RESILIENCE AND IMPERMANENCE

How can the resilience of internally displaced people be strengthened?

Caroline Kassell

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Centre for Development and Emergency Practice
Oxford Brookes University

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Abstract

As the number of people displaced by conflict and violence increases worldwide so the debate about how to assist them in the most effective way has also gained momentum. This study explores how the concept of building resilience can contribute to humanitarian programming with internally displaced persons (IDPs). Building resilience is about helping families, households and societies to be prepared for, cope with and adapt to sudden shocks or chronic stresses. Using a combination of literature reviews, interviews, and field based study this research investigates how the capacity of IDPs can be strengthened to be more resilient to the impacts of displacement. The design of the research is based around two current debates in the humanitarian sector:

- The practical application of resilience, especially in complex emergencies
- How the humanitarian sector can meet the needs of IDPs more effectively

In order to investigate how the resilience of IDPs can be built in practice, the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is used as a case study. With the fourth largest IDP population in the world (IDMC, 2014) and a history of continued conflict it is recognised that more needs to be done in eastern DRC to assist IDPs beyond humanitarian relief. The Vulnerability to Resilience Framework (Pasteur, 2011) is used as a guide to consider the key elements of resilience and their application in the DRC context. The framework includes four elements – preparation, ability to adapt to change, diverse and secure livelihoods and an enabling governance environment.

The literature review emphasised that building resilience is about more than acquiring resources or achieving desired outcomes. It is about the processes and means which increase the agency of people and enable them to choose positive strategies for resilience. In addition the importance of considering the political and social context was underlined as these will either hinder or facilitate people’s ability to be resilient.

Despite the challenges in implementing resilience programming in complex emergencies, the need to have a long term vision to strengthen the resilience of affected populations is recognised. The following 12 principles for building the resilience of IDPs are proposed based on the findings of the research:

1. Focus on preparation not just response.
2. Take the risk of displacement seriously, and plan mitigating actions into all programmes.
3. Enable access to key livelihood resources, such as land.
4. Be relevant and appropriate to the local context by involving IDPs in the design and planning of projects.
5. Enable choices so that IDPs are able to have some dignity and control over the assistance that they receive and can decide whether to return to their place of origin.
6. Encourage diversity of livelihoods to ensure that income is always available.
7. Encourage ownership of project outputs and the ability to maintain them.
8. Be holistic, provide psychosocial support as well as physical resources and services.
9. Facilitate new livelihood skills through training.
10. Build on existing structures and local authorities to encourage good governance and good management.
11. Include more conflict resolution and peacebuilding activities.
12. Support host communities to be able to assist IDPs.

The findings demonstrated that it is not so much about which programmes are implemented, but how they are implemented. Programmes need to be carried out with a long term vision, even in the early stages of a response. Building the agency of people through enabling participation, ownership, and decision-making are essential to ensure that IDPs are able to cope with and adapt to displacement rather than becoming trapped in a vicious cycle of dependence and increasing poverty.
Statement of Originality:

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

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Signed……………………………. (candidate)       Date …………………………

Statement of Ethics Review Approval

This dissertation involved human participants. A Form TDE E1 for each group of participants, showing ethics review approval, has been attached to this dissertation as an appendix.
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Most importantly, a big thank you to all those who took time out of their busy schedules to participate in interviews and discussions, whose knowledge and experiences enhanced this research.

To the people in Kalengera and Bunagara, may this research contribute to supporting you better on your pathway to resilience.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronyms</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALNAP</td>
<td>Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCM</td>
<td>Camp Coordination and Cam Management Cluster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CECA</td>
<td>Communauté Evangélique au Centre de l’Afrique (Evangelical Community in the Centre of Africa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNR</td>
<td>Commission Nationale pour le Refugiés (National Commission for Refugees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECB project</td>
<td>Emergency Capacity Building project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IASC</td>
<td>Inter-Agency Standing Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRC</td>
<td>International Rescue Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Person</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDMC</td>
<td>Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NFI</td>
<td>Non-Food Item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRC</td>
<td>Norwegian Refugee Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEAC</td>
<td>Province de l’Eglise Anglicane du Congo (Provincial Anglican Church of Congo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPSSP</td>
<td>Programme de Promotion de Soins de Santé Primaires (Programme for Promotion of Primary Health Care)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNISDR</td>
<td>United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>WASH</td>
<td>Water, Sanitation and Hygiene</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Glossary

Adaptation
The adjustment in natural or human systems in response to actual or expected changes, or their effects, which moderates harm or exploits beneficial opportunities (based on the definition by UNISDR, 2009).

Complex emergency
A multifaceted humanitarian crisis in a country, region or society where there is a total or considerable breakdown of authority resulting from internal or external conflict and which requires a multi-sectoral, international response that goes beyond the mandate or capacity of any single agency and/or the ongoing UN country programme (OCHA, 2003).

Internally Displaced Person
internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (UN OCHA, 1998).

Resilience
The ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate to and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions (UNISDR, 2009)

Returnee
Refugee or internally displaced person who has returned to their country or community of origin.

Shock
A natural or human-made hazard that, when it occurs, may cause loss of life, injury or other health impacts, property damage, loss of livelihoods and services, social and economic disruption, and environmental damage. For example, droughts, floods, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, epidemics, windstorms, heavy precipitation, chemical spills, conflict, and others (Turnbull, et al., 2013)

Stress
Negative pressures that take place over time which constrain the ability of an individual, household, population group, asset or system, to reach its full potential. For example, changing seasonality, irregular rainfall patterns, sea-level rise, population increase, and/or other negative long-term trends (Turnbull, et al., 2013)
1 Introduction

As the number of people displaced by conflict and violence increases worldwide so the debate about how to assist them in the most effective way has also gained momentum. 33.3 million people were internally displaced by the end of 2013, the highest number on record (IDMC, 2014). The majority of these were from just five countries: Syria, Colombia, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan (IDMC, 2014).

This study seeks to explore how the concept of building resilience can contribute to humanitarian programming with internally displaced persons (IDPs). Building resilience is about helping families, households and societies to be prepared for, cope with and adapt to sudden shocks or chronic stresses. Conflict can be a shock, as well as an underlying stress that can make communities more vulnerable to other shocks (USAID, 2012). Resilience thinking has been widely applied to situations of natural hazards and climate change, but has had limited application in conflict situations (Levine and Mosel, 2014).

In order to investigate how resilience can be built in practice the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has been used as a case study. With the fourth largest IDP population in the world (IDMC, 2014) and a history of continued conflict it was felt that a wealth of information and knowledge could be gleaned from the experiences of displaced people and humanitarian actors in country. The east of DRC remains in chronic crisis even though many resources have been committed to establishing peace and stability, and the humanitarian response has been large. Continued, multiple displacements coupled with high levels of poverty are reducing the population’s ability to cope with each new wave of displacement (Do More Good Network, 2014b). In this context local government, United Nations (UN) agencies and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are discussing how to improve the assistance to IDPs and how to find more durable solutions to their needs. It is hoped that the conclusions of the research will be of use to humanitarian actors in-country and elsewhere.

This study aims to investigate how the capacity of internally displaced persons can be strengthened to be more resilient to the impacts of displacement.

The design of the research was based around two current debates in the humanitarian sector:

- The practical application of resilience, especially in complex emergencies
- How the humanitarian sector can meet the needs of IDPs more effectively

Using a combination of literature reviews, interviews and field based study the following research questions were explored in the context of eastern DRC:

- What are the vulnerabilities and capacities of IDPs?
- What are the current approaches by humanitarian actors to assist IDPs?
- Which approaches are most effective in building the resilience of IDPs?
- What are the challenges of building the resilience of IDPs?
- Are there aspects which need more attention in order to effectively build the resilience of IDPs?
- What are the lessons that can be learnt for increasing the resilience of IDPs in the DRC and in other countries?
2 Research methods

This research was designed after discussions with friends and colleagues working in the humanitarian sector. It was also based on my personal experience of working in disaster management over 12 years mainly in Haiti, Sierra Leone, Burundi, and the Sahel region of West Africa.

A literature review was carried out using secondary sources of books, reports, journals and online articles. This provided the background theory for the case study.

The DRC was chosen as a case study due to its long history of conflict and the involvement of humanitarian actors. South Sudan, the Central African Republic and the Darfur region of Sudan were also considered, but more information and contacts were available for DRC. It is also slightly more secure and accessible at the moment than the other countries, so for practical and security reasons the DRC was more appropriate.

Two weeks were spent in Goma in North Kivu province in eastern DRC at the end of July 2014. During this time six focus group discussions were carried out. Three with representatives from national NGOs, one with representatives from United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Camp Coordination and Camp Management (CCCM) cluster, and two with adults who had experienced displacement. The first four groups contained four or five people. See Table 1 below for a list of focus group participants. The questions are listed in Appendix 1.
Table 1: List of focus group participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focus group 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Focus group 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area Coordinator</td>
<td>Province de l’Eglise Anglicane du Congo (PEAC)</td>
<td>Protection Cluster Coordinator</td>
<td>UNHCR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area Coordinator</td>
<td>Province de l’Eglise Anglicane du Congo (PEAC)</td>
<td>CCCM Cluster Coordinator</td>
<td>UNHCR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer in Development</td>
<td>Université Shalom de Bunia</td>
<td>CCCM Cluster Assistant Field Officer</td>
<td>UNHCR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field worker</td>
<td>IRC</td>
<td>Rapid Response Team Leader</td>
<td>Global CCCM Cluster, UNHCR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focus group 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Focus group 4</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinator</td>
<td>Diocese of Aru Development Office</td>
<td>2 Technical Supervisors</td>
<td>Programme de Promotion de Soins de Santé Primaires (PPSSP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinator</td>
<td>Communauté Évangélique au Centre de l’Afrique (CECA)</td>
<td>Deputy Director</td>
<td>PPSSP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Worker</td>
<td>Plan International</td>
<td>Logistics Manager</td>
<td>PPSSP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor</td>
<td>Action Entreaide</td>
<td>Sanitation Supervisor</td>
<td>PPSSP</td>
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For the last two groups a field visit was facilitated by Tearfund, a British NGO, to areas where they were working in North Kivu province. One focus group was held in Bunagara with about 20 participants. The second was held in Kalengera with 16 participants. Roughly equal numbers of men and women participated and both contributed freely. At the beginning of each session the purpose of the meeting and how the information would be used was explained to all participants. Discussion was initiated by asking them about their most recent experience of being displaced. Their replies were then used as a spring board to ask further questions around the four themes in the Resilience framework (see page 23). See Appendix 2 for a list of questions. Questions were asked in French and translated into

Figure 2: Photo of the focus group discussion in Kalengera
the local language in each location by Tearfund staff. Responses were also translated back which were then noted down.

