while only 15% do it on part-time basis. No matter how motivated they are to make profits, they experience a lot of fatigue, and only 45% feel that they can continue with this business. 55% of them feel that they do it because of poverty and lack of money to go to school and as a result are prepared to stop.

TABLES 4.32 TO 4.37

These tables show that 80% of Kinshasa's consumers rely on informal markets while only 20% still choose shops or supermarkets as their places of shopping. About 56% of them prefer to do shopping in the morning while 28% in the afternoon. 16% of consumers have no specific times to shop.

The majority of consumers, that is about 76%, still have specific people or shops where they do their shopping on daily basis. This is due to certain values such as cheap prices, offering credit, credibility, place of destination, quality, to name but a few. At the same time 84% still believe that their relationships with their clients are very good with 72% who have particular relationships with their clients. Their general perspective, however, still contends that informal trading has to be registered and managed properly to avoid cases of mismanagement.

F. FINDINGS FROM FIELDWORK AND TALES

This section encompasses tales by different interviewees during fieldwork. In this case study, public officials have acknowledged the lack of leadership, initiatives and resources to address the management organisational strategies for informal trading. Their

current behavioural attitudes are characterised by a lack of direction in the way of doing things properly. But even though this is viewed as impacting negatively on the production of this activity, any new policies or regulations or strategies to provide leadership on the matter is welcomed.

From the informal traders' perspective, they consider their business as a profession and want it to grow and contribute to the uplifting of their living standards. Their relationship with public officials is bad since they are unsatisfied by the way they pay various taxes from different departments while also experiencing harassment from the same officials due to lack of policies put in place, which indicates clearly the boundaries of responsibilities of each party on the issue of informal trading. Informal traders want the government to provide the needed infrastructure to help them conduct their activities in an orderly way and grow them sustainably as well.

5.2 ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

The findings in this case study show that informal trading is very dynamic in Kinshasa. It is present in all 24 Communes of the city as is divided into different categories. According to reports from the municipalities, informal trading can contribute up to 25% of the income to the development of each municipality if the management is appropriate. Moreover, this sub-sector has created social ties grounded on the cultural values and beliefs of informal traders. These values are the product of a strong establishment of social capital between informal traders and consumers.

Another aspect of this dynamic its full-time, permanent character of the job as informal traders themselves affirm that they have made informal trading their profession and would like it to grow in order to get rich. This translates into the kind of determination that informal traders have to grow their businesses. It also shows the kind of productivity that this sub-sector generates for the uplifting of the standard of living of these entrepreneurs. The areas where informal trading takes place in Kinshasa are always crowded with people, which shows that informal traders are busy doing business.

From the results of this case study, there are no planning frameworks dealing with informal trading in Kinshasa. The urban planning department of the city is not concerned with informal trading activities. It is considered as a phenomenon that requests the government to design policies or strategies to address it. This shows that there is a crisis in terms of organisational strategies within this department that appears to omit some responsibilities that should have been at the heart of its activities. The failure of urban management of this category of informal economy is partly due to the lack of participation of urban planning policies and structures. This department is more concerned with other development programmes of the city, dealing mostly in investment.

The only existing planning frameworks are those that are used by urbanism, characterised by a clear segregation of the city during the colonial period, and whose spatial frameworks have implications today, when one considers the highly serviced areas which are occupied by elites of the country and wealthy people who do their shopping only in the CBD. However, the rest of the population is constrained to rely on informal markets for their shopping and some local shops which do not meet the required standard.

Spatially, the planning still shows signs of segregation between the rich and the poor, the minority and the majority. Briefly, one cannot talk of the planning strategies as the driving forces that influence development in Kinshasa. At present there are none. However, as already indicated above, the traditional approaches of planning in Kinshasa were based on the practice of urbanism that was used by the colonial power in the country. Their approach was segregational, to separate Europeans from the Congolese citizens, where these two different communities had to have separate residential and recreational areas, apart from administrative, commercial and industrial ones where African communities were used for labour force purposes. The same situation continued until after independence as the new governments adopted laws and regulations set up by the colonial power.

Some efforts, however, started in 1963 and 1965 when the new government initiated some contracts with overseas experts to develop the habitat of the citizens in Kinshasa. Unfortunately this did not last, as the same patterns established by the colonial power persisted. The innovations in planning practice that happened elsewhere did not occur in Kinshasa in order to improve the planning profession in the city. Although it had appeared in speeches in the early 1970's through isolated actions of the government in terms of investment strategies nationwide, Kinshasa remained the same in terms of the spatial distribution of people and industrial locations even if there had been some industrial investments deployed in the city peripheries.

