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**Social Capital, Community Capacity Building and Poverty
Reduction in the Rapidly Urbanising City of Kinshasa**

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1. INTRODUCTION

Cities were common in precolonial Africa and African societies from North to South lived in cities before the arrival of western colonisers in the continent. Traditional societies in Africa developed cities with royal courts, an administration, an army, a police force and other urban services. When western colonisers arrived in Central Africa in the 19th century, they found that the majority of African lived in rural areas while 10% of them lived in cities¹.

While the majority of population in Central Africa is currently living in rural areas, most countries in the region have been experiencing an urban revolution since their independences. In the last twenty years only, Africa has experienced the fastest urban growth in the developing world at 3.5% per year on average and this trend of urban growth is expected to continue until 2050. By 2025, some African countries will account for more than 85% of urban population².

As Sachs³ indicated, 'the lighthouse of development was erected right after the Second World War. Indeed, Third World concerns against poverty and underdevelopment increased immediately after the end of the second World War. Following the breakdown of the European colonial powers, the United States found an opportunity to give worldwide dimensions to the mission their founding fathers had bequeathed to them : to be the

“beacon on the hill”. They launched the idea of development with a call to every nation to follow in their footsteps’.

Throughout the last century, the area of development has produced important debates covering all major social sciences. Although the 1970s emphasised the need for Third World government interventions to meet human basic needs, the situation of people within these countries has deteriorated dramatically. According to the Human Development Report 2019, more than half of people in developing countries live in absolute poverty, with women and children representing approximately 60% of this figure⁴.

However, it is nowadays acknowledged that urban growth in the world in general plays an inevitable role in the long-term process of urban development and poverty reduction. For more than two centuries, cities in Europe, America and Asia have contributed largely in the development process in their countries and in the process of poverty reduction at large. However, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, rapid urban growth and rapid urbanisation have not yet contributed to the reduction of urban poverty and the improvement of urban dwellers’ living conditions. Different measures that the Congolese government has taken so far to tackle poverty, destitution and underdevelopment have not helped to improve the living

¹ Iyenda, G. Case Study for the AFRICITIES Conference Report 2015 : The City of Dar es Salaam in *‘Shaping the Future of Africa with the People. The Contribution of Local Authorities to the Agenda 2063 of Africa’*, Johannesburg, December 2015, p.1, unpublished

² African Development Bank, *Urbanisation in Africa*, ADB, Tunis, 2012, accessed on [http://www.afdb.org/en/blogs/afdb-championing-inclusive-growth-](http://www.afdb.org/en/blogs/afdb-championing-inclusive-growth-acrossafrica/post/urbanization-in-africa-10143/)

[acrossafrica/post/urbanization-in-africa-10143/](http://www.afdb.org/en/blogs/afdb-championing-inclusive-growth-acrossafrica/post/urbanization-in-africa-10143/)

³ Sachs. W. *The Development Dictionary : A Guide to Knowledge as Power*, zed Books, 1992, p. 1

⁴ UNDP, *Human Development Report 2019. Beyond Income, beyond Averages, beyond Today : Inequalities in human Development in the 21st Century*, Washington, December 2019.

conditions of the majority of people across the city of Kinshasa.

Across the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), cities are facing rapid and uncontrolled urban growth. Fast urbanisation is making urban governance and urban management inadequate, facilitating the rise of slums and illegal settlements, the rise of urban poverty, social and economic inequalities, and a rapid deterioration of urban infrastructure and urban environment. As urban lives are becoming more and more complex, urban poverty is growing at an alarming rate and urban challenges are also growing on a daily basis, becoming more complex and multifaceted.

In the city of Kinshasa, capital of the DRC, urban growth is occurring without planning, it is changing the city's landscapes and it is creating multiple challenges at different levels. Across the city, the phenomenon of urban poverty seems to be rising, increasing the number of people living in deplorable conditions and reducing the position of the poorest in relation to the rich.

2. Methodology

This paper will present the role that social capital and community capacity building play in the process of poverty reduction in Kinshasa. Empirical data have been collected in Kinshasa regarding urban growth, the city's population growth, economic outlook and households' livelihoods. A particular emphasis was placed on economic growth, poverty and multiple challenges posed by rapid urban growth and the city's capability to provide services to their urban dwellers.

During data collection, interviews involved conversations with different people at different levels, especially heads of households, small traders, public servants, local and municipal authorities,

church members, slum dwellers, illegal settlement dwellers, informal sector operators, self-employed operators, unemployed people, formal employees, formal employers, traditional authorities etc. Open and closed questions and the possibility of raising other non-prepared questions during the interview was used to maximize the possibility of collecting important data for the research.

Direct observation of the current situation in Kinshasa allowed the possibility to better see and understand how people live, how the city has grown, how urban services are provided and what challenges people are facing in their daily lives.

During the research, time was spent in surveying living conditions in different slums and informal settlements in Kinshasa. The survey provided valuable information and data on living conditions in these areas and the role of slum dwellers and illegal settlement dwellers in urban growth. Thus, the survey managed to gather detailed information on income and livelihoods, land tenure and the provision of urban services such as education, health, water and sanitation, electricity, transport and security to urban dwellers.

It is important to mention from the onset that data and statistics on the population, on the economy, on social activities and on all different aspect of life in the DR Congo in general and in Kinshasa in particular are contradictory from one source to another. Each source and each organisation provide different statistics for the same situation and the definition of different indicators and variables for the same reality also depends on sources and organisations.

3. Definition of Poverty and Related Concepts

This section will briefly define poverty and its related concepts. Most of my previous studies on poverty and urban life in the DR Congo since 1988 were devoted to the defining, describing and analysing poverty, its variances, approaches and indicators.

Over decades, the debate about poverty in academic arenas has always been about its definition, as the issue of definition lies at the heart of the task of understanding poverty. We must first know what poverty is before we can identify where and when it is occurring or attempt to measure it and before we can begin to do anything to alleviate it. In social sciences, in particular, most researchers have been involved in one way or another in defining poverty according to their scientific, cultural, social, ethical, political or ideological background, practices and conventions of the community, and society or country in which they live.

However, it is important to indicate that a definition of poverty involves the recognition that poverty cannot be considered in isolation from the rest of a society, in particular from the systems of distribution and production. This explains why the various definitions of, and views on poverty are intransigent and how far researchers are from reaching a common accepted definition of poverty.

Although the question of how to define poverty has often overshadowed academic debate, in this section, we will give a short summary of different ways of defining poverty, which is one of the most

important issues that now dominates development debates and agendas.

1.1. Absolute poverty

Absolute poverty is defined by Stewart MacPherson and Richard Silburn⁵ as a 'basic lack of the means of survival ; the poor are those who, even in normal circumstances, are unable to feed and clothe themselves properly and risk death as a consequence'. It is clear in this definition that absolute poverty mainly refers to a lack of means of subsistence, an absolute failure to meet basic needs. The United Nations defined absolute poverty as a condition characterised by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe water, sanitation facilities, health services, shelter, education, and information. In this definition, absolute poverty depends not only on income but also on access to social services⁶.

1.2. Relative poverty

Relative poverty is mainly defined in relation with people needs more than only survival. People live in communities and they need social life to prosper. Therefore, relative poverty is defined on the basis of comparison of particular aspects, mainly household expenditure, household consumption, family budget, and household livelihood. Here, the focus is especially put on income and expenditure. Thus, George and Howards⁷ define poverty in relation to income. For them, the poor are 'those whose incomes or resources are not sufficient to provide them with those goods and services that will enable them to

⁵ Macpherson, S. and R. Silburn. 'The meaning and measurement of poverty', in J. Dixon and D. Macarov (eds.) *Poverty : A Persistent Global Reality*, London : Routledge, 1998.

