

Sociocultural Context and Female Entrepreneurship in Lubumbashi in the Democratic Republic of Congo

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Abstract: *Based on the observation of facts and events that exist independently of the researcher, this communication consists in explaining the low rate of business creation by women through the socio-cultural realities specific to the city of Lubumbashi, basic realities, firstly, inequalities between men and women, which result from the differences in socialization between the two sexes observed in society and, secondly, the result of a social construction initiated, legitimized and perpetuated by means of culture. The existence of differences in socialization between the two sexes vis-à-vis social production plays an important role in the emergence of entrepreneurial intentions underlying the creation of businesses within a population. The present research attempts to identify the socio-cultural determinants of the obstacle to the creation of businesses by women in Lubumbashi, and the key variables retained are the business networks modeled on the purely male model, the lack of support from those around them. For potential women entrepreneurs, the absence of a model of women entrepreneurs, tribal and customary values, but also traditional norms and practices to the detriment of the entrepreneurship of women entrepreneurs. Only one feminist theory has served us to formulate our research hypotheses, namely; Greer and Greene's theory of radical feminism (2003). This theory allowed us to understand the possible links between the socio-cultural environment through the variables noted above and the low rate of business creation by women. After analysis, the results showed that three variables out of the five selected are the determinants of the low rate of business creation by women in Lubumbashi. These are networks of purely masculine attitudes, tribal and customary values, and traditional norms and practices. The two other variables in particular, support from those around them and the lacks of role models for women entrepreneurs have no effect. Far from our intention of wanting to generalize, the present study has nevertheless enabled the analysis of the relationship between the concepts socio-cultural environment and the creation of businesses by women in the context of the city of Lubumbashi, studies that can be carried out as far as 'now.*

Keywords: entrepreneurship, socio-cultural context, business creation by women

1. Introduction

According to the United Nations "World Population Prospects" report published in 2016, 71 years after the founding of the United Nations, the world population is estimated at 7.4 billion people across the planet, of which 48.6% are women. Given the percentage that women represent in relation to the entire population, the United Nations since the mid-1970s has found it necessary to include women in the development process, a question to be raised for the first time at its 1975 conference which marked international women's year. In 1980, international institutions decided that the development process must provide for the full participation of men and women on an equal basis. At the three conferences, in Cairo (1994), Beijing (1995) and Beijing (1995), all United Nations member states made a commitment to make gender equality a reality (Robert, et al. , 2013), because it is a question of responding to the specific and different needs of each sex, by aiming at the empowerment of women. Currently, it is increasingly accepted that the economic development of a nation, a province or a city involves the promotion of private initiative through the creation of companies, especially since, the fundamental role of companies lies in the creation of jobs, wealth and values (Kamdem, 2011). This relationship as mentioned by Thierry and Saporta (2006) is not direct, but the effects are more visible thanks to the presence of many enterprising individuals.

Knowing that there are more similarities than differences between men and women in terms of entrepreneurial skills

(Ahl, 2003), several programs were developed to promote the initiative of women entrepreneurs, and because, according to Cornet and Warland (2015) diversity management policies also target gender equality policies. Below is the list of some programs:

- United Nations: 2030 Agenda and 2063 agenda to stimulate female entrepreneurship,
- World Bank: Women in Business program to support female entrepreneurship in the DRC
- International Labor Organization: Program for the development of female entrepreneurship
- Support Fund for Women Entrepreneurs: Support program for entrepreneurial opportunities for women
- Fund for the promotion of industry: Multiannual program 2018-2020 to support female entrepreneurship.

However, by consulting the statistics of the one-stop shop in relation to the field of entrepreneurship in Lubumbashi, we see a low presence of women in the creation of businesses compared to their male counterparts, or for 7 years, that is say from 2013 to 2019, only 7% on average of women set up a business in Lubumbashi, against 93% of men.

The above observation raises two questions, namely:

- Why do women create fewer businesses than men despite the absence of differences in entrepreneurial skills between the two sexes?
- What are the socio-cultural determinants of the low rate of business creation by women in Lubumbashi?

In order to initiate this analysis in the context of the city of Lubumbashi, the literature on the link between entrepreneurship, gender and socio-cultural realities within the framework of the business creation process will be discussed first; then the presentation of the socio-cultural context of the city of Lubumbashi; then the methodological approach will be exposed and finally the results will be revealed and then discussed.