Two workshops were also attended in Goma. One organised by Tearfund focused on practical ways that local partner organisations could integrate resilience thinking into their programmes. The other was led by UNHCR and attended by UN agencies, NGOs and Government representatives. It explored durable solutions for IDPs living in North Kivu province.

Finally, 12 semi-structured interviews were carried out. Six were organised in Goma with staff from international NGOs, a representative from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and from the National Commission for Refugees (CNR). Six were organised and held using Skype with international NGO staff. See Table 2 below for a list of key informants interviewed. Some interviewees were selected through personal contact with relevant people and others were chosen using a snowball technique and following suggestions from initial interviewees. Each interview lasted about one hour, loosely following pre-set questions. See Appendix 1 for a list of questions.

Information from websites and reports from NGOs, the UN and other organisations working with IDPs were also used to complement the primary data collection.

Table 2: List of key informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emergency and Recovery Coordinator</td>
<td>Catholic Relief Services (CRS)</td>
<td>Resilience Advisor, West and Central Africa Team</td>
<td>Tearfund UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Commission Nationale pour le Refugiés (CNR)</td>
<td>Global Resilience Advisor</td>
<td>Tearfund UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme Manager</td>
<td>Concern Worldwide</td>
<td>Programme Manager</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme Manager</td>
<td>Mercy Corps</td>
<td>Advocacy Manager</td>
<td>World Vision DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displacement Programme Manager</td>
<td>Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)</td>
<td>Protection Advisor</td>
<td>World Vision DRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Security Coordinator</td>
<td>Tearfund DRC</td>
<td>Senior Conflict Advisor</td>
<td>World Vision UK</td>
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Limitations
Although the aim was to explore principles for working with IDPs which could be applied in many countries it is realised that the research is focused on a specific country and a specific area of that country. The history of the conflict in DRC and the particular culture of the region will mean that some findings are more relevant to that context than to others. The vulnerabilities and capacities of displaced populations are always country and area specific.
For the focus groups it was not possible to get a truly random selection of participants. The groups were self-selecting to some degree depending on those who were available at the time of the visit. For the field visits Tearfund did not select the participants, but a local contact in each place made people aware of the time of the visit and gathered people together. However this is not believed to have biased the findings as a suitably large group of men and women were able to gather at each place. This gave a good overview of their experiences.

To build true resilience populations need to be able to cope with and recover from multiple types of shocks and stresses. This study focuses on one kind of shock (displacement) linked to one kind of stress (conflict). However this was a deliberate decision in order to keep the study focused and specific. It was also felt that resilience to displacement was an area which had less research and was less discussed, despite being a very real challenge. In reality, humanitarian actors may also need to consider how to integrate other shocks such as drought or flooding, or other stresses such as epidemics, into their programmes to assist displaced people.
3 Literature Review

3.1 Defining Resilience

The discourse on resilience in the humanitarian sector has grown in recent years out of efforts to combine disaster risk reduction, climate change adaptation, and poverty reduction (The Resilience Project, 2012; Levine, et al., 2012). Focus on the concept has increased since the adoption by the United Nations (UN) of the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015 with the aim of “building the resilience of nations and communities to disasters” (UNISDR, 2007, p. 1). In addition major donors such as the Department for International Development (DfID, 2011), United States Agency for International Development (USAID, 2012) and the European Union (EU, 2013) have adopted resilience approaches as central to their funding and consequently influenced debates within the aid sector.

The concept of resilience is supposedly relatively intuitive, enabling actors across disciplines to mobilise with a common goal (Levine, et al., 2012; Béné, et al., 2012; Levine and Mosel, 2014). However the meaning of resilience and its application to development and humanitarian work continues to be debated. The concept of resilience has been used in the fields of ecology, psychology, structural engineering and social sciences among others (Manyena, 2006; Bahadur, et al., 2010). Building on these disciplines the UN International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR) has established a definition which is commonly accepted in the humanitarian sector:

*The ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate to and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions* (UNISDR, 2009).

**Key concepts**

Resisting or absorbing implies being able to cope with the impacts of a sudden shock, such as floods, or the impacts of a longer term stress, such as ill-health. Other definitions use the words “withstanding” (EU, 2013) or “maintaining living standards” (DfID, 2011). In order to resist or absorb the impacts of the hazard there is normally an element of anticipation or preparedness. Short term coping strategies, such as selling assets or spending savings, are often used to maintain the status quo.

Secondly, there is an aspect of accommodating or adapting. This involves some level of change either to moderate potential damage or take advantage of new opportunities and changing circumstances (DfID, 2011). Sometimes adaptation is done ahead of a predicted event or at other times it is carried out as a result of an experience in order to cope with the consequences. Previously disaster risk reduction approaches had dealt with known risks, but resilience now includes consideration of unknown or uncertain risks as a key concept. This is especially pertinent for climate change. Flexibility, innovation and learning are key requirements for successful adaptation.

Thirdly, depending on the hazard, it may be necessary for an individual, household or community to undergo significant changes, not just adapting, but transforming aspects of their life (DfID,
It is helpful to identify this transformative change separately to smaller adaptive changes.

The key outcome of being resilient is that people are able to recover quickly from a shock or a stress. Either they return to their previous living standards, if they were acceptable, or they recover to a position which puts them in a better place for the future. Most definitions emphasise that recovery should not compromise future wellbeing (DFID, 2011; USAID, 2012; Turnbull et al., 2013). As Levine and Mosel (2014) point out, resilience is not just about how much people lose, but how much they suffer. People are resilient when they can avoid falling into unacceptable living conditions.

Absorb versus adapt
How people respond to a hazard depends on whether they are responding to a short term and sudden shock or a long term, on-going stress. The circumstances will dictate whether people seek to cope and return to the status quo, or whether they have to adapt and change. Pain and Levine (2012) point out that there may be trade-offs between absorbing and adapting. The resources necessary to absorb the impact of a disaster are not necessarily the same as those that enable people to adapt. For example farmers may be forced to sell animals during a drought period in order to have money to buy food. This may help them cope in the short term, but not necessarily in the long term. Manyena (2006) concludes that coping is insufficient and emphasises adaptation and change as the important aspects of resilience. But adapting may also result in negative strategies which are detrimental in the long term. Béné et al. (2012) suggest that the either/or discourse is unhelpful and instead more focus should be given to the potential synergies between the three dimensions of resilience. They suggest that resistance or absorptive capacity is a necessary condition to enable positive adaptation and change.

Systems approach
The inclusion of “systems” in many definitions originates from climate change thinking concerning ecosystems and the wider relationships between society and the natural environment. The systemic approach is beneficial in understanding the interconnectedness between people and their environment and the impact of shocks and stresses across scales from the local to global level. In addition it is useful to consider that shocks can affect individual households and whole communities or countries at the same time (Béné et al., 2012; Bahadur et al., 2010). This approach requires an integrated response considering all hazards and responding across sectors (Tearfund, 2013). Resilience is not just based on strengths and capacities in one sector. The whole system or environment and therefore all aspects of an individual or community’s life have to be considered. However Levine et al. (2012) have argued that an emphasis on systems is unhelpful as it implies a clearly defined system with an internal level of resilience facing an external threat. Human societies are often more complex. A systems approach also concentrates on the ability of the system or community to recover from shocks, rather than the ability of the individuals within it. Resilience in the context of development and humanitarian work needs to be more focused on the agency of people and the social dynamics which may help or hinder resilience at the individual or household level (Béné et al., 2012; The Resilience Project, 2012; Pain and Levine, 2012;).
Achieving resilience

One of the key challenges for resilience programmes is knowing when households or communities have become resilient and how to maintain this. Often aid programmes focus on results. In this way resilience can be understood as an outcome and certain characteristics measured to prove that this state has been achieved. Manyena (2006) notes that when resilience is seen as an outcome, there is a tendency to focus on controlling hazards and impacts often with technological solutions in order to maintain the status quo. However literature suggests that it is more useful to understand resilience as a process or an ability (Manyena, 2006; Béné, et al., 2012; Pain and Levine, 2012). Considering resilience as a process puts the emphasis on actions which will increase the capacity of the affected population to cope and recover. Often this can only be assessed in hindsight once a new shock or stress has taken place (Pain and Levine, 2012).
3.2 The Experiences of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

We are now seeing the highest number of people displaced since the Second World War. 51.2 million people are currently displaced globally, including 33.3 million internally displaced persons (UNHCR, 2014). The war in Syria has significantly contributed to this increase, but also the conflicts in the DRC, the Central African Republic and South Sudan. During 2013 10.7 million people were newly displaced of which 8.7 million were IDPs. This is the highest figure since records began 25 years ago (UNHCR, 2014).

Causes and context
In the early 1980s there were estimated to be around 1 million IDPs globally. By the end of the 1990s this figure had risen to 25 million (Collinson, et al., 2009). This increase was largely thought to be attributable to the changing nature of conflict and the rise in communal violence and civil wars since the end of the Cold War period (Cohen and Deng, 1998; Vincent and Refslund Sorensen, 2001; Collinson, et al., 2009). Civilian displacement became a military and political objective in attempts to rid areas of certain ethnic groups. In addition neighbouring states became more unwilling to accept large refugee flows and efforts were therefore made to keep displaced populations within their country of origin (Cohen and Deng, 1998; Vincent and Refslund Sorensen, 2001).

For these reasons the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement were agreed by the UN in 1998 in order to clarify the responsibilities of states for the prevention of displacement and the protection and assistance of IDPs. Internally Displaced Persons were defined as “Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of, armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights, or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border.” (UN OCHA, 1998, Introduction, point 2)

In 2009 African states built on the Guiding Principles to establish the Kampala Convention. This Convention clarifies the obligations and roles of African States and other local and international actors in preventing and responding to internal displacement (Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement, 2014).