⁶ UNDP, *Human Development Report 1995*, New York, NY : Oxford University Press, 1995.

⁷ George, V. and I. Howards (1991) *Poverty Amidst Affluence : Britain and the United States*, Aldershot : Edward Elgar, 1991, p.6.

live a life that is tolerable according to working-class life-styles’.

1.3. Primary and secondary poverty

According to Streeten⁸, Primary poverty is ‘the inability to command enough income (or expenditure) to buy the bare necessities of life. This poverty line is usually constructed by estimating the cost of a minimum diet of essential food items and the fuel needed to prepare it’. For Rowntree⁹, Secondary poverty is a situation in which real income is adequate to satisfy minimum needs, but for one reason or another the poor do not spend the money on meeting them.

As seen, it is nowadays difficult to reach a single and universally accepted definition of poverty as new definitions continue to trickle in and literature in this field continues to emerge, covering all major social science disciplines.

Ultimately, we may learn that¹⁰ :

- First, poverty is a lack of means, either physical, social, economic, cultural, ethical, political or others.
- Secondly, poverty is concerned with needs. These needs are mainly the result of lack or limited resources which do not enable people to fulfil these needs. These needs are not universal but local and cannot be determined on a world scale by bodies or institutions outside a country and which ignore realities in the field.

- Thirdly, poverty is an expression of long-term patterns of serious deprivations in all domains of life : income, housing, education, health, food, amenities, human right etc.

- Finally, poverty always has a moral dimension. When people recognise that there are other people in their societies who are living below some acceptable minimum of living conditions and think about it, it means that morally they feel concerned.

3.4. The Human Development Index (HDI)

The Human Development Index (HDI) is a ‘*summary measure for assessing long-term progress in three basic dimensions of human development : a long and healthy life, access to knowledge and a decent standard of living*¹¹’.

For the Democratic Republic of Congo, the HDI value for 2021 was 0.479. This figure puts the Congo in the Low Human Development Category. The figure also positions the country in the 179th out of 191st countries and territories in the world in terms of its Human Development Index. For the same period, life expectancy at birth in the Congo changed by 10.6 years, mean years of schooling changed by 3.0 years and expected years of schooling changed by 3.6 years. At the same time, the country Gross National Income (GNI) per capita changed by about -36.4 percent for the same period between 1990 and 2021⁶⁵.

⁸ Streeten, P. Thinking about Development, Cambridge : Cambridge University Press., 1995, p.37

⁹ Rowntree, B. S. Poverty : A Study of Town Life, London : Macmillan, 1901.

¹⁰ Iyenda, G. Households’ Livelihoods and Survival Strategies among Congolese

Urban Poor. Alternative to Western Approaches to Development, New York and Ontario, The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007.

¹¹ World Bank Group. World Development Report 2022 : Finances for an Equitable Recovery, Washington 2022. 65 *Idem*

3.5. Inequality Adjusted HDI

The Inequality Adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) considers inequalities in all three dimensions of the HDI by ‘discounting’ each dimension’s average value according to its level of inequality in the distribution¹². At this stage, the ‘loss’ in human development due to inequality is calculated and it is given by the difference between the HDI and the IHDI. Here, as the inequality in a country increase, the loss in Human Development also increases. For the Democratic Republic of Congo, the loss in 2021 due to inequality was 28.8 percent, which lowers the HDI to 0.341¹³.

Furthermore, Foster, Lopez-Calva and Szekely (2005)¹⁴ explained that the IHDI is based on a distribution-sensitive class of composite indices propose, which draws on the Atkinson¹⁵ family of inequality measures. It is computed as a geometric mean of inequality-adjusted dimensional indices. The IHDI accounts for inequalities in HDI dimensions by “discounting” each dimension’s average value according to its level of inequality. The IHDI value equals the HDI value when there is no inequality across people but falls below the HDI value as inequality rises. Thus, the IHDI measures the level of human development when inequality is accounted for.

3.6. Multidimensional Poverty Index

According to the World Bank, the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI)

looks beyond income to understand how people experience poverty in multiple and simultaneous ways, as in the past poverty was mainly assessed based on the level of income only. the Multidimensional Poverty Index identifies how people are being left behind across three key dimensions : health, education and standard of living, comprising 10 indicators. The World bank goes further by explaining that people who experience deprivation in at least one third of these weighted indicators fall into the category of multidimensionally poor¹⁶.

4. Presentation of the City of Kinshasa

4.1. Geography

Kinshasa is the capital of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The city was formerly called Leopoldville until 1966 and it is divided in residential, commercial and industrial zones. The city is at 4°22’S, 15°25’E and built on a plain located at 350 metres above sea level and surrounded by savannah and gallery forest.

The city of Kinshasa is located on the South Bank of the river Congo and it has a legal status of a province. It is bordered by the city of Brazzaville in the Republic of Congo in the North, the provinces of Kwango and MayNdombe in the East and the province of Bas-Congo in the South-West. Although the city is sparsely populated and spreads out from the river to the south, its total area in 1968 was estimated at 9,965 square Kilometres¹⁷.

¹² World Bank Group. World Development Report 2022 : Finances for an Equitable Recovery, Washington 2022.

¹³ *Idem.*

¹⁴ Foster. J, Lopez-Calva. L and Szekely, M. Measuring the Distribution of Human Development : methodology and an application to Mexico,Pages 5-25, Published online : 22 Jan 2007.

¹⁵ Batkinson A., On the Measurement of Inequality, *Journal of Economic Theory*, Volume 2, Issue 3, September 1970, pages 244-263

¹⁶ World Bank Group. World Development Report 2022 : Finances for an Equitable Recovery, Washington DC, 2022.

¹⁷ Current exact figures on the size of Kinshasa are unknown, as the city is growing faster and sprawling on a daily basis

Fig. 1 : Business district of Kinshasa on the bank of the River Congo



Source : Britanica.com

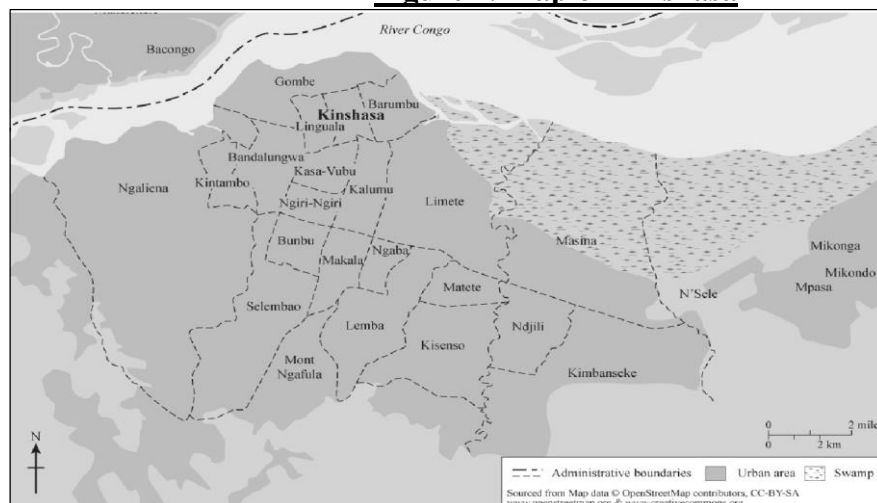
Although the city's size is changing dramatically on a monthly basis, it is not easy to determine its exact size, as the central government and the city hall do not keep data on the current size of the city.