2. Conceptual Framework, Theoretical and Research Hypotheses

2.1 Entrepreneurship

The concept of entrepreneurship neither new nor unique, it appears in the economic literature, through the writings of Richard Cantillon (1680-1734) cited by Brewer (1942) in his work entitled "Richard Cantillon: pioneer of economic theory", concept difficult to retain a single definition, given the multiple angles of view adopted by different paradigms around which are positioned research work in entrepreneurship. According to Thierry & Alain (2005), four dominant paradigms summarize the studies that shape the field of entrepreneurship, namely the innovation paradigm, the business opportunity paradigm, the value creation paradigm and the paradigm of the creation of organizations in which this study is inscribed. It is about the paradigm which puts at the center the question of the notion of the creation of organizations. Notion that refers to the concept of organizational emergence (Gartner, 1985) or the impetus of organizations (Verstraete, 2000).

Research adhering to this paradigm very often intersects with the concerns of researchers in organizational theory due to the fact that the question remains whether the creation of an organization refers to the process (actions), to the driven organization (result), or the two while considering that one necessarily calls for the other. Thus, for Tounes (2003), entrepreneurship takes several conceptions and the creation of a business is the most visible manifestation of it. On the other hand, Thierry and Alain (2004) define entrepreneurship as a process leading to the creation of a company. According to Thierry and Saporta (2006), the study of business creation is not part of an analytical disjunction between the process and the organization to create. On the other hand, it is a systemic thought integrating the action and its result driven by the individual in a given environment. At this level the authors bring into play two new concepts, which are the individual and his environment. Thus, Khaled and Abdallah (2005) define entrepreneurship as the process that in an environment leads an entrepreneur to the creation of a business. According to Verstraete (2000), it is a phenomenon combining an individual and the environment, or the interaction between the individual and his environment (Weick, 1979). Thus, from the 1980, it was recognized in management science literature that the external environment plays a fundamental role alongside personal determinants in the process of creating new businesses.

2.2 Gender and entrepreneurship

The concept of gender originated with the appearance of the work by feminist anthropologist Boserup (1970) entitled "Woman role in economic development". The integration of this concept into development thinking and strategy has, according to D'Almeida (2007), been carried out in three stages. This part of the Integration of Women in Development (DFI) approach to the Women and Development (FED) approach before arriving at the Gender and Development (GED) approach. From the 1990s, the three approaches mentioned had largely converged (Smadi, 2018). Since then, other approaches have emerged around the theme of gender and development, among which we find the Empowerment approach, from which Brush (1992) initiates a new approach related to the study of female entrepreneurship, namely the integrated approach to women's entrepreneurship (IEF) with good reason, the field of entrepreneurship is also influenced by gender inequalities, especially since men are no longer considered as a universal category defining business creators, also women (Pailot, 2003).

The first works in entrepreneurship to have mobilized the gender approach refer to the management style of women entrepreneurs (Amrhar, 2003). Inspired by research in entrepreneurship, female entrepreneurship is presented as a subfield of the field of entrepreneurship (Brush & Jennifer, 2013). Based on an analysis of 81 articles on female entrepreneurship published between 1982 and 2000, Ahl (2003) concludes that empirical research on women entrepreneurs generally shows that entrepreneurs of both sexes have a lot in common. That is, women entrepreneurs have more similarities than differences with their male counterparts in terms of skills. On the other hand, there are studies (Calás, et al. (2009); Smith-Hunter et al. (2010); Lee-Gosselin, et al. (2010); Thompson et al. (2012); Derera et al. (2014); Sophie, et al. (2017); Croce, et al. (2016)), who complement that of Ahl (2003) by demonstrating that although there are more similarities than differences between women and men in terms of entrepreneurial skills, on the other hand, there are differences in the contextual realities experienced by the two sexes, which justify their successes or their failures in relation to the creation of companies. And failure to take into account the differences in realities experienced in an environment generates inequalities, which are manifested in access to the opportunities and resources necessary for the success of the business creation process (Smadi, 2018).

2.3 Sociocultural environment and female entrepreneurship

Based on a review of the scientific literature, three dominant approaches guide studies on female entrepreneurship. These are the behavioral approach, the managerial approach and the cultural approach to which this study fits.