However despite the guidelines and agreements the assistance to IDPs is still politically motivated. IDPs may receive more aid and attention in areas which are politically strategic. National and international governments are more concerned about areas where mass displacement could cause insecurity and instability. In other areas crises are overlooked with IDPs receiving less assistance than refugees who may be more visible (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2002).

Even in situations where the National Government is willing to aid IDPs it may lack funds or expertise. Especially in situations of conflict, resources may be prioritised for the war effort. State services and infrastructure are also likely to be damaged, hindering services to the displaced (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2002).
Challenges for IDPs

When families and communities are displaced they are exposed to new threats and conditions of vulnerability. In a global survey of IDPs women and children were identified as the most vulnerable (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2002). Women and girls are vulnerable to sexual assault, rape or being forced to join armed forces as sex slaves or cooks. In the DRC sexual and gender based violence has become a defining feature of the conflict and a direct link has been found between forced displacement and sexual violence (UNHCR, 2012).

Children are often the most vulnerable to malnutrition, and diseases linked to poor sanitation or shelter. A survey by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) estimated that the majority of deaths in conflict affected areas of the DRC were caused by malnutrition and preventable diseases rather than violence. Children accounted for 47% of deaths even though they only make up 19% of the population (IRC, 2007).

The experiences of conflict and displacement may cause psychological trauma in children as well as adults. This has been recognised by psychologists since the 1980s, but it was only in the mid-1990s that humanitarian organisations started to fund psycho-social programmes for refugees and IDPs with the aim of helping them recover and adapt to their situations (Doná, 2012).

As well as physical and emotional suffering displaced people often experience disruption to their livelihoods and loss of assets and resources. Possessions may be left behind as they flee, or sold to assist with the journey (Cohen and Deng, 1998). If IDPs do not have access to the resources and assets needed for their livelihoods in their place of displacement then they quickly become dependent on food aid. In addition they may become deskillled if they are not able to practice their normal employment (Cohen and Deng, 1998).

Displaced households will often try to remain as close as possible to their place of origin to be near their property or land in order to protect it or to continue using it (Collinson, et al., 2009; Human Rights Watch, 2010). Land and property may be taken over by other remaining families in the absence of the original owners (Collinson, et al., 2009; IDMC, 2014). Disputes over land rights are one of the biggest issues for returnees (IDMC, 2014).

Security of tenure can also be an issue for IDPs in their location of displacement, especially if they are living outside of a camp setting. Substandard housing and living conditions and the risk of forced eviction are issues currently facing many IDPs, especially those in urban areas (IDMC, 2014).

Families are not just affected individually, but whole communities are affected socially. As communities scatter they may be divided over multiple displacement sites. Separation from their place of origin means that families do not have access to the traditional social and political structures which would normally protect them (Ryan and Keyzer, 2013). New communities may be formed in displacement camps, but structures of leadership change. Social relationships suffer and may breakdown during displacement (Cohen and Deng, 1998).

The way that IDPs cope with displacement depends on the distance they move, the nature of local governance and social support networks, and access to markets and other livelihood assets (Collinson, et al., 2009). Some may be limited from moving very far or crossing an international
border due to lack of resources (Collinson, et al., 2009). Initial displacement may lead to further displacement due to insecurity or voluntarily to seek out employment and livelihood opportunities. Mobility itself is part of a coping strategy. As Vincent (2001) points out, the ability of IDPs to adapt to their experience of displacement is frequently overlooked.

**Challenges for humanitarian responses**

**Duration**

Displacement is often assumed to be temporary. However there are an increasing number of situations which UNHCR class as “protracted refugee situations” (PRS) where more than 25,000 people are in exile for more than five years. Currently 15 sub-Saharan countries have IDPs living in situations of protracted displacement (IDMC, 2014). A study in 2008 found that 44% of IDPs in North Kivu province in DRC have been displaced for over a year (Haver, 2008).

On-going conflict can also result in multiple displacements over a long period of time. Some repeatedly flee from their place of origin or have to move from the place of initial refuge. In some areas of the DRC and Somalia at least two thirds of IDPs have been displaced multiple times (IDMC, 2014). A report by Human Rights Watch (2010) identified 3 patterns of mobility amongst IDPs in eastern DRC: those who risk remaining close to home to work their fields, living in the forests or with host families; those who live slightly further away in a safe location, but return to check on their homes or their fields on a regular basis; those who return home once safe, only to flee again later.

Even in situations where the height of the crisis has finished, those who were displaced may not be able to return home. Issues of security, livelihoods, land and property ownership and access to services may prevent them from returning (IDMC, 2014; Human Rights Watch, 2010). Alternatively, displaced people may choose not to return to their place of origin even if it is safe, as they may have established their lives in a new place. They may also estimate that there are more livelihood opportunities in their current location (Collinson, et al., 2009).

UNHCR has recognised that return is not always possible or desirable and has suggested local integration as an alternative durable solution (IASC, 2010a). However this can be politically tense if local authorities do not wish the displaced people to remain in the area. In addition they may want the problems for IDPs to be clearly visible in order to put pressure on the international community to help to resolve the conflict (UNHCR, 2012). However the reality is that those who are better integrated into the social and economic life of the host community will be more able to positively contribute to the community and the local economy. They will also be more able to manage a durable solution to the problems faced in displacement (UNHCR, 2012).

**Location**

Humanitarian organisations have often focused their assistance on displacement camps in order to facilitate targeting, distributions and monitoring (Haver, 2008). When IDPs live outside of camps in host communities this can create challenges for aid agencies in terms of accessing the displaced populations due to poor roads and insecurity (Haver, 2008; Norwegian Refugee Council, 2002). Currently however more than 60% of IDPs worldwide are living outside camp settings either with family or friends, in informal settlements or in rented accommodation (IDMC, 2014). This reflects the situation in the DRC where a study found that 70% of IDPs in the North Kivu province were living with host families or communities (Haver, 2008).
Camps are often overcrowded with unsanitary conditions. Inadequate food, water and shelter lead to the spread of diseases and malnutrition (Collinson, et al., 2009). In insecure areas displaced people may be forced to remain within the confines of the camp which many organisations argue is a denial of their human right to freedom of movement (Collinson, et al., 2009). In the 1996 camps in DRC were also targeted in attacks against Rwandan Hutus (CCCM Cluster, 2014).

Camps are considered an undesirable place to live whereas living with host families provides physical and emotional security. For this reason the majority of IDPs in Eastern DRC choose to stay with family or those of the same ethnic group. Farming opportunities are another consideration as many try to stay close to their fields (Rohwerder, 2013). However in situations of longer term displacement IDPs may gravitate towards camp settings in order to receive more adequate humanitarian assistance and to reduce the burden on the hosts (Haver, 2008). The CCCM cluster has noted that camps tend to be more prominent in protracted displacement situations such as in Darfur, Chad, Burundi and DRC whereas newly displaced people tend to settle with host communities (CCCM Cluster, 2014).

Some humanitarian actors have argued that IDPs should not be singled out for assistance. Targeting only IDPs may cause friction and conflict with host communities or may lead to discrimination (Haver, 2008; Ryan and Keyzer, 2013). Not all displaced people are equally vulnerable as it depends on their initial standard of living, and not all displaced are more vulnerable than the host communities (Collinson, et al., 2009). In fact many of the problems and needs that IDPs face are also faced by poor households (Collinson, et al., 2009). It is complex to distinguish between on-going chronic needs of the poor and specific needs of the displaced (IASC, 2010b). Despite increasing recognition of these debates Collinson et al (2009) note a continued focus on protection and assistance to IDPs based in camps. This has been the case in North Kivu, DRC where IDPs in camps have been privileged over other IDPs and host communities (IDMC, 2014; Ryan and Keyzer, 2013). It is suggested that a better option would be community based services and assistance targeting host households. These would have the dual benefit of helping host communities at the same time as IDPs and would also assist the integration of IDPs in to the local community (UNHCR, 2012).
### 3.3 The Relevance of Resilience in Displacement

The concept of building resilience is about helping families, households and societies to be prepared for, cope with and adapt to sudden shocks or chronic stresses. Conflict can be a shock, as well as an underlying stress that can make communities more vulnerable to other shocks (USAID, 2012).

A consideration of how different shocks and stresses overlap is key for building resilience (The Resilience Project, 2012; Tearfund, 2013). Much work on resilience focuses on integrating natural disasters and climate change. However in doing so there is a risk that other aspects get overlooked (The Resilience Project, 2012). Non-climate hazards, conflict and other man-made stresses have not been addressed in the same way.

Although a number of resilience approaches and frameworks mention conflict it is mostly in relation to scarcity of natural resources due to climate change (The Resilience Project, 2012; EU, 2013; Turnbull, et al., 2013). Even in fragile states such as Somalia, Mali and Chad the main examples of building resilience are linked to accessing food and water resources (EU, 2013). Little has been written about working in a context of national or regional conflict or building resilience in contexts where populations may be displaced as a result of conflict. As Levine and Mosel (2014) point out it is precisely in these situations where people need to be the most resilient.

**Linking relief and development**

With the increase in protracted crises around the world there is growing recognition that more needs to be done to effectively assist those who are caught up in those crises (Ashdown, 2011; Do More Good Network, 2014a). Short-term humanitarian aid is no longer appropriate for those in long term crisis situations (Pain and Levine, 2012). Resilience can therefore be a useful concept for re-thinking the traditional concept of emergency relief versus longer term development. Resilience encourages humanitarian actors not just to help communities to cope with crises, but to adapt and take transformative action.

Levine et al (2012) suggest that this requires a change in the way humanitarian actors organise and manage their work. Development approaches are better placed to encompass resilience and bring about structural change rather than short term emergency relief. They question whether humanitarian aid can be used to contribute to adaptation and transformation. In-depth contextual analysis and longer term planning are required which are often lacking from emergency responses.