Nowadays, economic, social and other activities in Kinshasa have extend beyond the confines of the city and Kinshasa has been engulfing many Teke and Humbu villages in its peripheries. Kinshasa is expanding spontaneously and beyond any form of control, sprawling beyond its administrative limits and extending into rural hinterlands, creating a

large conurbation and new urban spatial configurations. Kinshasa has engulfed the towns of Kinkole, Nsele and Maluku in the East, Kimwenza in the South and Mitendi in the West. Although the current scale of the city spatial growth is unknown, the distance between Maluku and Mitendi can be estimated at about 100 km and the city is still expanding.

As seen on the map below, the city is divided into 24 municipalities and the city is administered by an elected governor and two vice-governors.

Figure 2. Map of Kinshasa



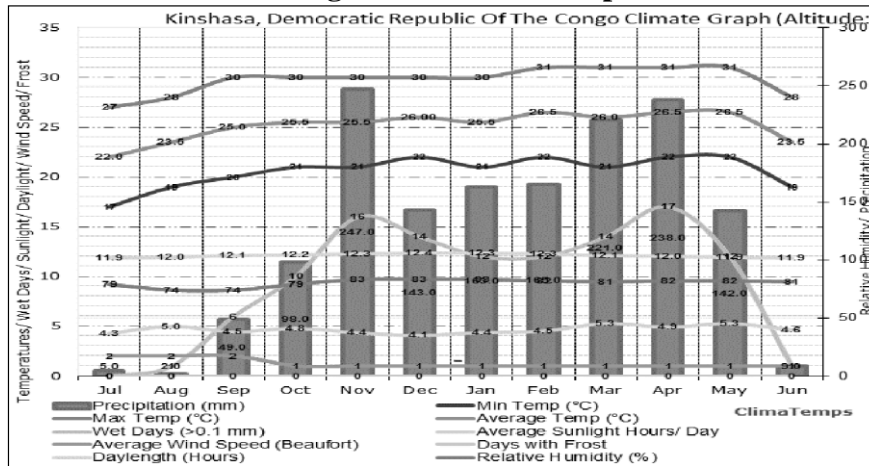
Source : Amended from the Institut Géographique de Kinshasa.

4.2. Climate

As it lies on the south of Equator, the city of Kinshasa has a tropical wet and dry climate with a lengthy rainy season from October to May and a short dry season

from June to September. The Climate of Kinshasa is hot for the entire year with daily temperature varying between 22 and 32°C with an annual rainfall of 1,520mm.

Figure3 : Climate Graph of Kinshasa



Source : <http://www.kinshasa.climatemps.com/>

As seen on the figure above, during the rainy seasons, precipitation in Kinshasa is very high and rains are very heavy, especially in the months of November and December and from March to the middle of May. Temperatures in most areas in the city can reach 35°C in October and November and in March and April.

4.3. History of the City

The land on which Kinshasa was built was inhabited in ancient times by indigenous people living in the Malebo Pool. The word Kinshasa derived from the local Teke-Humbu language and the current city started in two villages, namely Nshasa and Ntamo, which become later

Kintambo occupied by the Bahumbu and frequented by Bateke fishermen and traders¹⁸¹⁹.

Kinshasa was called *Inshasa*⁷³ by local Teke and Humbu and the city was an important commercial hub on the left bank of the Congo River where people from the surrounding of the city came to sell their merchandises²⁰. As De St Moulin argued, ‘Kinshasa was a commercial city where local people traded slaves for local needs, wild meats, potteries, raphia, tobacco, boats, crafts, tools, and bought weapons, clothes, alcohol, foods, ivory etc’²¹.

In 1877, Sir Henry Morton Stanley, a British explorer arrived in Kintamo. He

¹⁸ More details on this section can be found on Iyenda, G., Case Study for the AFRICITIES Conference Report 2015 : The City of Kinshasa in ‘Shaping the Future of Africa with the People. The Contribution of Local Authorities to the Agenda

¹⁹ of Africa’, Johannesburg,

December 2015
73 A Teke and Humbu word meaning salt.

²⁰ De Saint Moulin, L. Contribution à l’Histoire de Kinshasa (I), *Zaire Afrique*, No 108, Kinshasa, 1976, pp. 461-474

²¹ Idem, p.463.

then signed territory deals with local Bahumbu chiefs and built an administrative post on the site in 1881. He later named that post Leopoldville, after Leopold II, the King of Belgium, who sent him in that mission in Africa.

As explained above, Kinshasa was a city well before colonisation of the country and this shows that people in African knew cities, markets and trade before colonial penetration in the continent²². In 1880, Vansina²³ wrote that ‘caravans arrived in Kinshasa not only from the coast but also from all over the Tio (Teke) country and beyond, up to a distance of nearly 300 km from the north, the west and the southwest. In these markets, transactions were mainly

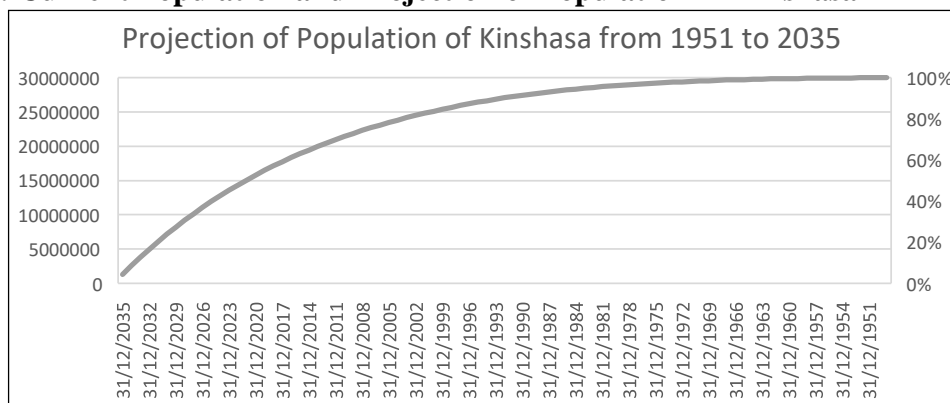
based on tools, means of production or slaves for the local use.²⁴

Since independence of the country in 1960, the city has expanded and it is nowadays one of the largest cities in Africa. The late extension in 1968 made Kinshasa a city of 9,965 sq. km²⁵.

4.4. Population in Kinshasa

Kinshasa had 30,000 inhabitants in 1878 when Stanley reached the city. During the First World War between 1914 and 1918, the city’s population doubled to around 60,000 inhabitants and at the time of the independence in 1960, Kinshasa was home to more than 400,000 inhabitants²⁶.

Figure 4 : Current Population and Projection of Population in Kinshasa



Source : United Nations - World Population Prospects, 2022

Figures on the graph above shows clearly that the growth of population in Kinshasa has been fast. From 200,000 inhabitants in 1950 to more than 400,000 inhabitants at independence in 1960,

Kinshasa is projected to house 20 million inhabitants in 2030²⁷. At that time, the city will be one of the most populous cities in Africa and in the world.

²² Iyenda, G. Households’ Livelihoods and Survival Strategies among Congolese Urban Poor. Alternative to Western Approaches to Development, New York and Ontario, The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007.