Research relating to the cultural approach focuses on the woman entrepreneur in the social group, by taking into account the culture of the group through its rules and values which allow its members, and therefore business creators, to have an identity. It is therefore necessary to put the norms,

values, attitudes and behaviors of the milieu at the heart of the understanding of the phenomenon of the emergence of businesses driven by women (Brush, et al., 2009), for the simple reason that the singularity of female entrepreneurship cannot be understood without its contextualization in the environment through the socio-cultural realities within the group (Ezzahra, 2016), because, according to Vinet (2008), the inequalities between men and women observed in society result from a social construction initiated, legitimized and perpetuated through culture.

By positioning itself in the cultural approach, the theory of radical feminism of Greer and Greene, (2003) will facilitate our understanding of the phenomenon, because in management sciences, according to Mbengue and Isabelle (1999) there are many ways of doing things. Research (epistemological posture) if we refer in particular to the relationship between theory and empirical observation. The theory of radical feminism says, biologically differences between men and women cause society to view the psychological functioning of women as inherently different from that of men. Based on these differences, social systems give more power to men while discriminating against women through the patriarchal system in relation to sex. For the authors, patriarchy manifests itself in all social life, because the inequalities to the detriment of women are not due to the economic system, but to the social and cultural system of relationship between the two sexes, because it is a question of the values inculcated in the woman during her socialization. According to this theory, in society, women and men engage in activities that correspond to their culturally defined social role (Amrhar, 2001). Hypothesis supported by Eagly, et al. (1995), who say that gender differences in the entrepreneurial process are maintained by socio-cultural factors, in particular, the lack of support from the entourage for potential women entrepreneurs, business networks with a purely male mode of operation, absence model of women entrepreneurs, tribal and customary values, but also traditional norms and practices to the detriment of female entrepreneurship.

Lack of support from those around you

The support of those around you in the process of starting a business for a woman turns out to be of great importance and the absence of it is presented as a real handicap. The family and friends circle is made up of all relatives (parents, brothers and sisters, spouse, children and friends). This constant refers to the results highlighted by studies dealing with the question of the influence of the socio-cultural environment on motivational attitudes, in particular a study relating to the role of significant others in the careers of young athletes (Bras & Gernigon, 2006). The study shows that for young athletes, the fact of investing and persevering or not in athletics is closely related to the image and the feeling of confidence returned by the close entourage (Benjamin, et al., 2013). The non-involvement of those around them in the process of setting up businesses by women requires the non-validation of the entrepreneurial intention and the belief of relatives in the inability of women to succeed and carry out their projects business creation projects. This lack of support is also observed financially, because according to several studies, those around them may be reluctant to support the creation of businesses made by

women. According to Beaufort (2011), women say they perceive discriminatory attitudes from those around them with regard to the financing of their business creation projects and this discrimination against them is explained by the fact that they are women. The author adds that 49.7% of European women entrepreneurs consider that they are stuck in their business creation process on the financial aspect and that 28% of them say they have encountered more than one difficulty in accessing it. only men. For Forget (1997), the relationship between women entrepreneurs and those around them is tainted with sexist prejudices, they would thus come up against difficulties of access to financing due to the fact that they are not a priori identified as natural entrepreneurs due to the distribution of roles between genders.

Lack of role models for women entrepreneurs

The scarcity of models of women entrepreneurs to emulate stems from the socio-cultural realities of the area. This assertion is confirmed by Shapero&Sokol (1982), who say that there is a strong link between the emergence of entrepreneurs and the presence of role models in an environment. The latter are people who, by their attitude, behavior and actions, determine, for a given individual, the desirability and credibility of a choice to embark on the creation of businesses. The influence of these models is linked to gender, as an individual will be more influenced, in his aspirations, choices and decisions, by someone of the same sex as him (Fiske, et al., 1998). Thus, it has been shown that self-employed parents exert a different influence on their child depending on the latter's sex (Dun & Douglas, 1995). For the authors, the fact that the exercise of an independent activity by the father strongly influences the boys' decision to set up on their own, the same fact also holds true for a mother and girls, because the more the similarities between the model and the one who observes it, the more convincing the successes and failures of the model will be (Lippe&Dijk, 2002).