The other analysis is based on the institutional organisation dealing with informal trading. Based on the findings, there are several departments that deal directly with informal trading, making its management very difficult and creating a situation of frustration for informal traders. Each department deals with informal traders as a separate issue. This makes informal traders feel harassed and disturbed. Given such an institutional organisation framework, informal traders still view public officials as hostile.

There is an absence of one central management institution and mechanism in place that has to deal with informal trading in all matters, where specific institutions that have interests in informal trading can report to. When many departments deal with one sub-sector, confusion, frustration and irritation are created. It worsens good relationships between these different department officials and informal traders. This case study has shown that environment and hygienic departments, urbanism departments, economic affairs departments, and budget and control departments are all involved as institutions with informal trading in one way or other. Each of them presents certain charges to informal traders who feel burdened and frozen financially, which impacts on their productivity and growth.

Other points based on findings in tables dealing with informal traders show that family members play an important role in informal trading. They provide a starting capital and also provide assistance in difficult periods. This shows the importance of considering a

family as a worthwhile unit, which is founded on cultural values and beliefs that impact on informal trading. The family unit in Kinshasa is, in most cases, the basis of informal trading and plays an outstanding role in the productivity and continuity of this business.

The argument of considering cultural values and beliefs is even favoured more by the fact that many consumers, about 76%, contend that they have specific people with whom they do business; 84% enjoy the relationship with their clients and 72% have particular ties or relationships with their clients. This places the cultural dynamics of sub-Saharan Africans as prerequisite when involved in understanding how they do their business. It shows that what matters in business in sub-Saharan African cities is not the economic power that one has but who he or she knows or has relationships with. Just as one needs to get used to Chinese ritualised culture to do business, one also needs to understand how culturally sub-Saharan Africans conduct their business transactions.

Moreover, these informal traders are educated, support dependent children and contribute to the development of the country, not only by paying taxes and other forms of charges, but by educating those dependent children that will be useful for society in the future. About 35% have some tertiary education while 50% have some secondary education. Findings have also shown that after 5 years of informal trading, many businessmen and businesswomen grow financially and become involved in more substantial economic activities. That is why only about 16% of informal traders are there for more than 5 years because after this period they end up in other opportunities. Most of those who are in shops today started as informal traders. This supports the statement that most of the wealthy people in Kinshasa are in informal economy.

Another stimulating factor is the degree of motivation and hard work hawkers have demonstrated in order to conduct their business. These toilers are not only motivated but also very strategic. They have discovered niches where they can sell better. They have identified specific areas and most of them flood those areas and do their business successfully on a full-time basis. This shows their degree of understanding the market by taking advantage of opportunities.

Based on this analysis, it is essential that I provide some recommendations that I consider to be healthy in the context of Kinshasa's management of informal trading. These recommendations will cover the institutional organisation, the planning strategies in urban management of informal trading, and finally the infrastructural tools to support this sub-sector of informal sector economy in order to increase its productivity.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The urban management of informal trading in Kinshasa requires an understanding of socio-cultural values and beliefs that underpin this activity. As a society, the relevance of considering specifics in each geographical location is of the utmost importance when it comes to addressing some inadequacies.

The data have shown that informal traders organise themselves without the assistance of the government. Its management style is structured in such a way that both parties, i.e., informal traders and government officials have developed antagonistic attitudes towards each other.

The involvement of diverse departments and the lack of coordination in their involvement have created frustrations for informal traders and also mistrust between these two groups. This kind of management cannot encourage growth and development of informal trading. As already discussed earlier, one cannot disassociate urban planning from urban management. Both go together. Both theories of urban planning and management have given some directions that need to be considered from the data obtained in the case study, taking into account the cultural values that are unique in a sub-Saharan African environment.

Based on such insights, the city of Kinshasa needs to have a different view on a structure of informal trading in order to help this activity become better organised, supported, and structured, with clear policies or strategies to accompany any actions aimed at promoting

the increased viability of this economic activity and its contribution to growth, development and uplifting of living standards of city residents.

From the case study data, it is clearly understood that this activity has a potential, is productive and contributes to economic growth and development. From the municipalities' level, it is the most resourced economic activity that finances both the functioning of the municipalities and development of the city as a whole. It is on this basis that I make the following recommendations when addressing the issue of enhancing informal trading in Kinshasa with sustainable urban planning and management strategies.