²³ Vansina, J. *The Tio Kingdom of the Middle Congo 1880-1892*, London and New York – Toronto, 1973 P.250-251 and 259-26

²⁴ For more details, read Iyenda, G., 2007, *Op. Cit.*, P.68

²⁵ Mwanza, W-M. Le transport urbain à Kinshasa. Un noeud gordien, Cahiers Africains, N0 30, Bruxelles, 1977

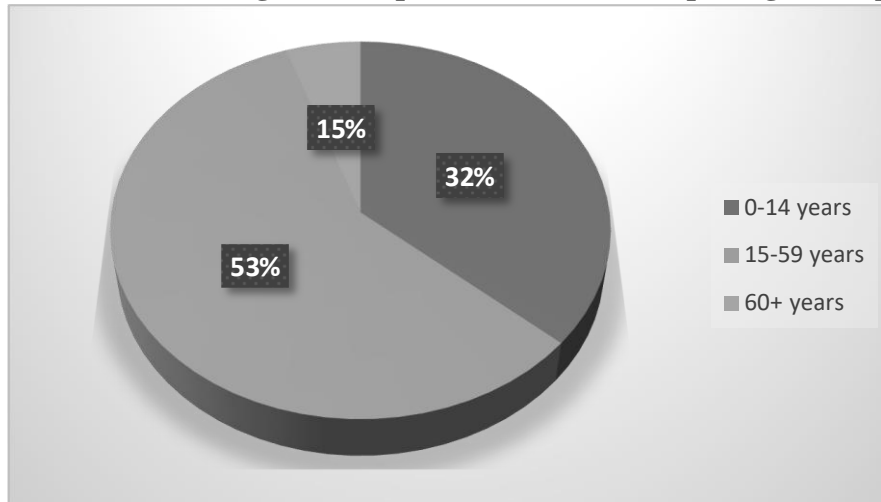
²⁶ De St Moulin, L. Perspectives de la Croissance Urbaine au Zaïre, Zaïre - *Afrique*, Kinshasa, 1977.

²⁷ Source : United Nations., *World Population Prospects, UN DESA/POP/2021/TR/ NO.3*, United Nations, New York, 2022

Kinshasa continues to dominate Central Africa as the subregion’s largest and fastest growing urban system (in absolute terms), needing to provide annually for around 390,000 additional

citizens. Kinshasa, with an estimated present-day population of 15 million, is projected to become Africa’s third megacity before 2025 and home to 20 million inhabitants as quoted above.

Figure5 : Population of Kinshasa per Age Group



Sources : National Institute of Statistics, Ministry of Planning, Kinshasa

The average age in Kinshasa is 24.7 years. Women represent 52.6% of inhabitants and men represent 47.4% of urban dwellers in Kinshasa²⁸.

A note of caution is needed here. Data on population and population growth in Kinshasa in particular and in the DR Congo in general is to be used with caution. There is a serious issue of demographic data reliability in the Congo, as the last census in the country was organised in 1984. No one can ascertain exactly how many people live in Kinshasa, as the number of migrants to cities is still on the rise. Most figures and data given regarding population in the Congo in general and Kinshasa in particular are estimates and projections.

5. Brief Economic Outlook of the DR Congo and the City of Kinshasa

5.1. Brief Economic Outlook of the DR Congo

The DR Congo is gifted with incomparable natural resources²⁹. The country has enormous reserves of 8 to 12 billion barrels of oil and gas, diamonds, gold, copper, cobalt, uranium, coltan, cassiterite, tin, iron, tungsten and other minerals, as well as considerable hydroelectric potential, varied agricultural land, and adequate rainfall.

With 80 million hectares of arable land and 1,100 minerals and precious metals, the DRC has the resources to achieve prosperity for its people. Despite its potential, most of the Congolese inhabitants have not benefited from the country’s wealth, as the country cannot

²⁸ Democratic Republic of Congo. National Institute of Statistics, Ministry of Planning, Kinshasa, 2015

²⁹ The World Bank Group. *The Democratic Republic of Congo. An Overview*, in <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/drc/overview>, consulted on 23 October 2022

provide adequate food, security, infrastructure, and health care to its estimated 100 million inhabitants, of which 75 percent live on less than two dollars a day. For the World Bank³⁰, ‘the Congo is among the five poorest nations in the world. In 2021, nearly 64 % of Congolese, just under 60 million people, lived on less than \$2.15 a day. The World Bank goes further by asserting that about one out of six people living in extreme poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa lives in the Congo’.

According to the Congo’s Ministry of Budget³¹, the economic situation has improved in the last few years and the economy is expanding as inflation declines and the currency stabilises. The decline of inflation and the stability of the national currency have contributed equally to the expansion of the country’s financial market.

Despite the lack of genuine democracy, corruption and bad governance, the Congolese economy in general grew 7.2% in 2012, 8.2% in 2013 and 9.4% in 2014³². The Congolese economic growth was mainly supported by minerals, construction of public infrastructure, agriculture and high internal consumption. As mentioned by the African Development Bank³³, ‘the economy did fairly well overall in 2014, with sustained growth of 8.9%, controlled inflation (1.2%) and a virtually-stable exchange rate (slipping 0.1%). Growth should continue in the short and medium term, with favourable external conditions, steady

reduction of the infrastructure deficit and expanding investment due to continuing government reforms.

The African Development Bank projects that GDP growth is estimated to be 4.3% in 2022 and 3.2% in 2023³⁴. However, the World Bank estimate that economic growth in the DR Congo will be 6.1% in 2022, keeping the strong momentum from 2021 (6.2%)⁸⁹.

Overall, the economic outlook of the entire country is promising. However, it remains fragile and vulnerable, as the international economic context is still marked by the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic and the disruption of world trade and supplies of main commodities because of the war in Ukraine.

The economic outlook of the country is reassuring. GDP growth is projected to reach 6.4% in 2022–23 reaching 6.4%, with a forecast of public spending increase for the 2023 elections⁹⁰.

³⁰ *Idem.*

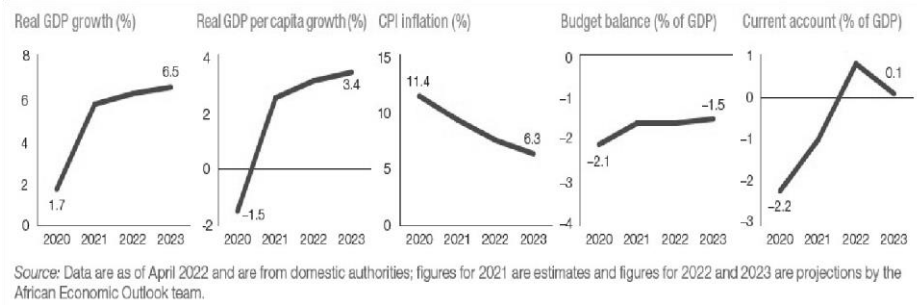
³¹ République Démocratique du Congo, Ministère du Budget, *Rapport d’Exécution du Budget de l’Exercice 2021 au Premier Trimestre*, Kinshasa, septembre 2021.

³² République Démocratique du Congo, Banque Central du Congo, *Evolution de l’Economie Congolaise, 2012, 2013, 2014*, Kinshasa, 2015.

³³ African Economic Outlook, Congo, Democratic Republic. Economic Outlook, <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/country-notes/central-africa/congo-democratic-republic/>, accessed on 16 July 2015.