Business networks with masculine attitudes

The social environment, more broadly referred to as a network, is considered an important factor in the decision to embark on entrepreneurship. The importance of networks is that our actions are determined by the context of the environment to which we belong because, it provides the emotional support, persuasion, encouragement and ideas that will make a person take the leap or step forward. not in business and is successful (Lye, 1996).

But, the collective unconscious sees in women a wife and mother rather than a worker and entrepreneur (Schein, 2017). For the author, the assignment of women as wives and mothers in accordance with most cultures within social groups, appears to be the determining factor in the development of business networks with purely male modes of operation, thus fueling stubborn stereotypes. in relation to the experiences and behaviors that suit women. As a result, the networks, far from being neutral, appear gendered, because the dominant rules that reign there as well as the standards and practices are modeled on male models (Laufer, 2005), thus explaining the low commitment of women within these networks and why they use them less in a way oriented towards a business strategy (Bell, 2005).

Tribal and customary values

Tribal and customary values, which have become almost structural in most areas compared to modernity in the DRC, crush women and controls (Buakasa, 1996). Over time, there has developed within the family or the tribe in general a mentality that inferior, marginalizes and discriminates against the female sex where men behave as leaders and women as subordinates, because they are considered by all as being weak, less intelligent, source of misfortune and sower of trouble (Houeto, et al., 1975). This consideration is illustrated by the Lulua woman from Katanga who previously could not carry out entrepreneurial activities, a hypothesis confirmed by Diakit  (2004) in the Guinean context, where customary values make women of the Sousou ethnic group less enterprising than those of the Fulani ethnic group, by the simple fact that it is transmitted to the daughter of the soussou ethnic group, or the idea according to which her status depends more on her marital status and her fertility than on her activity. Attitude born from the prejudices that the working woman is light or not submissive (Bolie, 1996).

Traditional norms and practices

Congolese culture wants traditional norms and practices to be maintained and developed (Kitenge-Ya, 1980), because, like all women, Congolese women are called to respect them because they are considered in society to be the reproducers of culture, although faced with a contextual reality of modernity (Buakasa, 1996). For the author, traditional norms and practices that have become almost structural compared to modernity play against female entrepreneurship out of opportunity following traditional convictions such as the importance of homework as a primary activity for women, the decrease in of her commitment within the family in relation to her traditional role if she exercises other activities than domestic ones, the weakening of the authority of the husband if she also makes her financial contribution to the family income, without forgetting the problems often recorded in the event of travel occasioned by a business mission (Diakit , 2004).

With regard to the radical feminism theory of Greer and Greene (2003), we attempt to establish the links between socio-cultural variables and the low rate of business creation by women in Lubumbashi by making the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The lack of support from the entourage positively influences the low rate of business creation by women in Lubumbashi.

Hypothesis 2: The absence of models positively influences the low rate of business creation by women in Lubumbashi.

Hypothesis 3: Business networks with purely male models positively influence the low rate of business creation by women in Lubumbashi.

Hypothesis 4: Tribal and customary values positively influence the low rate of business creation by women in Lubumbashi.

Hypothesis 5: Traditional norms and practices positively influence the low rate of business creation by women in Lubumbashi.

We have just assumed a possible cause and effect relationship between the socio-cultural factors selected and the low rate of business creation by women in Lubumbashi. In the next part, we will present the context of the city of Lubumbashi by focusing more on its socio-cultural context.

2.4. Presentation of the city of Lubumbashi: Sociocultural context

In addition to the political and economic aspect not mentioned in this communication, the city of Lubumbashi also has the socio-cultural aspect qualified as Lushoise culture. This last aspect determines certain phenomena observed in society such as the tolerance for women to exercise a profession, the conception and the perception of values such as gender equality in the exercise of entrepreneurial activities.