RECOMMENDATION 1: THE ENACTMENT OF A SPECIFIC LEGISLATION FOR INFORMAL TRADING

The setting up of regulations in the form of legislation is very important and cements the foundation needed for a new culture in dealing with informal trading.

RECOMMENDATION 2: THE SETTING OF PLANNING DEPARTMENTS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL (MUNICIPALITIES)

Planning boards within the spheres of the government constitute the machinery needed to administer the promulgated law in informal trading and put in place working mechanisms of this legislation. They are the most concerned with the spatial organisation and distribution of activities and can in this case envisage working mechanisms on the ground to deal with actors in this category of informal trading. National and provincial spheres of planning should concentrate more on the conceptual level. The national board's responsibility should focus on promulgating the law generally, while the provincial should look at mechanisms appropriate to be used on the ground. These should involve working relationships that must apply to all in the form of conditions that qualify informal trading actors as productive participants of the urban economy.

The local sphere of government in this department is the one responsible to implement and monitor informal trading on the ground, and to put in place the application and respect of such a mechanism.

RECOMMENDATION 3: THE SETTING UP OF SPECIFIC LOCATIONS FOR INFORMAL TRADERS

Informal traders have to be located in very specific areas, as in Kinshasa the location of informal traders is a major issue. These businessmen and businesswomen are colonisers of public and private spaces, i.e. they occupy these spaces illegally. The identification and selection of practical locations where informal traders can conduct their businesses are of utmost importance. These informal traders must agree that the new sustainable locations or premises with effective and efficient functionality of their businesses will enhance their productivity and open up new opportunities to access other possible resources. These locations must respond to the criteria of accessibility by potential customers, mobility of people and means of transport, as well as to the environmental sustainability, since informal trading generates a lot of waste that affects the environment in which this activity takes place. This should be done through consultation with the community as well as other stakeholders that are potential actors in the social and economic development strategies.

RECOMMENDATION 4: THE SETTING UP OF WASTE MANAGEMENT SERVICE IN INFORMAL TRADING LOCATIONS

It is very important that a service, which is exclusively used to monitor the waste generated on daily basis be installed in order to reduce environmental chaos.

RECOMMENDATION 5: UPGRADING OF EXISTING INFORMAL MARKETS

There is a need to increase the current capacity of informal markets and provide the necessary infrastructure (water and electricity, adequate premises and stalls, toilets, administrative offices, etc.) needed for its functioning.

RECOMMENDATION 6: FORMING OF ORGANISATIONS

To manage informal trading in Kinshasa one needs to group also these informal traders into organisations. Each organisation will have a representative with a mandate to negotiate, defend and protect the interests of the group. These representatives will have to

also be informal traders themselves, involved in process of everything concerning informal trading in their jurisdiction.

RECOMMENDATION 7: FORMATION OF A CORPORATE

Each of the municipalities should form a Corporate entity for informal trading in its jurisdiction, given cases of corruption in the present management of informal trading revenues. This corporation should involve the private sector, public sector, NGOs, community and representatives of informal traders' organisations. This Corporate should have the mandate of management of informal trading in a specific jurisdiction. This body will be responsible for the provision of infrastructure in the form of sites, administrative offices, shelters, stalls, clean water and electricity, clean toilets with use-pay system, training facilities, recreational facilities, financial support mechanisms and security as well as other services.

RECOMMENDATION 8: UNIQUE FINANCE REVENUE CASHIER

Each municipality and corporate entity should establish one finance revenue cashier that will be responsible for collecting all fees, taxes and other related charges for either the case may be. This will help control and monitor all the expenses and minimize frauds practices within the management of informal trading revenue

5.4 GENERAL CONCLUSION

Informal trading in Kinshasa is an economic activity with potential to contribute to economic growth and development, and as well as to improve the living standards of urban residents. It is an activity that is practised within the context of sub-Saharan African cultural values where economic activities are also part of social interaction.

Its omnipresent character all over the city, as described in the case study, reveals that it responds to the needs of the people. To choose to operate within the framework of an African reality does not mean to reject learning from other people's experiences, or not incorporate technologies that are available to humanity. It does mean to embrace the

totality of its people with their modes of productivity and to create a management system based on their experiences and cultures.