³⁴ The African Development Bank Group. Congo Economic Outlook, in <https://www.afdb.org/en/countries/central-africa/congo/congo-economic-outlook>,

Figure 6 : Projection of Congolese Economic Growth 220-2023



Source : African development bank Group. African Economic Outlook, 2022

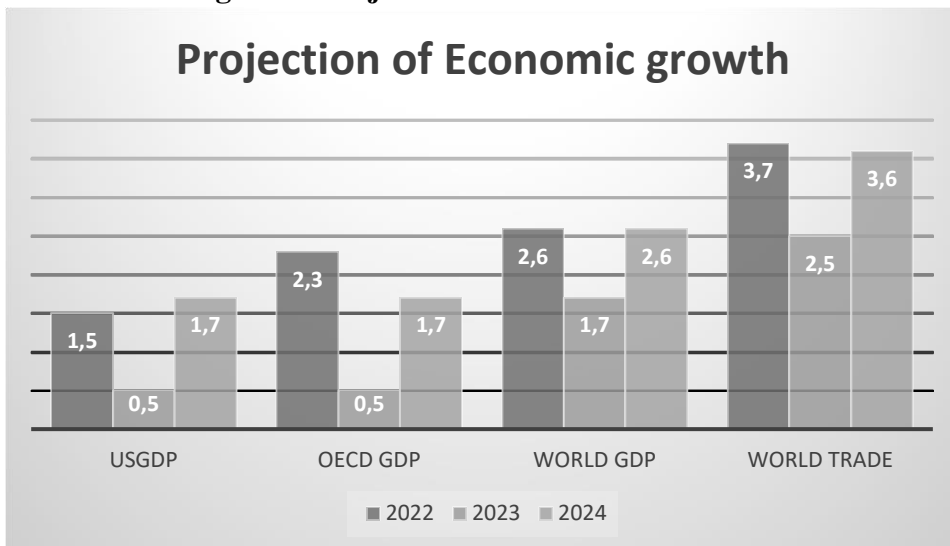
With the increasing phenomenon of mundialisation, the economies of the DR Congo and the city of Kinshasa are influenced by the global economy, the global price of commodities, global trade

and international business climate. The following datadepicts the way the global economy is projected to grow for the next few years.

accessed on 25Oct. 2022

89 <https://www.afdb.org/en/countries-central-africa-democratic-republic-congo/democratic-republic-congo-economic-outlook> 90 Idem.

Figure7 : Projection of World Economic Growth 2022-2024



Sources : Combined data from the Economic Intelligence Unit

5.2. Economic Situation of Kinshasa

At local level, the city of Kinshasa had a GDP of 4.57 billion US\$ in 2010 and a GDP per Capita of 632.7 US\$ for the same year³⁵. However, it is important to mention the unreliability of data and statistics regarding the Congolese economy, especially in the city of Kinshasa as the major parts of the economy mainly function in informality³⁶.

The city of Kinshasa has always been an economic hub for the entire country. The city is currently housing 26% of all national activities in the secondary sector. The increasing tertiary sector dominates economic activities across the city, as it takes 29% of economic activities. Kinshasa also houses 20% of different industrial activities and 25% of companies in the field of construction. 35% of transport activities and 41% of activities in the increasing ITC and communication sectors are located in Kinshasa. 43% of the newly expanding banking sector and 35% of all institutions of higher education in the country are also located in Kinshasa³⁷.

Kinshasa remains the place where all administrative decisions of importance are made ; consequently, it is the centre of the nation's political life. The city houses the national government : the office of the president and the executive and legislative councils. Since 1982, the urban administration of the city has consisted of a governor and two vice-governors, appointed by the president until 2005 and elected from 2006 to date. They head the city council, consisting of the 24

municipalities whose heads are also appointed by the president.

Overall, the economic situation of Kinshasa faces numerous challenges, including poor and ineffective public administration, poor public infrastructure, an inefficient and arbitrary taxation system, and most of all, a non-transparent and highly corrupt legal system, and a weak and corrupt bureaucracy and political class.

6. Current Employment Situation in Kinshasa

Employment and social life in Kinshasa started to decline from 1960, just after the country's independence. However, the city suffered many other major economic disasters ;manymeasures of Zairianisation and radicalisation taken in 1973 affected the country adversely and damaged the productive and private sectors and disrupted all links between urban areas and productive centres in rural areas. Moreover, the situation was exacerbated by the application of structural adjustment and stabilisation policies from 1982 imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the looting of 1991 and 1993, and the civil war in the country that started in 1996 played an important role in the destruction of the economy. These events exacerbated the unemployment situation across the city, given the real social and economic cost that they created within the society. To date, the formal sector of production and activities throughout the city has notrecovered from

³⁵ Herderschee, J., Mukoko Samba, D. & Tshimenga Tshibangu, M., *Résilience d'un géant africain : Accélérer la croissance et promouvoir l'emploi en RDC, Volume I Synthèse, contexte historique et macroéconomique*, Editions Médiaspaul, 2012. Il s'agit d'un ouvrage commandité par la Banque Mondiale.

³⁶ African Development Bank, Democratic Republic of Congo 2013-2017, Country Strategy Paper Regional Department Centre, (ORCE/CDFO) June 2013, p. 2

³⁷ République Démocratique du Congo, National Institute of Statistics, Ministry of Planning, Kinshasa, 2014

these destructive events and the informal sector is the main employer in the city and provides the majority of economic activities and employment in the city³⁸.

With the growing process of uncontrolled urbanisation, high birth rates, long term decline in public and private investment and the economic collapse, many people are no longer employed by the formal economy. Therefore, the poor health of the Congolese economy is largely responsible for the high level of unemployment in Kinshasa.

Kinshasa is home to most of the industries, banks, and it houses headquarters of the majority of national and public companies and multinational companies in the country. The city also has the highest percentage of food processing industries and many of the construction companies and service industries are based in Kinshasa. Although home to only 13% of the DRC's population, Kinshasa accounts for 85% of the Congolese economy and the city plays an important role in the country's economy³⁹. The local market places, small trade and the chain of distributions of goods and commodities in Kinshasa are currently dominated by a few successful Congolese, West Africans, especially Senegalese, Indians and Pakistani and Lebanese.

Data collection carried out at this year in Kinshasa found that nearly 75% of inhabitants in Kinshasa are employed informally, 12% are employed in the public sector, 7% in the formal private

sector, and 6% in other sectors such as local Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO), International Organisations, Embassies, the United Nations Peace Mission in the Congo and others.

In Kinshasa, the majority of unemployed people surveyed face different forms of unemployment :

- a. Frictional unemployment, also called transitional unemployment where people are in transition between jobs and are unemployed for a relatively short period ;
- b. Structural unemployment, which arises because of the changing structure of the industry (closure of a category of industry etc.). Old people are the most likely to be structurally unemployed ;
- c. Cyclical unemployment, which results from the downturn faced by the economy as economies tend to grow in cycles : boom to bust and recovery to recession ;
- d. Seasonal unemployment, caused by low demand according to seasons of the year, especially in agriculture and tourism.

One of the main characteristics of unemployment in the Congo is that it is not a short-term, occasional, or brief in reality but a situation of long duration for the majority of people.

³⁸ Iyenda, G. Iyenda, G. *Households' Livelihoods and Survival Strategies among Congolese Urban Poor. Alternative to Western Approaches to Development*, New York and Ontario, The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007.