**Maintaining well-being**

A key concept of resilience in relation to crises is that people are able to maintain or quickly recover their well-being (Pain and Levine, 2012). In conflict situations this is important as repeated displacements can otherwise lead to a vicious cycle of poverty. With each wave of displacement, the vulnerability of households increases and options for coping and recovering are reduced. In areas where displacement is a common experience more needs to be done to help families and communities to build and maintain their abilities to cope with this (Beytrison and Kalis, 2013).
Interconnections

Systemic approaches to resilience emphasise that an individual or community cannot be considered in isolation. This is especially relevant in conflict situations where social and power dynamics are complex. To effectively build the capacity of IDPs it is necessary to take into consideration the environment in which they live.

Systemic approaches also emphasise the interconnectedness between humans and the natural environment. Building resilience includes ensuring that future well-being is not compromised. This is helpful in designing programmes to take into consideration the impact of mass displacement on the natural environment in the host area.

Given the above arguments, it is clear that resilience thinking can usefully contribute to approaches addressing displacement and impacts of conflict. Nevertheless key questions remain as to how to build the resilience of individuals and communities in practice.

Building agency

The characteristics of resilient communities have been described in literature by Bahadur et al (2010) and Twigg (2009). However it is questionable if characteristics such as community cohesion and involvement in policy-making, good governance, and social and economic equity are possible to achieve in conflict settings (Pain and Levine, 2012). Béné et al (2012) note that a degree of stability is necessary to enable adaption and transformation. Households need stability in order to build assets and resources which provide capacity for change. Stability is also needed to build strong institutions and social assets essential for adaptive capacity. Therefore Pain and Levine (2012) suggest that in insecure environments a focus on the processes and means which contribute to resilience may be more practical rather than a focus on desired outcomes. This would involve tackling the policies and practices which constrain people’s access to assets and their abilities to cope. Such actions would build the agency of people to be able to make a range of informed, independent choices in order to plan and invest for their future. (Pain and Levine, 2012; Levine and Mosel, 2014).

Good resilience

Some literature has emphasised that the concept of resilience in itself is not necessarily good or bad (Béné, et al., 2012; Pain and Levine, 2012). An authoritarian government may be resilient, but this is not necessarily a good thing for its citizens. When building the resilience of communities, especially in conflict settings, it is important to analyse power dynamics to ensure that the benefits are reaching the most vulnerable (Pain and Levine, 2012). In addition the pitfall must be avoided of helping people to adapt to changes rather than tackling the root causes of a crisis (Béné, et al., 2012). This is especially challenging in places with conflict.

As early as 1998 Cohen and Deng noted that the international community’s focus on relief assistance with IDPs would be more effective if it was part of a larger strategy. In this way dependency and unviable solutions could be avoided. Recently there has been increasing emphasis by international donors and agencies on integrating displacement into long-term responses, but this has yet to translate into real changes on the ground in the way aid is delivered (IDMC, 2014).
4 Resilience Framework

In order to move from theory to practice major donors such as DfID (2011), USAID (2012) and the EU (2012) have defined their understanding of resilience and drawn up conceptual frameworks. Guidelines towards building resilient communities have also been produced. Practical Action (Pasteur, 2011), the Interagency Resilience Working Group (2012), the ECB Project (Turnbull, et al., 2013) and The Resilience Project (2012) outline processes and principles for achieving resilient communities. Alternatively Twigg (2009) and Bahadur et al (2010) have identified the characteristics of disaster resilient communities. These are intended to be goals to work towards and they provide an image of what a resilient community may look like in practice. The Resilience project suggests that “fostering resilience is about changing how we programme rather than what we programme” (2012, p. 6).

For the purposes of this study the Vulnerability to Resilience Framework created by Pasteur (2011) will be used as a basis for considering approaches to build resilience in displaced populations (see Figure 3). As with most resilience frameworks, it is more relevant to situations of natural disaster and climate change rather than conflict (Twigg, 2009; Bahadur, et al., 2010; The Resilience Project, 2012; Turnbull, et al., 2013). However the key aspects necessary for building resilience in all contexts are included in this framework in a clear way.

The framework considers resilience as a process combining four elements – hazards and stresses, future uncertainty, livelihoods, and governance. People can move from a vulnerable to a resilient state through an integrated approach of improving disaster preparedness and adaptive capacity, strengthening livelihoods and promoting good governance. Although the original framework lists securing sufficient food as a resilience outcome, I have amended this to cover all basic needs. The outcomes are therefore the ability to manage risk, adapt to change and secure basic needs. This implies that an individual or household is able to absorb, adapt or transform and recover from a disaster. Importantly the core elements of the framework also take human agency and power dynamics into consideration.

![Figure 3: Resilience Framework, part of the Vulnerability to Resilience Framework (Pasteur, 2011)](image)

Disaster preparedness can be built through enabling communities to analyse the hazards and stresses that they face. In this way they can then carry out actions to prevent the disaster or to
protect themselves. Early warning systems and awareness of when a disaster may be imminent and how to react are important factors. Although displacement may be expected, often the exact time and nature of the displacement will be unknown. It is often hard to predict how a conflict situation will progress due to the nature and complexity of actors involved. Planning for an emergency and establishing a contingency plan will ensure that households and communities are able to protect their lives and assets.

Livelihoods that are able to remain functioning even during a crisis are a key aspect of resilience. This enables households to have an income and maintain their well-being on multiple levels. Resilient livelihoods are secure and diverse so that if one aspect is affected then other sources of income are still available. Identifying key productive assets and resources and ensuring that communities have access to these resources even during times of crisis is important. These assets may be physical, natural, social, human, or economic (DFID, 1999). Securing access to resources may involve strengthening and supporting communities to tackle policies and practices which hinder access.

The capacity of people to adapt depends on their ability to understand the changes in the context around them even if those changes are uncertain. Ensuring access to relevant and timely information enables communities to make informed choices about their future. The confidence to learn and experiment using new and innovative solutions is also essential. This framework was designed initially with a focus on natural disasters and climate change. However the ability to adapt to changes in living conditions and the social environment is applicable to conflict situations.

Finally, the governance environment is the element which underpins the other aspects. Effective governance structures and justice systems are key to community resilience. This involves decentralised and participatory decision-making. Policies and practices at local, district and national levels also need to be linked. The formal and informal decision-making structures and their policies and practices all impact on how individuals and communities are able to cope with shocks and stresses. Ultimately underlying systemic issues need to be addressed to ensure sustainable resilience.

In conflict situations the necessary support and accountability from those in power is lacking. Much literature assumes an enabling governance environment as a prerequisite for building resilience (Twigg, 2009; Bahadur, et al., 2010; Pasteur, 2011; Interagency Resilience Working Group, 2012; USAID, 2012; Turnbull, et al., 2013). Levine and Mosel (2014) suggest that although it is always necessary to engage with the state, even when they may be party to the conflict, it is also helpful to find other partners and allies with which to collaborate in order to achieve objectives.
The history of the Democratic Republic of Congo is defined by civil war and corruption. Ever since independence in 1960 there have been a series of army mutinies and coup d’etats (BBC, 2014). According to the Human Development Index 2014, the DRC is ranked 186th out of 187 countries, just below its neighbours Chad and the Central African Republic, but scraping in ahead of Niger. With a population of 67.5 million almost 88% live below the poverty line. 74% are classed as being in multidimensional poverty based on education, health, and living standards. The average life expectancy is 50 years (UNDP, 2014).

In the east of the DRC people have been forced to flee violence and human rights abuses since the mid-1990s due to various conflicts and the spill over of unrest in neighbouring countries. Drivers of the conflict involve local, national and regional factors including land disputes, ethnic identity and control of mineral resources (Kooy and Bailey, 2012). Despite a peace agreement in December 2013 which ended the most recent rebellion by the March 23 Movement (M23), numerous other armed groups remain active in eastern DRC including Mai-Mai militias, Raia Mutomboki, the Rwandan Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) and the Ugandan Allied Democratic Forces (ADF). The Ugandan rebel group the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) also carried out attacks in 2013 (IDMC, 2014). The Congolese army (FADRC) have also been accused of abuses against the civilian population (Human Rights Watch, 2010).

Almost 1 million people were displaced during 2013 bringing the total number of IDPs to just under 3 million, the fourth largest IDP population in the world behind Syria, Colombia and Nigeria (IDMC, 2014). Most of those displaced are in the east of the country with more than half located in the provinces of North and South Kivu (See Figure 4 on page 26). The majority (72%) live with host families while the remaining 28% are in camps or informal sites. The length of displacement varies with some displaced for only a few days or weeks at a time, but others have been displaced for many years (IDMC, 2014).

Despite being a signatory to the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement the Congolese government have often seemed unable or unwilling to protect and assist IDPs (Human Rights Watch, 2010). Communities have instead turned for protection to local armed vigilantes. However these groups are often ethnically-based heightening inter-ethnic tensions (IDMC, 2014). Protection is also provided by the UN’s largest peacekeeping force, the UN Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) (BBC, 2014).

For humanitarian assistance IDPs are mainly dependent on international and national humanitarian actors (Human Rights Watch, 2010). The priorities identified in the UN’s Strategic Plan for 2014 are water, sanitation and hygiene; education; food and livelihoods; shelter and household items; nutrition; health; and protection (UN OCHA, 2013). Key challenges for IDPs regarding their ability to meet their own basic needs are access to land for cultivation, options for alternative livelihoods and access to basic services. In addition, due to on-going insecurity and violence, further displacement is a continual risk for the population (IDMC, 2014).
Given that aid agencies have been working with IDPs and refugees in eastern Congo for almost 20 years, many are starting to question the effectiveness of emergency humanitarian responses. Initiatives such as the Do More Good Network have been set up by NGOs who are seeking to find longer term solutions to the current issues in DRC (Do More Good Network, 2014a). Currently, most NGOs are focused on providing water, sanitation, health and food to IDPs in camps using short term funding. Concepts of resilience are only just starting to be considered. In addition, with more recent crises in other parts of the world, humanitarian funding for eastern DRC is decreasing. Aid actors and the local Government are looking for the most cost effective way to meet current needs. Building the resilience of local populations in eastern DRC was discussed at a workshop in April 2014 hosted by UNICEF and supported by the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development). UNDP have built on this to propose a checklist for resilience programming. A number of NGOs are carrying out programmatic research on the theme of building resilience. One of the most comprehensive is a consortium of NRC, International Alert, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) and Climate Interactive, who are starting a 3 year DfID funded project to increase resilience of people affected by multiple displacement. UNHCR also hosted a workshop in July 2014 to discuss durable solutions for IDPs.
6  Findings and Analysis

The findings in this chapter are based on information gathered during interviews, focus group discussions and from workshop presentations. Findings have been grouped into key themes based around the Resilience framework (see page 23). For each heading the existing capacities of IDPs are described and the current assistance by humanitarian actors is analysed.