From its creation until the end of colonial rule, that is, from 1910 to 1960, Lubumbashi was a city that discriminated against women (Bolie, 1996). Before colonization, the self-employment carried out by women in traditional settings was of great importance in its intensity, but could not accord any status to them by the little consideration that society seemed to give to this work. Thus, the woman had just a use value which was embodied in her participation in the family and clan economy (Rosalie, 2008). During colonization, the phenomenon of industrialization had sparked enormous migratory movements of indigenous laborers from villages to the city of Lubumbashi. From 1910 to 1928, these migratory movements were exclusively reserved for men because mining, the main reason for so-called movements in the new urban city, required male strength. After 1928, although accepted to live in Lubumbashi by means of an identity booklet called Mwikala which meant resident, and this just for reasons of physiological and psychological balance of their husbands after several hours of hard work, the women in Lubumbashi who already could not work, nor could they take initiative in terms of entrepreneurial activities, because during this period, the fact of self-employment by a woman was seen as proof of the inability of the husband to provide the needs of her family, and the wife had an obligation to preserve her husband's social image (Arthur, 2002). After colonization, several agreements at the international level and several laws and family codes at the national level were put in place to fight against gender inequalities, but the persistence of traditional practices and the culture inherited from colonization, in particular, the values instilled in women during their socialization, social norms, stereotypical behaviors, etc. cause the Lushoise culture to work against female entrepreneurship in the formal sector although these latest constraints to contribute to household income, because recently, following the appearance of the consumer society and the collapse of structures state, the majority of households in Lush have difficulty providing for their needs only with the husband's salary, which is otherwise sufficient for all the needs of the household (Laurent, et al., 2000).

3. Methodology

For this communication, we have chosen a methodological approach using the quantitative approach.

Choice of study framework

The city of Lubumbashi to attract our attention firstly, by its different phases in the evolution of its economic history and those of women's activities. And second, the availability and reliability of official business start-up statistics from the One Stop Shop.

Study population and sample size

The target population consisted of all women entrepreneurs in the city of Lubumbashi. These are those who have created a business alone or with partners or carrying out activity (s) alone or in association. Since it was impossible for us to reach all the women who constitute our study population, the sample was drawn in a probabilistic manner in order to give the whole population the chance to be represented, and this with the aim of to bring together the major characteristics of the mother population in the sample (Pascal & Annie, 2017). At the 95% significance level and 5% margin of error, the sample size is 96 women entrepreneurs to be interviewed, of whom only 65 responded to the previously tested questionnaire, for a response rate of 68%.

Data collection and processing methods

The approach used allowed us to present the socio-cultural context of the city of Lubumbashi in relation to female entrepreneurship while emphasizing the descriptions of the actions and lifestyles of the population before, during and after colonization. To carry out modeling (analysis of variance) using data collected from a Likert-type survey questionnaire with 4 measurement scales. And to specify the socio-cultural variables that can be considered as obstacles to the creation of businesses by women in Lubumbashi.

Verification of research hypotheses

To verify our research hypotheses, we had, from our 5 analysis variables retained in the search for links, applied the variable specification test (Sun of Squares type I, II and III) in order to determine the socio-cultural variables which positively influence the low rate of business creation by women in Lubumbashi.

4. Results

The results of this study provide information on the description of the profile of women entrepreneurs in Lubumbashi and on the relationship between socio-cultural variables and the entrepreneurial activities of women while specifying the socio-cultural determinants that positively influence the low rate of creation of new businesses undertaken by women in Lubumbashi.

4.1. Profile of the female entrepreneur in Lubumbashi

The majority of the study population is of a relatively young age, i.e. 78% is on average 35 years old, 36% of women entrepreneurs are married and have children, and finally, most of the sample has an educational level low, ie 78% are limited to secondary level.

4.2. Linear regression models

The results of our model generally demonstrate its conformity with the lessons of our theoretical analysis. Indeed, the modeling and test carried out show the existence of significant relationships between the dependent variable and the independent variables selected given the value of R2 equal to 0.477 or 48% and the value of the critical probability attached to the Fisher statistic equal at 0.001 and the significance level of 50%, or 0.001 < 0.05.

Table 1: Analysis of variance

Source	DDL	Somme des Carres	Moyenne des Carres	F	Pr> F
Modele	14	7,749	0,553	3,257	0,001
Erreur	50	8,497	0,170		
Total corrigé	64	16,246			

Source: We based on the results of the regression model.

By applying the model's variable specification test, the results shows that three variables out of the five selected are the determinants of low business creation by women. According to the test, any explanatory variable whose Pr> F value is below 0.05 positively influences the explained variable given the level of significance alpha = 0.05. And the one whose value so much towards 0 is the most influential.