³⁹ Iyenda, G. Case Study for the AFRICITIES Conference Report 2015 : The City of

Kinshasa in '*Shaping the Future of Africa with the People. The Contribution of Local Authorities to the Agenda 2063 of Africa*', Johannesburg, December 2015

Table 1. Interviewee Heads of Households (HHH) by Professional Category

Categories	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Private sector	192	19.23	0	0	192	16.7
Public Administration	218	21.87	4	0.35	222	19.3
Unemployed (Informal sector & Self Employed)	588	58.9	148	12.86	736	64.0
TOTAL	998	86.80	152	13.20	1.150	100

Source : Survey in Kinshasa, May-August 2022

As table 1 shows, 64% of interviewed HHH were formally unemployed. Most of them were, therefore, self-employed or informal sector operators. 16.7% of respondents were working in the private sector while 19.23% were still working in public administration. Since the state has stopped making people redundant, the number of its employees has stabilised. The table above also shows that changes in the pattern of employment in Kinshasa are obvious and visible within both the formal and informal sectors. This shows how the rate of employment in the formal sector has decreased.

Data on the table above shows clearly that 59.9% of interviewees were formally unemployed or have never worked in the formal sector. Most of them are women, children under 18 and illiterate people. The illiterate respondents with previous formal sector experience admitted that when companies made job cuts, illiterate employees were the worst affected and that many of them did not receive suitable redundancy packages.

Table 1 also clearly shows that women across the city face different types of barriers to economic opportunities, empowerment and prosperity, including high rates of gender-based official unemployment in the formal sector and wage discrimination. The high rate of formal unemployment for women in Kinshasa is also caused by their level of education. According to the Demographic and Health Survey⁴⁰, only 16.8 % of women in the DR Congo completed secondary school. This figure represents almost half of the rate of completion for men.

⁴⁰ Demographic and Health Survey (DRC-DHS II). Supplemental Malaria Report 2013-2014, USAID, April 2015

7. Consumption

Table 2 : Structure of Monthly Expenditure by Sector

Sector of Expenditure	Municipalities of Makala and Bumbu in US\$	% of total Budget	Municipalities of Kalamu and Kintambo in US\$	% of total budget
Food	398	70.3	426	59
Education	32	5.65	66	9.14
Housing	70	12.36	140	19.40
Health	24	4.30	36	4.96
Dressing	0	0	0	0
Transport	22	3.88	28	3.9
SocialExpenditures	20	3.53	26	3.6
Total	566	100	722	100

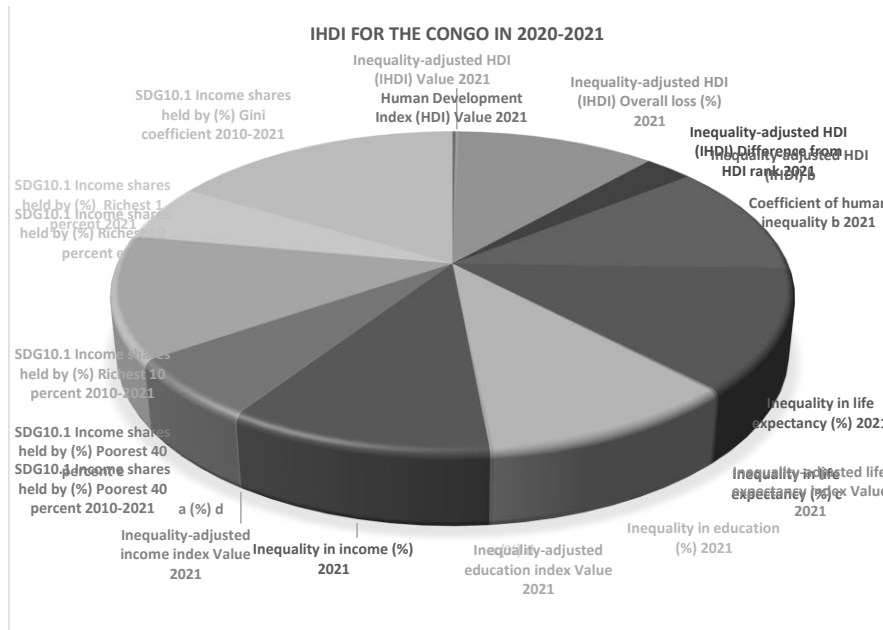
Source : Field Research in Kinshasa, May – August 2022

For many households, the average amount of money spent on food represented nearly 71% of the total household expenditure in Makala and Bumbu (Table 2). In some areas among the poorest in these two districts, households were spending up to 82% of their total income on food alone. In Kalamu and Kintambo, the average expenditure on food equalled 59% of the total household budget, and in self-built areas of these districts, it represented nearly 62% of the household budgets. On average in all

researched districts and areas, the proportion was more than 70%.

This table shows that the financial and income situation in Kinshasa has reduced the level of consumption in the Congo dramatically. People struggle only for food and neglect other goods of secondary importance such as clothes, shoes, good housing conditions etc. Low salaries have allowed hunger and poverty to settle in almost every household in Kinshasa. With very limited financial means, people are struggling to buy food and to solve other households' needs.

Figure 8 : IHDI in Comparison 2010-2021 for the DR Congo



Source : Combined data from the World Development Report, The World Bank Group, Washington, September 2022

Obviously, the change in the city of Kinshasa labour market has been brutal. Patterns of work have changed dramatically throughout the city over the years. The closure of many companies in the city had a significant consequence on people’s lives. On top of the economic collapse and the bankruptcy of many companies, the supplies of jobs and real wages have been decreasing dramatically while the supply of labour has been increasing.

During the survey, less than 20% of interviewees in Kinshasa were satisfied with their income and most of employees mentioned that more than 50% of their household incomes originate from non-wage sources, especially from other non-wage activities, including corruption. Salaries and incomes are known to be low across the city of Kinshasa. Although wages in the formal sector are increased regularly, they never meet the cost of living in Kinshasa. Nowadays, the average monthly income in the public administration is US\$280.50 That average monthly income in the public sector

highlights the level of income poverty across the city.

8. Social Capital, Community Capacity Building and Poverty Reduction in Kinshasa

It is important to indicate from the onset that despite the need to eliminate poverty in the city of Kinshasa, reliable and accurate data and information on the subject and on the severity of poverty across the city is still lacking. However, urban poverty throughout the city of Kinshasa is on the rise. The lack of formal employment, inequality, bad governance, corruption, uneven income distribution across the city is all contributing to the rise of poverty and destitution.

Throughout the city, urban dwellers, especially low-income households, slum dwellers, and people who live in illegal settlements have been facing poverty for decades and their living conditions are deteriorating sharply. The spread of slums and informal settlements, poor access to healthcare, illiteracy, the lack of clean

drinking water, the lack of sanitation and sewage systems, the lack of urban services and infrastructure, especially social and medical infrastructure and high urban growth are also contributing to the increase of urban poverty in the city.

To face high level of poverty and to survive in this situation, unemployed people have thrown themselves into the informal sector and have looked to other solutions. This is where social capital and the community capacity building have come to play a crucial role in the reduction of poverty and in the improvement of living conditions of the unemployed and the poor.

6.1. Social Capital

Over the last decades, social capital has been considered as an important new concept in the field of social sciences in general and in development studies in particular. For many development practitioners, the World Bank especially, social capital has the potential to promote sustainable development and it has the capacity to promote community participation in development activities.

This term has been drawn from mainstream liberal economics after economists realised that the high rate of growth in the world did not bring satisfactory progress in developing countries. Thus, instead of excluding the complex and multifaceted social, institutional and political contexts in which economic activities and transactions occur these days, development thinkers and practitioners have decided to incorporate

the aspect of social capital into their analyses. The concept is at the same time an economic, political, and sociological concept.