6.1  Where do displaced people go?

When households are displaced they will initially look for refuge with family members or people of the same ethnic group. As people from Kalengera village testified “Going to a camp for displaced persons is the last option. People only go when they have no family or friends in the area to rely on.” Staff from a national NGO noted that camps are generally considered to lack protection for women and girls and are also vulnerable to attack from rebels.

Support from host families
Respondents explained that family ties and the concept of solidarity are strong in eastern DRC. Communities are often the first responders, taking displaced families into their homes and providing food. There is a saying in eastern DRC that “where there is food for 1 person there is food for 10”. This social capital is an important aspect of resilience for IDPs. Staying with relatives means that displaced people are more at ease. UN and NGO staff assessed that this was due to family members helping them find land for agriculture and because they were able to integrate quicker into the local community. Assisting host families can be an effective method for supporting IDPs in a culturally appropriate way.

Pressure on host families
A representative of the National Commission for Refugees explained that “initially those in host families are better off compared to those in camps as they have support from their wider family. However, later on the situation reverses. The longer the displacement continues the more the vulnerability in host communities increases, as they have to make sacrifices to support the extra people.”

Those who had the experience of hosting displaced families described how it is a stressful experience. For example, one man from Bunia had relatives on both sides of the conflict and at different times both came to find refuge in his house. He described the uncertainty of not knowing how long they would stay, but knowing that until then he had to keep feeding them as well as his own children. He had compassion and wanted to show solidarity with them, but at the same time it was hard on his own family who had to share sleeping and living spaces.

In many cases the hosts become poorer than the displaced people as they have to share their resources, but are often not the target of aid assistance. When IDPs are targeted for assistance from aid agencies, this can cause jealousy within the host community as they are also poor. A number of the focus groups and interviews underlined this as a problem. In these situations resentment can grow between the host families and the displaced people. A national NGO staff member explained that this can lead to host families turning out displaced people once they have received assistance, as they believe that they should now cope by themselves. It was also
noted by an international NGO worker that host communities are becoming disillusioned, as they do not have the resources to assist over an extended period and they are becoming poorer themselves. The vulnerability of host communities is often overlooked by aid programmes. This could be addressed simply by carrying out distributions to whole communities rather than specifically targeting those who are displaced.

**Mixed strategies**

A number of NGO staff assisting IDPs noted that when host communities start to struggle this can cause some displaced people to move to camps in order to survive. Some may use a mixed strategy of living in a camp, but receiving some extra assistance from family members nearby. Others return to their fields during the day to grow food, but sleep in the camps at night for safety. Strategies to assist IDPs need to take into account the use of varied methods of coping strategies and find ways to support these.

**Push and pull factors of camps**

For those who end up in the camps, they receive some food rations and services such as healthcare and water are provided. There are no schools in the camps, but costs are covered for children to attend local schools. Despite the inadequate, cramped shelters and the limited food and cooking provisions, a number of focus group participants remarked that overall the services were better than in many rural areas. Therefore it was suspected by national and international humanitarian staff that some vulnerable people come to the camps to receive assistance even when they have not been displaced by conflict. In addition it was felt that some displaced people may be hesitant to return home to areas where services were not available.

However humanitarian staff also noted that generally those in camps do not consider a future for themselves there. They only think of returning home. Camps are also considered by some to be a source of insecurity as armed groups have been known to base themselves in camps. Camps should therefore only be set up as a very temporary solution, if at all.
Figure 5: The full circle – the experience of people from Kalengera village, North Kivu province

“We just saw people arriving. We didn’t know they were coming and we were not prepared. They were fleeing fighting in their home area so we accepted them into our homes. Some stayed in our houses and those that did not find room slept in the school and the church. Our children went to school in the day time and at night time the IDPs would sleep there. But their children were not able to join the school. They became like street children.

We shared our food with them, but there wasn’t enough. It was very tough as it was unsafe to go to the fields so we couldn’t grow much. The IDPs even started eating the crops we had been able to grow before they were ripe because they were so hungry. If we knew that there was some ripe fruit or cereal we would get up early to harvest it before anyone else could get to it.

The village smelt because there were so many people and not enough latrines or water.

Some IDPS worked in the fields as daily labourers, others begged for food. Our Chief organised a collection and imposed a small tax to help the IDPs.

Eventually when the rebel group M23 took control of the area they forced everyone to return home as they wanted to give the impression that there was no humanitarian crisis.

Because of the fighting in this area we moved towards Goma. We took what we could carry, but when we got caught in fighting we dropped those things so that we could run. Some people even lost their children. Those who had family in Goma stayed with them. Others went to a camp. In the camp we didn’t have much food just rice and beans. We were there 3 months and then the rebels attacked the area where the camp was so we moved to another camp. But we were only there one week and then that area was attacked too. So we decided to return home. We took a long route to avoid the fighting.

When we got home our houses were destroyed or damaged by bullets and rockets. The rebels were still in control of the area. Our fields had been pillaged by the rebels, but they imposed a tax that each person had to give three tins worth of grain when we harvested. It was very hard for us. The women were afraid to go to the fields in case they were raped. They had to be accompanied by 4 or 5 men.

Now the area is calm, but it is still difficult for us to grow enough to eat. We have some water taps in the village but they do not provide enough water for us all.”
6.2 How resilient are displaced people?

6.2.1 Preparation

Early warning
Accurate information on the conflict and the security situation is quite hard to obtain. Local people who were interviewed testified that mostly they rely on rumours. When there are rumours of fighting moving towards their home area then they will move to safety. This means that generally people are informed only when the fighting is dangerously close. In rural areas many are illiterate and do not read newspapers. The information available on the radio is also not reliable as only certain information is shared due to fears about information falling into the wrong hands. The authorities also like to give the impression that they are in control so that people will not panic. One Congolese interviewee recounted an incident where there had been rumours that a rebel group were approaching Goma. “I started listening to a portable radio to get up to date information as I quickly returned home from the office. While I was walking to my house I could hear gunshots and fighting, but on the radio it was being announced that the rebels had already been repelled and that the national armed forces were in control of Goma. I could see that this was not the case!” Other national staff explained that people are not used to freedom of press and there is a culture of oppression. People are hesitant to share information in case it gets them into trouble. This makes it hard for people to plan or prepare to evacuate areas affected by conflict.

Contingency plans
The National Commission for Refugees and the UN confirmed that contingency plans are in place for the camps. These involve evacuation plans in case of conflict or natural disaster. Simulation exercises have been carried out and the army has agreed to provide protection during an evacuation. The plans include identification and mapping of where handicapped people live who might need assistance. First Aiders and scouts have also been trained as first responders. However contingency plans do not seem to exist at the local community or household level as such. A step in this direction is the buddy system which CRS have set up between families whose children go to school together. The idea is that they will look out for each other and stay together if their village is displaced.

Community preparation
Most humanitarian actors are focused on responding to displacement, but a few are considering ways of helping communities to be prepared. The Diocese of Aru has set up peace and reconciliation committees as part of their peace-building programme. One of their activities is to collect security information. They have a whistle to blow if they need to call everyone together in the village to share information. Alternatively they use a cow’s horn or drums to warn villagers of potential danger.

Communities also need to plan what to do if they are displaced. Tearfund helped communities build grain banks so that their seeds would be locked away and safe if the village was attacked. They also encouraged them to have a small bag of seed that they could take with them if they had to move quickly.
CRS have provided mobile school kits for the schools that they are supporting. This includes some books and equipment that a teacher can easily carry with them if displaced. In this way the children can continue going to school even if displaced and away from their school building.

**Preparing host communities**

Host communities also need to be prepared to receive displaced people. The Diocese of Aru gathered communities together to discuss how they would receive displaced people or returnees. The aim was to decrease the stigmatisation of displaced people and returnees and also to pre-empt any problems. Land issues were discussed and potential land was identified which could be lent to displaced people so that they could grow food.

Other NGOs are also considering preparing safe areas where people might potentially be displaced to. This would involve preparing a contingency plan with the host community and stocking certain resources such as food or medicine. One suggestion was that traditional methods of food conservation should be encouraged to increase food stocks in villages. Another proposed way of preparing host communities is to build more water sources and increase provision of other services such as healthcare and education. These would have a long term benefit for communities whether they ended up hosting or not.

Humanitarian actors also need to plan ahead in areas where there may be significant numbers of returnees. One NGO had carried out a water project in an area that had since received a significant number of returnees. The community complained that now there is not enough water for everyone. This could have been taken into account with a bigger spring capture or more water points in the original project.
6.2.2 Diversity and Security of Livelihoods

Existing livelihood strategies
In North Kivu province one of the most common livelihood strategies for displaced men is daily labour either working in other people’s fields, or loading and unloading commercial trucks. They may also be paid for carrying or transporting goods on local wooden bicycles called “shukudu”. Women in urban areas may earn money by washing other people’s laundry (Delga, 2014). These are all activities which notably require few resources apart from physical labour.

Another strategy in rural areas is renting land to carry out agricultural activities. A national NGO worker noted that people might even have two fields, one in the area of displacement and the other in their place of origin. If they have secure access then they will plant both fields to try to increase their harvest. However agriculture is not a reliable livelihood as the population in Bunagara explained that the timing of displacement is critical. People may only be displaced for a short period, but if it disrupts the planting season then this will lead to poor harvests.

Some areas such as northern parts of North Kivu province have enough space to provide land for displaced people, but in other areas staff from national NGOs explained that it can cause resentment by host populations if IDPs are given land, even if it is agreed by local chiefs. They had also noted that IDPs are often given the least fertile land or land that is difficult to access. This means that in times of drought it is difficult for them to irrigate the land adequately.