Table 2: Variable specification test

Source	DDL	Somme des Carres	Moyenne des Carres	F	Pr> F
Manque de soutien de l'entourage	2,000	0,106	0,053	0,313	0,733
Reseaux aux attitudes masculines	2,000	1,265	0,633	3,723	0,031
Absence de modeles	2,000	0,120	0,060	0,354	0,703
Valeurs tribales et coutumieres	2,000	2,080	1,040	6,120	0,004
Normes traditionnelles	3,000	1,547	0,516	3,035	0,038

Source: ourselves on the basis of the results of the test on the variables of the regression model.

Referring to the information provided in Table 2, we note that networks with purely masculine attitudes, tribal and customary values and traditional norms positively influence the low rate of business creation by women in Lubumbashi, while specifying that the variable tribal and customary values is the most influential. And this by the simple fact that within the African family in general, and the Congolese in particular, the woman is the home. Considered as a giver of good through her domestic work, but also through her biological and cultural reproduction within the group (Cedaw, 1997), she is a needle to bring together and sew together the different members of the family (Joseph, 1972). Like all women, the Lushoise woman is called to play this role, but between two waters, tradition and modernity and both are all like the language of Oeusope, that is to say the best and worst thing (Buakasa, 1996). The author adds by saying that tribal and customary values, which have become almost structural compared to modernity, crush women and controls. While the other variables, namely the lack of support from those around them and the absence of models

of women entrepreneurs, have $P > F$ values beyond 0.05, therefore, do not positively influence the dependent variable.

- Lack of support from those around them: This variable has no positive influence on the scarcity of business creation by women, not because of culture, but on the contrary because of the state of spirit. It is important to remember that the mindset of women entrepreneurs has changed following certain events (Zahra, 2008). Since the advent of looting in Lubumbashi and subsequently that of a consumer society, the majority of Lush households are unable to meet their needs solely with the husband's salary (Mutwila, 2021). Called on to contribute to household income, the women succeeded in transforming unfavorable opinions into positive opinions towards entrepreneurship not out of opportunity in the formal, but rather that out of necessity in the informal, because according to the market study conducted by the Fund for Financial Inclusion in DR Congo published in February 2016, 90.2% of activities in Lubumbashi are informal and mainly carried out by women.
- Lack of female business creator models: it has no influence on the dependent variable due to traditional, tribal and customary restrictions on formal female entrepreneurship, restrictions that have become almost structural. Thus, women although in the presence of models that have succeeded in starting businesses do not even seek inspiration because the informality already endorsed by society seems to be the type of entrepreneurship that allows them to bypass said restrictions.

5. Conclusion

This study allowed the analysis of the relationship of the socio-cultural environment concept and female entrepreneurship in Lubumbashi. Through these results, this research specifies the socio-cultural variables that hinder the creation of businesses by women. After processing data collected in the field, the results show that three of the five variables retained after reviewing the literature positively influence the low rate of business creation by women in Lubumbashi. The positive and significant relationships noted between the explanatory variables, in particular, business networks with purely masculine attitudes, tribal and customary values, traditional norms and practices, and the dependent variable, confirm hypotheses H3, H4 and H5 and verify the theory of radical feminism of Greer and Greene (2003). As we mentioned in the literature review, several studies have highlighted the importance of taking into account the contextual realities specific to women entrepreneurs, in particular, the influence of socio-cultural factors, which define success or failure of the business creation process. Many research studies analyzing the question of the influence of the socio-cultural environment on the creation of businesses by women shows that this influence depends on the context of the study. Thus, the studies carried out by Zahra (2008), Saber (2002) and Diakité (2004) reveal the existence of socio-cultural determinants of the success and failure of the creation of businesses by women in Iranian and Guinean society, by Against the present study carried out on Congolese society, the city of Lubumbashi demonstrated the non-influence of

factors such as the lack of support from the entourage and the absence of models of women entrepreneurs.

To help women succeed in the process of setting up a business in Lubumbashi, this research recommends taking action in terms of legislation on customary laws and on traditional norms and practices. But, also transform discriminatory attitudes and behaviors towards women by raising awareness through the education system.

Although the present study sheds light on the nature of the socio-cultural determinants of the low rate of business creation by choosing the city of Lubumbashi as the empirical fields, 96 women entrepreneurs as the sample size and the theory of radical feminism for the explanation of the phenomenon, this research would have brought another look at the same phenomenon observed if it were a question of another city in the DRC, of another size of the sample and of another explanatory theory, tracks that other researchers can exploit.

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