Indeed, until now, there has not been any reliable scientific study of social capital in the Congo and there is little empirical evidence which validates the concept and its role in the process of poverty reduction. This study is therefore among the pioneering research in attempting to explore the reality of social capital and its role in poverty reduction in urban areas. Therefore, the task of this paper is to analyse what benefit urban dwellers in Kinshasa obtain from their social networks, their community cohesion, from trust between them, reciprocity, and mutual aid between kin, neighbours, and friends.

By definition, social capital is an abstract, complex and multifaceted term and therefore there is no universally accepted definition of this somewhat 'elusive' concept⁴¹. According to Serageldin⁴², 'social capital is the glue that holds societies together and without which there can be no economic growth or human well-being'. For Robert Putnam, social capital refers to 'features of social organisation such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit'⁴³.

Briggs argued that social capital is 'a resource for individual actions that is stored in human relationships'⁴⁴. For Portes, 'social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other

⁴¹ MacAlistair, E. Social Capital and Poverty Eradication in Barbados, PhD Dissertation, University of London ; 2001, Unpublished, p. 33

⁴² Serageldin, I. Foreword, in Collier, P. (ed.), *Social Capital and Poverty*, Social Capital Initiative Working Paper No.4, Washington, DC : World Bank ; 1998, p. i

⁴³ Putnam, R. Bowling Alone : America's Declining Social Capital, *Journal of Democracy* ; 1995, 6 (1), p. 67

⁴⁴ Briggs, X. Brown Kids in White Suburbs : Mousing Mobility and the Many Faces of Social Capital, *Housing Policy Debate*, 9 (1), 1998 ; p. 178

social structures⁴⁵. Here, a new element is introduced : the concept of membership of social structures. Indeed, people in different communities live according to their own structures set up within their societies. These can and do change according to many factors ; people do what they can to adapt their lives to these changes.

The World Bank defined social capital as ‘the informal rules, norms, and long-term relationships that facilitate coordinated action and enable people to undertake co-operative ventures for mutual advantage⁴⁶. Francis Fukuyama is more precise when he defines ‘social capital as a “radius of trust” and association beyond the family⁴⁷.’ Fukuyama suggested that social capital allows dilemmas of collective action to be resolved. Thinking about social capital and development, Rose⁴⁸ argued that the current popularity of the concept is due to the fact that it affords a unique potential opportunity to ‘do’ development. Therefore, social capital is a stock of resources that are created through social networks.

In summary, we can assert that the concept has economic, social and political aspects. It involves a group, a community, and not an individual. It is a result of participation of all on a mutual basis. One person cannot produce social capital ; it has to be the result of shared relationships of communication and the promotion of mutual trust and respect between members of different groups or communities.

In Kinshasa, life has become impossible without the assistance of others.

People currently help each other in one way or another and social relations between people have been strengthened. People have developed their own networks of help based on trust and mutual assistance to fill the vacuum created by the absence of the state and formal institutions. In other words, in such an extreme situation, social capital represents a form of power, a network of social and economic connections between people and it is a useful complement to official or formal social infrastructure and services ; it has become an essential substitute and safety net against poverty and destitution.

Across the city, social capital is built from the experience of dialogue between people and with others. Kinshasa’s inhabitants construct social capital more in the ‘horizontal’ contacts between equal members of their community rather than in the ‘vertical’ relationships which involve inequalities of power between authority and subaltern.

Using the World Bank’s expression, we can conclude that social capital is still ‘the missing link to complete the development equation’ in urban Kinshasa. Poor people, especial unemployed people, civil servants, practitioners of informal sector, women and the elders who live across different areas of the city are influenced by social capital that allow them to fight poverty, inequality and destitution. Disadvantages people in Kinshasa use bonding social capital that allows them to create strong intra-community ties that connect groups to one another. These social links and connections involve horizontal

⁴⁵ Portes, A. Social Capital : Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology, *Annual Review of Sociology* ; 1998, Vol.24, 1-24, p. 6

⁴⁶ The World Bank Group, World Development Report, Washington DC, 1997, p. 114

⁴⁷ Fukuyama, F. Trust : The social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity, New York : Free Press ; 1995

⁴⁸ Rose, T. Some Ongoing Operational Work on Social Capital in Mali, *Social Capital Let’s Talk! The World Banks Email Discussion Group*, Posting number 17 : 15 April ; 1999.

connections to people with broadly comparable economic and political power and create horizontal social and economic relationships between people.

Our survey in Kinshasa found that the existence of social capital, social links and social networks in a community reduce the possibility of being poor and living in destitution, and that the involvement of household members in social capital has an important impact on household welfare. Here, the importance of trust and knowledge within such collaborative social relationships on the basis of building trust through social networks. Therefore, social capital in the city of Kinshasa contributes in the reduction of poverty by reinforcing the quality of a set of relationships within a social group.

In Kinshasa, the growing number of NGOs, cultural associations and other social organisations serve as real catalysts for improvement of social co-operation between people, especially among the poor. Our survey found that each social and economic group in the city is generating different forms of social capital : a business company, a union of workers, a neighbourhood, a tribe, a religion, a religious sect, a football club, a school, a political party, a university etc. Different groups of people in different walks of life in Kinshasa whose members manifest trustworthiness and place extensive trust in one another have been accomplishing more in the fight against poverty than a comparable group lacking that trustworthiness and trust between its members.

The current literature assumes that social capital is good for development and, by implication, is good for the welfare of the poor. In Kinshasa, since the economy has collapsed, social relationships, social cooperation and trust occupies an

important place in public and private life. Formal and informal financial transactions between people and between neighbours are based on trust rather than on power or authority.

During data collection, some interviewees acknowledged that their relatives or their friends help them to pay their rents. For others, friends or members of their extended families or members of their parish or religious sect help them to paid their children's school fees. Confidence and trust currently run the society and people have developed new kinds of relationships and links to allow them to solve their problems and to fight poverty.

6.2. Community Capacity Building (CCB)

As Noya A. Clarence⁴⁹ indicated, community capacity building 'has developed as a concept because of the need for strategies to address major social and economic decline in towns, cities and regions experiencing significant economic change and the consequences of deep-seated and long term worklessness and benefits dependency'.

The main role of community capacity building is to allow and help the poorest and the most disadvantaged people in a community to be more cohesive, become more resilient and better prepared to face economic hardship and other forms of social and financial challenges of their lives. In many Third World countries, especially in urban areas, effective community capacity building is encouraged by municipalities, governments and NonGovernmental Organisations to empower members of their communities.

Community capacity building mainly focuses on the process of enabling

⁴⁹ Idem.

different members of a community, including the poorest, the most marginalised and the most disadvantaged, to develop skills, knowledge and competencies in order to allow them to take greater control of their own lives and also to contribute to the process of local development in their communities at large⁵⁰.

Nowadays, urban dwellers, especially the poor and the most disadvantages in cities across the Third World are looking for new types of strategies, policies and entrepreneurship to solve their day to days economic and social problems.

The current economic situation in Kinshasa and the level of poverty faced by the majority of inhabitants give a special place for community capacity building to play an important role in the fight against poverty. At the same time, capacity building has proven to be efficient in reducing poverty within households and communities in different areas of Kinshasa. By building capacity in people who head most impoverished households and communities in the peripheries of Kinshasa, people have been empowered and they have been able to meet and face different challenges of the current economic and social crises in the city. Community capacity building has helped disadvantaged households and communities in Kinshasa to become more resilient to poverty and destitution.

During our data collection, we found that community capacity building in the surveyed areas of Kinshasa has allowed people to be organised and create their own jobs, increase the levels of entrepreneurship, improve their business performance and sustainability and

improve their social networks within their communities. Thus, people and households have become resilient, thanks to what community capacity building can bring to their local areas.