Issues around access to land were identified by communities as one of the main obstacles to a sustainable livelihood. Most of the land is in the hands of a few. A participant at the workshop on Durable Solutions for IDPs concluded that any assistance strategy must take into account access to land, not just for economic reasons, but also for building a house and other aspects of rural life.

Those living in camps may try an alternative livelihood as noted by an NGO staff member working in a number of camps. Those who are able to start a small business may try to earn an income by producing local juice, or by purchasing cassava and then milling it and selling the flour which has a higher value. If the displaced people decide to stay in the area then they might try to buy land or start up a small shop.

Buying goods on credit or selling part of the humanitarian assistance provided were identified as more negative strategies. There is a link between the level of vulnerability and the chosen survival strategy. The more vulnerable and desperate the person the more likely they are to choose a non-durable or negative survival strategy. These include theft, begging, going without food or other basic necessities or accumulating debts (Delga, 2014). People who had been displaced from Bunagara testified that they had to beg for food. They received a food ration, but it was decreased as more people moved into the camp. They did not have enough food to eat so they begged from communities surrounding their displacement camp.

Other factors which affect the choice of survival strategy are the proximity to urban markets and services, and the availability of natural resources such as land and forests (Delga, 2014). It was emphasised that the diversification of livelihoods is essential due to the vulnerability of agriculture in the region. It cannot be relied upon as the main source of food or income.
members will therefore be involved in different activities in order to maximise the use of available resources. Some families may be split between rural and urban areas in order to carry out different livelihood options (Do More Good Network, 2014b). This should be taken into account when planning livelihood support. Focusing on infrastructure such as roads and markets may facilitate this kind of diverse livelihood strategy.

**Agriculture and livestock assistance**

A number of NGOs have provided IDPs with seeds and tools to replace assets lost during displacement. Importantly the Provincial Anglican Church of Congo (PEAC) also negotiated with the local Chief to provide land for IDPs. Some NGOS rent land for beneficiaries so that agriculture can be carried out on a larger scale. However it was noted by an international NGO worker that if agriculture is developed in an area then the markets also have to be developed in order not to become saturated with certain products.

The timing of the seed distribution is also vital. When the Evangelical Community in the Centre of Africa (CECA) distributed seeds they also provided a protection ration to avoid the seeds being eaten.

One local NGO worker noted that it is important to ensure that the seeds and tools are contextually appropriate. He gave an example of an NGO who had provided agricultural tools, but refused to give machetes as they said these could be used as weapons. However people in that area could not farm without machetes. The hoe provided was also a long handled hoe and people were used to short handles so they all had their handles cut down. There is a need to consult beneficiaries and integrate their priorities into the project.

For this reason Concern Worldwide has started organising an annual livelihood fair. IDPs are given vouchers of a certain value and are able to choose what they would like to purchase. They have the option of seeds, small animals and other tools and household items. The vendors receive the vouchers and then reclaim the cash from Concern Worldwide. The idea is that each IDPs can choose what they need for their house or to earn a living according to their skills rather than standardised distributions. However most IDPs seem to choose seeds and then they hire land near the camp to plant. Animals are less popular as they require more space and food.

For returnees a combination of agricultural and livestock programming is effective in assisting them to re-establish themselves with a diversity of livelihoods. In Tongo village Tearfund trained returnees in how to grow vegetables such as onions, garlic and cassava. They were able to grow enough for their own needs and to sell most of it. An animal breeding programme was also started with chickens, rabbits and guinea pigs. The idea was that these were small enough to carry if people were displaced again. Due to the sale of vegetables and animals, a survey found that the household income in the village has increased by 52%. It was noticeable that most houses now had zinc roofs, instead of straw, and a number of new houses were under construction.

**Cash programming**

A number of interviewees identified the most effective projects for assisting IDPs as those that help people with income-generation. Cash transfers and building financial assets are important and effective, as long as people do not already have debts.
For those who are able to carry out physical labour, Cash for Work programmes have proved helpful in the short term. CRS have rebuilt markets and bridges using a cash for work scheme. Concern Worldwide have rehabilitated roads. This improves access to markets and also facilitates people to access their area of origin and return home. An effective cash for work project was also noted in a camp by the Provincial Minister of Planning, Budgeting, Communication and Press. People were paid a daily rate to grow vegetables. These were then distributed in the camp. The project had the double benefit of enabling households to earn a small income as well as having some nutritious food.

For the elderly and handicapped who are unable to work, cash transfers can be effective. Concern Worldwide are running a cash transfer programme on a monthly basis. The most vulnerable people in the community are targeted whether they are displaced people, host community or returnees. Mostly the money is used to rent agricultural land, pay school fees, buy food and other small items, and to buy animals.

However, it is recognised that in insecure environments cash programmes provide particular challenges. People do not want to save money as it is risky to have cash in their home. The banking system is weak so they do not want to keep money in banks either. Most people do not want to carry more than $25 on them at any one time. Mercy Corps have overcome this problem by doing more distributions of smaller amounts.

Alternatively Concern Worldwide organises the cash transfers on the same day as the local market so that when people come to town to collect the money they are more inconspicuous. It is also easier to hide money compared to household items which are normally distributed.

On a more sustainable basis Mercy Corps have been involved in setting up Village Savings and Loans Association (VSLA) / Association Villageois d’Epargne et Credit (AVEC). They seem to work well and people are faithful in paying back the loans. Similarly CRS have started savings and lending groups for women. The groups are organised for mothers whose children are at the same school. The programme is targeted at areas with IDP camps and the surrounding villages. The money is saved and transferred by mobile accounts, which provides extra security.

Some communities have organised their own system called Mutuelle de Solidarité (MUSO) where each person contributes 500f every month. Each month one person in the group receives the lump sum collected. These kinds of savings and loans programmes can help people to have access to financial capital to inject into livelihoods and to have a financial safety net if needed.

**Skills training**

Training is important to enable people to diversify their livelihood options. This topic is discussed further in the section on the ability to adapt to change.

**Basic services**

Access to basic services such as water, sanitation and healthcare are crucial to enabling people to be healthy enough to carry out their livelihoods. Projects which are most effective are those which help the whole community and not just a camp (Do More Good Network, 2014b). Mercy Corps for example are rehabilitating the water network in a few key towns so that it can
be more cost effective and significantly reduce the cost of a litre of water for the whole community.

The other key aspect is to ensure the sustainability of the infrastructure or service. Action Entreaide carried out water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) programmes involving rehabilitation of water sources, household latrines, and public latrines at schools, markets and hospitals. For the water sources they set up a maintenance committee who were trained in basic pump maintenance and collected a small fee from households to pay for maintenance. Families were taught how to build their own latrines so that the process could be replicated.

Hygiene committees were set up in each village to organise cleaning of latrines, the local area, and around the water sources. The committee was composed of a mixture of IDPs and the host population. They also went from house to house to share hygiene information and continued this even after the official end of the project. The collaboration with the local community ensured ownership of the community infrastructure.

Another example is the project implemented by the Programme for Promotion of Primary Health Care (PPSSP). This involved hygiene and health promotion in camps around Beni and Goma. It included distributing soaps to families, and tools to keep the camps clean. Community educators were trained in how to pass on the health and hygiene lessons. The hygiene promotion was carried out with IDPs and the host communities and they found there was good collaboration to keep water sources and the market area clean. There were no epidemics while they were working in the camps and they consider their interventions were successful in contributing to this.

With returnees the principles of participation and sustainability are also important in order to ensure durable results. PPSSP also built latrines with the involvement of the beneficiaries who provided local materials and helped erect the structures. Each area had a hygiene committee composed of men and women who encouraged people to keep latrine and public areas clean.

Health officers were trained for each village so that they could continue to promote hygiene lessons even once the project was finished and so that they would know how to treat certain diseases such as cholera. In case they needed to buy supplies or equipment to carry out health or hygiene activities, PPSSP provided them with two goats so that they could breed them and sell the offspring. Roughly 70% of committees continued working in this way.

The method for the committee to function needs to be fully thought through. One NGO built a spring capture near a town and piped it to some water points in the town. A water committee was set up to manage and maintain the water sources. However they are having problems collecting the small tax from water users as many are returnees who have returned with nothing.
6.2.3 Ability to adapt to change

Reliable information
In order to adapt and to make informed decisions about the future, it is important to ensure access to relevant and accurate information. Workshop participants representing Government, NGOs and the UN in Goma stated that there is a need for more accountability towards IDPs. They underlined the need to share information with IDPs so that they know whether their home area is secure and are able to decide whether to return home or not. A NGO Programme Manager also commented that this is especially important when some people are hesitant to return home because they have been displaced multiple times.

Emotional and mental resilience
To be resilient it is critical for people to feel they are in control of their lives and to have the information and the resources necessary to cope and adapt to their situation. Interviewees emphasised the traumatic nature of displacement and how many IDPs are often left without hope. In response to this PPSSP carried out counselling for those who were traumatised and trained counsellors to help others. For children they organised holiday clubs so that children would have something fun and constructive to do during the school holidays. These contribute to the mental and emotional resilience of adults and children who may have been traumatised by displacement.

Skills training
Livelihood support and skills training are also considered important. As the Deputy Director of a national NGO explained “it helps them to be active and gives people something to live for. It encourages them to consider the future, to know that their current situation is not the end of their lives and that there are options for living”. As mentioned in the section on livelihoods IDPs use various livelihood strategies. However the income generated is normally low. New and alternative strategies are needed.

Innovation
Innovation is key in this sense. An example of this is a small water mill set up by an NGO near a camp. People pay to have their cereal ground which contributes to the running costs and maintenance of the mill. At night time the mill provides electricity to the camp. It is run and managed by the IDPs. NGOs also found that engaging local technical services such as agriculture, health or veterinary services often proved effective in promoting and training local communities in new methods or behavioural change.

Independence
As well as the psychological benefit of being productive there is also the economic benefit that people are more self-sufficient. Several interviews mentioned the need to increase the capacity of IDPs so that they can use their own means to continue their livelihoods when displaced. They pointed out that this requires a change of mentality from being dependent to being independent. The current aid system which is mainly based on distributions does not encourage this.
Positive adaptation
Income generation was also considered by focus groups to be especially important for young people. Many young people are recruited into armed groups which provide them with food, an occupation and status. A number of interviewees stressed that training and livelihood support provide positive alternatives to fighting for young people.