The complexity of informal trading is not unlike the complexity of biological systems, including the human body. Informal trading as a system, is complex, interrelated and a multi-variable activity. There are different interested parties that include public officials, informal traders, wholesalers, hawkers, customers and police that are involved in this activity in one way or other. Their interests are interrelated in the sense that they depend upon the performance of other actors. All interests have to be taken into account in strategies or policy design and implementation, and in the management of this activity. It cannot be top-down. It has to be grounded in the spirit of participation of all interested groups.

Taking into account that informal trading is complex and multi-variable, it is important, therefore, that there be a strategy that bears this in mind and that can successfully address conflicts when they arise. As a complex activity, its operations are to involve various groups representing different interests, including the different interests of the officials involved in the management team.

By doing so one can then claim Healey's statement is true, that planning is a leader among professions with public interest missions, in dealing with complex world issues.

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APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

DEPARTMENT OF TOWN AND REGIONAL AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

QUESTIONS AND INTERVIEWS

PUBLIC OFFICIALS

1. What is your policy for informal trading?
2. What are your responsibilities in informal trading?
3. What do you really do for informal trading?
4. What are your relationships with informal traders?
5. What are the existing rules for informal trading?
6. What do you plan to improve in the existing conditions of informal trading?
7. What are your spatial, environmental, social, infrastructural, and economic policies for informal trading?
8. How do you record informal trading activities daily from different sites?
9. How do you record informal trading cash flow contribution to the urban economy on daily basis?
10. What are your existing planning strategies for informal trading?
11. What is your planning projection for informal trading in the future?
12. What roles do you think planners should play in informal trading?
13. What is the contribution of informal trading in the economy of the city?

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

DEPARTMENT OF TOWN AND REGIONAL AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

QUESTIONS AND INTERVIEWS

INFORMAL TRADERS

1. Are you living with a spouse or lover? Yes? No?
2. Do you have any dependent children?
3. What level of education have you completed?
4. What is your family size?
5. How much is your income per day? (the currency is converted to dollars)
6. Are you working full-time or part-time as a trader?
7. What time of day do you start selling? Morning? Noon? Afternoon?
8. What are your busiest hours of business?
9. What are your days of selling? Weekdays plus Saturday? Or Sunday?
10. Who are your major customers? Men? Women? Young? Adults? All combined?
11. Have your business grown in the past years? None? Slow? Fast?
12. How long have you been in informal trading?
13. How did you obtain your starting capital?
14. Who supports you when business goes wrong? Myself? Family? Or Spouse or Lover?
15. How and where do you get your supplies of goods? Wholesalers? Middlemen or Myself ?
16. Are your items within DRC or imported?
17. What are your views on this business? Profession? or Survival?
18. Do you intend continuing with this business?
19. What are your relationships with public officials and police? Hostile? Neutral? Helpful?
20. How do you characterize your relationship with customers? Friendly? Or No?
21. Which public officials do you deal with?

APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

DEPARTMENT OF TOWN AND REGIONAL AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

QUESTIONS AND INTERVIEWS

WHOLESALERS

1. Where are your sources of supplies?
2. Who are your permanent customers? Men? Women? Young? Adults? All combined?
3. What is the mode of payment? Cash? Credit?
4. Are your items imported or made within DRC?
5. What are your relationships with public officials and the police?
6. Which public officials do you deal with?
7. Do you pay taxes or other fees or charges? How?

APPENDIX D

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

DEPARTMENT OF TOWN AND REGIONAL AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

QUESTIONS AND INTERVIEWS

HAWKERS

1. How old are you?
2. How do you deal with the police and public officials?
3. Which areas do you wish to sell? Why?
4. Why do you do this business?
5. Do you do this business on full-time or part-time basis?
6. Do you think all other hawkers have the same feeling as you do? If no, how do you think they feel?

APPENDIX E

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

DEPARTMENT OF TOWN AND REGIONAL AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

QUESTIONS AND INTERVIEWS

CUSTOMERS

1. Where do you do shopping?
2. What is the good time for you to do shopping?
3. Do you have any specific people or shops where you do shopping? Why?
4. Do you enjoy the relationships with your clients?
5. Do you have any particular relationships with clients?
6. Is there anything you can say regarding informal trading?

APPENDIX F

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

QUESTIONS AND INTERVIEWS

POLICE

1. At what level do you get involved in informal trading?

2. What are your relationship with informal traders and customers?

3. What is your relationship with public officials?

4. What is your mandate from government officials regarding informal trading?