The current daily life of many Kinshasa households is characterised by their involvement in different livelihood activities within the informal sector. Our research found that the informal sector and self-employment have become the main employment providers and almost the only providers of services in some fields in the city. In Kinshasa, the informal sector provides almost 90% of public transport services, nearly 98% of household waste collection, 96% in the field of construction, plumbing, mechanical repairs, and nearly 90% of local trade.

7. Conclusion and General Explanation

Past researches have shown that unemployment is a major source of unhappiness and mass unemployment has bred poverty, damaged the health of individuals and whole communities and reduced social cohesion by fostering the development of an underclass.

Unemployment across Kinshasa is rising fast. Poverty, destitution and exclusion are affecting households and communities across the city. This is where social capital and community capacity building play an important role to fill the gap left by the state and official organisations. City authorities and the community at large need to preserve and reinforce social capital and community capacity in order to reduce poverty within communities and reinforce mutual help between people and members of communities and the city at large. As populations grow and unemployment

⁵⁰ OECD/Noya A. Clarence E., "Community capacity building : fostering economic and social resilience. Project outline and

proposed methodology", working document, CFE/LEED, OECD, 26-27 November 2009

increases in Kinshasa, so too does the trend of low-level wage and low-skilled jobs growth. These jobs are usually filled by graduates who cannot find work in their area of expertise or training⁵¹.

Unless households are provided with liveable employment and income, poverty in the city of Kinshasa will never be eradicated and people's suffering will continue to spread rapidly. People and households need access to sufficient income to allow them to solve their problems related to housing, food, clothing, schooling, transport, health, environmental destruction and so on. Therefore, it is imperative to provide people with productive, stable, durable and well-paid jobs.

Our survey has shown that social capital and community capacity building are playing a crucial role in the process of survival of households in the absence of the state and its incapacity to provide employment and social and economic safety net to its citizens. People in Kinshasa have developed their own survival strategies by creating their own income-generating activities e.g. small businesses and have increased the culture of business ownership based mainly on trust, informal social relationships and informal ties and networks. City dwellers in deprived areas of the city are sharing knowledge, skills and business reputations are shared through networks and relationships and enhanced co-operation.

Most unemployed people co-operate between themselves in relation to income generating activities and information sharing between people is crucial in the exercise of different activities within the informal sector and the selfemployment. Workers rely on information from their

relatives, friends and neighbours to find customers, to market their goods and to find raw materials at good prices. The information is shared between people who are in need and those who can help them.

Social capital and community capacity building in the city have facilitated interaction among members of different social and economic groups and have enhanced trust between people and reduced opportunism. They have also increased the process of collective decision making. Seen as a necessary condition for the provision of public goods, social capital and community capacity building have allowed poor people and the marginalised to make their business decisions collectively, promoting co-operative patterns linking individuals and groups together. In Kalamu and Makala in particular, many businesses, groups of specialists in different fields of the same industry work together to produce high quality goods and services. Their collaboration allows them to produce good results and to prosper. Decisions are taken mutually after consultation between different members of the business.

In workplaces, factories, sheds or markets across the surveyed areas in Kinshasa, social capital and community capacity building are allowing the construction of positive and active social relationships between people, workers, and clients. Trust between different actors allows people within productive organisations to improve their production and, therefore, improve their lives.

The Kinshasa case shows that people have been able to cope with the current crisis without any outside help for more than three decades ; and the use of their own social networks and relationships are

⁵¹ Iyenda, G. The State of Central African Cities in *'The State of African Cities 2014. Re-Imagining Sustainable Urban Transitions'*,

UNHABITAT, Nairobi-Kenya, 2014, p.193

helping them to tackle the hardship created by the crisis.

Regarding income, trust and communicative relationships, the survey found that the practice of social capital in Bumbu, Makala, Kalamu and Kintambo allows the reduction of income inequality, wealth differences and power inequality between people who are working together. When they receive a contract, they execute the work together and share the payment. Each person is paid according to his/her contribution. Transparency characterises their deals and the honest sharing of the income. This practice was opposed to the model of Western companies promoted by modernisation theorists, where workers do not earn the real amount of money according to their efforts in the production of goods and services and where the interests of shareholders come above the interests of employees.

Within the informal sector in Kinshasa, social capital involves mainly simple reciprocity and exchanges between friends, relatives, colleagues, neighbours and close members of the community. Data collected in the field confirms that it is possible to build a strong type of small business based upon people's mutual trust. Co-operation that exists between people and between entrepreneurs should be used to promote people's efforts. Building on social capital means building strong community organisations as a means to achieve changes within the communities, and, therefore, positive changes throughout the country.

Another important finding is the expansion of self-reliance and self-help strategies to cope with the hardship people face as the result of unemployment and lack of formal wages. From vending cigarettes and matches in front of houses to street vending, shopkeeping, trading, mechanical, building or electronic repairs,

Kinshasa dwellers have been active in responding to the new pressures created by the crisis and fight against poverty as a result. These findings contradict claims made by modernisation theorists that development should be diffused from a starting point to an end one ; that a category of a population within a country, especially the elite, should play an important role in the diffusion of modernism/development.

To reduce poverty and improve their well-being, urban dwellers in Kinshasa are expanding their coping activities and many people are involved in different kind of income-generating activities. Nowadays, almost nobody in Kinshasa can rely on his/her salary or on his/her private employer, as advocated by liberal development theories. Urban dwellers in Kinshasa are using their own networks and ties, they trust each other and they have become involved in self-employment and in the informal sector as their main strategy to deal with their daily difficulties in order to survive. Without these informal strategies outside the state, people are unable to carry out their work and fight the hardship. Under these new survival strategies, some people provide labour and give training to others.

The Congo now stands at a critical point in its history. The country needs to restart economic activities and lay new foundations for the entire development process that will be able to compete in the world economy. The imposition of compulsory development strategies and policies are urgent in order to lift the Congolese economy. Nowadays, economic and financial hardship has affected income distribution, employment and the share of national wealth across the city of Kinshasa. The growth of corporate businesses, mainly in capital cities, as well as capital mobility and significant investments by multinationals, have created classes of new

rich and new poor in many of the city's municipalities.

Although different measures taken in the past to improve the economy did not produce expected results, the Congo needs new sound and professional macro-economic policies and stabilisation measures, particularly in the field of public finance, public administration, management of public companies, improvement of governance, accountability and transparency, which have never been a concern for Congolese political leaders. The implementation of such policies requires continuous and close monitoring of all economic and financial measures. Corruption and mismanagement have created havoc in the lives of city dwellers in Kinshasa. Since corruption is dialectically related to underdevelopment, it has led to the collapse of the Congolese state, reducing the country's level of development.

Social capital and community capacity building are not fixed, static, or an unchanging resource. They are based on the formation of social networks and trust between members of a society. Therefore, as communities and people in Kinshasa are very dynamic, so too are social capital and community capacity building. Those who are able to learn a skill, even without money, do so and those who are able to find work within informal small businesses get it regardless of their tribal or ethnic origin.

Welfare should become a matter of grave concern for the Congolese government, which must assume its responsibilities and play its role fully by providing the majority of people with the possibility of increasing their living standards by well-paid work. The priorities at all spatial levels are to build community capacity, to rebuild capacity in deprived areas in the city, and to sustain such activities in difficult economic times. Jobs, entrepreneurship and business performance are key tangible areas to which community capacity building can contribute, and this is accompanied by more intangible factors including increased social capital and social cohesion.