Managing risk
It was recognised by NGO staff that there is a risk that many people might be trained in the same skill and will saturate the market. NGOs need to look for gaps in the market and teach these skills. CECA carried out skills training on how to make energy saving stoves, for example.

There is also a risk that people may be displaced again and therefore will not be able to complete the training. The threat of displacement during a project is recognised as a general problem that NGOs need to plan for. Currently projects are either put on hold or abandoned if the local population is displaced.
6.2.4 Good Governance

The overwhelming response from interviewees was that an effective Government and rule of law is the main need in the country. Security needs to be established in order for people to sustainably improve their quality of life and to be resilient. Key informants emphasised that while there is insecurity, people cannot access their land to grow food and there will be more displacements. A number of participants also pointed to corruption as a major governance issue which hinders development on the ground and at policy level.

Root causes
One of the big underlying factors is the link between the armed groups and the Government. The armed groups are involved in mining of minerals such as gold and diamonds and some of the revenue allegedly goes to the Government. Some interviewees were of the opinion that the Government therefore has little motivation to completely stop the armed groups. At the base of the problem is national security, but it also leads to local conflict. Interviewees stated that Congolese society is highly divided along ethnic lines and local armed groups will often be comprised of mainly one ethnic group. NGOs need to consider how to avoid possible ethnic tensions when implementing programmes.

Most NGOs interviewed took a conflict sensitive approach in their programming in order to not create further conflict. PPSSP, for example, held discussions with the community in order to establish the distribution criteria for who should receive certain items. This was especially important when there were tribes from different sides of the conflict in the same camp. The community also managed the distributions as well.

To tackle some of the wider systemic conflict issues, CRS have carried out a peace-building project across eastern DRC, Burundi and Rwanda targeted at female business women as they often travel across the region. They are often socially well connected with the potential to influence many others. The project focused on building social acceptance and emphasising the value of people in order to break down ethnic divisions and tensions.

The Diocese of Aru has also been involved in a peace and reconciliation project. The programme provided support for victims of violence and aimed to encourage armed groups to demobilise. World Vision are carrying out advocacy on the peace process ensuring that children are involved and that civil society is properly represented in the process. They are also monitoring the stabilisation process led by MONUSCO to ensure the results are durable.

It is critical for NGOs to use the influence and the recognition that they have as international actors to try to tackle some of the underlying issues contributing to conflict. Activities which promote peacebuilding and conflict resolution are vital activities.

Land disputes and justice issues
Control and use of land is a driver of conflict as identified by a number of key informants. Some people are forced off their land by armed groups, other areas are restricted by rich land owners who dominate the more fertile land. Still others find that while they have been displaced another person has taken over the house and land in their place of origin. This makes it hard for them to move back. One of the problems highlighted by an international NGO worker is that
people do not know their rights in terms of legal land ownership nor their human rights. Awareness-raising and training on these topics would contribute to the capacity of individuals and communities to advocate on issues of justice and good governance.

NRC has successfully organised tribunals to sort out land disputes. On a similar note the Diocese of Aru has set up local peace and reconciliation committees. They monitor human rights abuses and any problems returnees may have in the community, especially concerning land rights. The Diocese of Aru and Concern Worldwide have also set up committees in areas receiving IDPs. The committees are composed of IDPs and people from the host community. They meet each week to monitor and discuss any problems for displaced people. These activities ensure that communities to have legitimate channels for resolving problems and that the IDPs and returnees are able to have a voice in the community.

Decentralisation and local authorities

Decentralised decision-making which takes into account the needs of the local population contributes to the resilience of local communities. Government structures are officially decentralised, but they lack the resources to act effectively. As well as administrative structures, traditional structures exist with chiefs at village level. However interviewees explained that if communities are displaced then they do not necessarily keep the same structures. Camp committees are often set up to oversee the camps, but they are chosen by a system of voting. Those who were chiefs and local leaders are not necessarily voted on to the committees. NGOs need to explore whether this has an impact on the effectiveness and acceptance of camp committees.

On a positive note, a government body was created to be responsible for refugees and, later on this was expanded to include IDPs. The “Commission Nationale pour le Refugiés” (CNR) assists those in camps to obtain administrative documents such as birth certificates, and to resolve conflicts. They negotiate with the national police force to provide security for the camps, and may also negotiate for land and water in order to establish camps and to enable those in the camps to carry out agricultural activities.

It was emphasised by interviewees that building on existing structures and local authorities is important. Local chiefs need to be included more in decisions affecting their area especially when choosing land for a displacement camp. It was felt that generally more needed to be done to build the capacity of the local government so that they have a sense of ownership rather than aid agencies substituting them.

NGOs have tried to tackle some of these issues. PPSSP worked with local authorities and involved them in needs assessments, planning and evaluations of projects. They also gave village chiefs the opportunity to input into programme design and implementation.

World Vision implements a Community Voice in Action project which helps communities to hold the local Government accountable over decisions which affect them. This has proved challenging in a conflict situation where local governments often lack the capacity and budget to work effectively. In some areas there may also be political tension between those in authority and the local communities, which could mean that speaking out may lead to more problems for the community. These situations have to be dealt with delicately. However it was felt that
investing in people and empowering them is necessary in these contexts, as people can carry their skills and knowledge with them wherever they may be displaced.

**Social dynamics**
Local political and religious leaders were identified as having a large influence over local populations. They have the power to calm a situation or enflame it. More focus should be given to conflict reduction and discouraging provocative language amongst leaders. A church in Bunia gave a positive message when the church members gave money and distributed salt, beans, rice, soap and clothes to displaced people. They did this even though the people were from a different tribe who were on the other side of the conflict.

There are also social groups asserting a negative influence over communities. Key informants confirmed that local militia are very influential and exert a lot of power over local populations in eastern DRC. The armed groups are living among the population, so it is very hard to avoid them. NGOs need to be aware of these power dynamics and the possible effects on project outcomes when working with communities.

*Table 3: Summary of findings*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Location of displacement</td>
<td>Most IDPs prefer to stay with family or friends rather than in a camp. However if they are displaced for a long period they may move to a camp to reduce the pressure on hosts. The provision of services in camps is creating dependence and attracting other vulnerable households who are not displaced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation</td>
<td>Few plans or strategies are in place to prepare people for displacement. More could be done to prepare locations to host displaced people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity and security of livelihoods</td>
<td>IDPs use a range of livelihood strategies, most based on daily labouring. Some try to maintain their agricultural activities and NGOs have supported this with seeds and tools distributions. Other effective programmes are cash based. Any basic services provided should serve the whole community and be set up in a sustainable way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to adapt to change</td>
<td>IDPs need more information in order to make informed decisions about their future. Support to overcome trauma and learn new livelihood skills are key to assisting IDPs to find positive ways to adapt to displacement. Humanitarian actors need to find ways to encourage the independence and self-sufficiency of IDPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good governance</td>
<td>Peacebuilding and conflict resolution are vital activities. Resolution of land disputes and promoting justice for IDPs are necessary. Humanitarian actors need to consider social dynamics and build on existing structures and authorities as much as possible.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7 Conclusions

With 3.3 million people internally displaced worldwide (IDMC, 2014) the need to find effective ways to assist IDPs is evident. The fact that they are often in situations of protracted crisis means that traditional approaches of emergency relief are increasingly unsatisfactory in meeting needs. In recognition of the capacities and survival strategies already used by IDPs, the aim of this research was to investigate how the capacity of internally displaced persons can be strengthened to be more resilient to the impacts of displacement.

7.1 The practical application of resilience in complex emergencies

Conflicts are complex, dynamic environments where it may appear challenging for humanitarian actors to contribute towards lasting, positive impacts. Stability and good governance are normally required to build sustainable change. It has been debated whether communities and individuals can work towards being more resilient in situations where these factors are lacking.

However if resilience is considered as an ability to cope with, adapt to and recover from shocks and stresses, then a focus on the processes which enable people to have this ability can be usefully applied in conflict settings. Increasing the ability of people to be resilient involves enabling them to have options and to be able to make choices towards their own positive survival strategies.

The ability of individuals and families to be resilient is facilitated or constrained by the society, culture, and environment in which they live. Taking a systemic approach to resilience is especially important in insecure environments. One of the strong themes emerging from the focus group discussions and interviews was the need to consider the local context and social dynamics. Social networks can be an important part of protection both physically and emotionally, and host families are an important coping mechanism for the displaced. Equally a focus on power dynamics and relations, how these can affect the most vulnerable, and how those in power can be influenced for positive change, are vital components for building the resilience of displaced populations.

The Resilience framework (see Figure 3 on page 23) has proved useful in outlining the main aspects necessary for IDPs to increase their ability to be resilient. However the findings of this research would suggest that more emphasis should be placed on social dynamics for building resilience in complex emergencies. Social networks and social cohesion could be considered under the livelihoods element of the model. However it is worth separating out this aspect as the social context influences other parts of the model too. The element of good governance could also be considered as an over-arching theme, because it affects the context in which other elements are outworked.
As such, the framework could be adapted in the following way:

Figure 6: Proposed Resilience Framework for complex emergencies

In practice a number of challenges remain for resilience programmes in complex emergencies:

- Finding the balance between building the resilience of communities and building the resilience of individuals.
- Distinguishing chronic poverty needs from the specific needs of the displaced, and whether these need to be tackled separately.
- Finding a politically acceptable balance between enabling integration into the local community and enabling a return to the place of origin, whilst also upholding the right of IDPs to have a choice.
- Encouraging good governance and building the capacity of local authorities in contexts where corruption and political tensions are high.

Relief as the enemy of resilience?
The main challenge in complex emergencies is the transition from relief programming to resilience programming. Humanitarian programmes need to ensure that they are not undermining resilience. Planning for long term responses needs to be coordinated with humanitarian actors providing short term solutions. For example, NGO workers observed that providing services for free created issues for those trying to find sustainable methods of financing. This requires humanitarian actors to change their mentality to plan and act with a longer term vision. Survival in eastern DRC is difficult, but humanitarians do not really need to be acting in emergency mode to save lives. The sentiment amongst NGO workers was that the situation in Nord Kivu province is no longer an emergency and aid is perpetuating the situation. Short term programmes are creating dependence as noted in a village where people complained that not enough latrines had been dug by an NGO even though they knew how to dig latrines themselves. Humanitarian assistance needs to use approaches which prepare communities for longer term solutions.

This dilemma can be seen in the Strategic Response Plan 2014 (UN OCHA, 2013) which prioritises acute emergency action for saving lives and reducing suffering. As a humanitarian response plan, it specifically does not focus on addressing the underlying causes of need as that is
considered the domain of development actors. However the same plan also underlines the need to reinforce the resilience of communities in order to improve living conditions. Whether this can be achieved with short emergency responses without treating underlying causes is debatable.

Institutional funding also needs to be available to support this. Currently little development focused funding is available in fragile states. NGOs stated that it is difficult to get funding for long term projects. Donors seem to be focused on maintaining lives, not improving them.

7.2 How the humanitarian sector can meet the needs of IDPs more effectively

Despite the debates around resilience it is generally agreed that resilience is a positive and appropriate concept to strive for even in unstable environments. Based on the findings from the research in DRC the following principles can be established for humanitarian actors working with IDPs to build their resilience to displacement. The principles are grouped around the elements of the revised Resilience framework (See Figure 6 on page 42)

**Preparation**

1. Focus on preparation not just response

   Findings showed that the majority of NGO programming is responding to mass displacement rather than preparing for it. Preparing communities for the potential of being displaced with warning systems and contingency plans of where to go and what to take may reduce loss of life and loss of assets. Preparing communities to receive displaced people by ensuring adequate services and provisions will contribute to the resilience of host communities in the short and long term.

2. Take the risk of displacement seriously

   Programme plans often include displacement and insecurity in the area of implementation as a possible risk. However little is done to actually plan for this or reduce the possible impact on the project. NGOs need to find ways to plan for changes in the security environment. This will ensure that development gains are not lost. Mobile schools and securing seed stocks are two examples of how this can be done.

**Diverse and Secure Livelihoods**

3. Enable access to key livelihood resources

   In eastern DRC access to land is a challenge for displaced people and also an underlying driver of the conflict. Rather than simply distributing assets such as seeds and tools for livelihood support, more attention needs to be given to promoting access to key resources such as land. Some assets may be lost with further displacement, but ensuring fair and just access to resources will facilitate more durable livelihoods during and after displacement.

4. Be relevant and appropriate

   Programmes will be more effective if they take into account the local context. This requires a better understanding of the social, economic and cultural environment in which the
programme will take place. More involvement and participation of IDPs in the design and implementation of projects is essential.

5. Enable choices
A key aspect of resilience is enabling people to make informed decisions about their future. This could be through giving a choice of how and what assistance is provided through livelihood fairs, voucher systems or cash transfers. Or it could be through providing security information or local news so that displaced people can decide when to return home.

6. Encourage diversity of livelihoods
Programmes which were most successful in terms of supporting and developing livelihoods were those which supported a combination of livelihood options. Subsistence farming is not resilient or sustainable enough to be relied on as a sole means of income and food. In addition the traditional divide between rural and urban livelihoods needs to be re-evaluated. Often IDP households include a mixture of rural based and urban based livelihoods and innovative ways need to be found to support these.

7. Encourage ownership and independence
Programmes need to ensure full beneficiary participation from the start in order to build ownership of the project outputs. Creating hygiene committees to promote cleanliness and good hygiene in a community, or water management committees to manage and maintain water sources seem to have been effective in ensuring longer term results in communities.

8. Ability to adapt to change
Be holistic
Resilience includes physical, mental and social aspects. To be truly resilient a person needs to be emotionally determined to cope and adapt in order to survive. Displacement is a traumatic experience in the way that people may have to flee from their homes, the conditions in which they may live while displaced and also their experiences on return to their place of origin. Interviewees felt that more should be done to provide hope for displaced people and to encourage them to be active and independent. Psychosocial programmes should be included alongside those focusing on physical resources and services.

9. Facilitate new livelihood skills
Although many IDPs have demonstrated a capacity to find new livelihoods or to adapt their original means of income generation, the findings showed that more needs to be done in the area of skills training. Gaps in the market need to be identified and innovative solutions found to assist IDPs to be more self-sufficient and to generate an adequate income to provide for satisfactory living standards. Skills training can also provide alternatives for those who have adopted negative livelihood strategies such as joining armed groups.

10. Good Governance
Build on existing structures and local authorities
In countries where governance is weak or corrupt it can be tempting to side-line local authorities in planning and implementing programmes. However the results of interviews and discussions underlined the need to encourage good governance by involving local
administrative and traditional authorities. Power dynamics in fragile and insecure environments determine whether a project succeeds or fails and certainly are central to the sustainability of the project. More effort needs to be made to support and build the capacity of local government in order to ensure ownership and good management of programme results.

11. Include more conflict resolution and peacebuilding
The underlying causes of displacement should be tackled in order to work towards a more secure and safe environment. As well as assisting with needs resulting from displacement, it is valuable to address conflict resolution and peacebuilding in communities. Findings underlined the need to target those with influence in the community such as administrative and religious leaders.

Social Cohesion
12. Support host communities
Focus group discussions and interviews emphasised the fact that social assistance and solidarity is key for IDPs to be able to cope and recover from displacement. The majority of displaced people prefer to stay with relatives and the culture of providing and caring for relatives is strong in eastern DRC. Displaced families only moved to camps when host families were not able to support them any longer. Therefore providing more support to host families would be a natural and culturally appropriate method for assisting IDPs. This could be done through community-wide food and NFI distributions, cash transfers, or improvement of health, education and water provision in the community. If done in the right way it could also contribute to the longer term development of the areas receiving IDPs. Targeting host communities and not just IDPs would also decrease tensions and stigmatisation between the different groups of people.

Some of the above principles are similar to the principles for sustainable development, i.e. participation, ownership, choice etc., but this is not altogether surprising as resilience is essentially working towards longer term development goals. Other elements, such as preparing not just responding, working with host communities, and working more with local authorities, have been raised previously by numerous evaluations of humanitarian responses. The fact that they are highlighted again in this research implies that lessons still need to be learnt and applied across humanitarian responses.

Although the research had initially hoped to draw out specific examples of the types of programmes which could build resilience, the findings demonstrated that in reality it is not so much about which programmes are implemented, but how they are implemented. Programmes need to be carried out with a long term vision even in the early stages of a response. Building the agency of people through enabling participation, ownership, and decision-making are essential to ensure that IDPs are able to cope with and adapt to displacement rather than becoming stuck in a vicious cycle of dependence and increasing poverty.

These changes will not happen overnight and it is recognised that countries like the DRC are a complex environment. Further research could be done on how to transition from an emergency response approach to a more resilience focused approach. This would need to explore how to
phase out emergency distributions and free provision of services whilst introducing more sustainable services and supporting integration into the local community.

The core of this study has been to explore the nature of resilience to displacement, but it is recognised that displaced people are also vulnerable to natural hazards such as volcano eruptions or flooding. Another area of research could consider the wider hazard context and how building resilience to multiple hazards could be integrated into programme design.

In order to be a truly useful concept the debates around resilience need to move away from discussions on semantics and focus more on application. And at the core of any resilience programming should be a desire to assist people to maintain and improve their well-being. This research seeks to go some way in contributing to the application of resilience for people coping with displacement in insecure environments.
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EU, 2013. EU approach to resilience : learning from food crises. Brussels: EC.


Appendix 1: Questions for humanitarian actors

1. Can you explain to me briefly the projects that your organisation is involved in? And who are the main beneficiaries?

2. What are have you found to be the main impacts of displacement on families and communities?

3. What are the differences in impact, if any, between those who go to camps and those who stay with host families?

Adaptive capacity

4. In your opinion how are IDPs coping with these impacts, if at all?
5. What are good examples? What are less good examples, and why?

6. What work is your organisation involved in to help IDPs adapt to displacement?

7. What is the role of host communities in helping IDPs?

Disaster Preparedness

8. Are you aware of any household and/or community contingency plans that are in place (for displacement)? If so what do they involve?

9. Is your organisation involved in any other activities to help people be prepared for displacement? If so, what?

Diversity and Security of livelihoods

10. Is your organisation providing livelihood support to IDPs? If so, what?

11. Is your organisation providing skills training for IDPs? If so, what?
   (Training on any improved methods/technologies for existing livelihoods?)
   (Training on any new livelihood options?)

12. In your opinion how effective is the support given? Why?

13. Do formal cash loans or credit services exist? Who runs this and how?

14. Is your organisation working with any local community groups or organisations? Which ones and how?

Governance

15. How involved are IDPs in decisions made by local authorities?
16. In your opinion what are the policies/laws which help access to livelihoods and services for IDPs?
17. In your opinion what are the policies/laws which hinder access to livelihoods and services for IDPs?
18. Are you involved in any advocacy work on those issues? If so, what?
19. What work if any is being done to promote peace / conflict resolution at local level?
20. Is your organisation doing advocacy on other underlying issues? If so which issues?

Concluding questions:

21. What do you think is the key to helping IDPs cope with and recover from displacement?
22. Anything important you think I have missed in this interview?
23. Who else would it be useful for me to talk to about these issues?
Appendix 2: Questions for IDPs / Returnees

General

1. Tell me about the last time you were displaced.
2. Is this the first time you have been displaced? If not how many times?
3. When were you first displaced?
4. If you have been displaced several times did you do anything differently the second/third time? Eg go to a different place? Take different things with you?
5. What are the main impacts of displacement on your family and community?
6. Who in your community has the most problems when you are displaced? Why?
7. Who has the least problems? Why?

Disaster Preparedness

8. What systems are in place to warn people about insecurity, if any?
   a. What are the main sources of security info?
   b. Is security information shared amongst communities at risk? How?
9. Did you have a plan about where to go or what you would take with you etc? Please explain

Adaptive capacity

10. Who did you receive help from when you were displaced?
11. How do IDP and local communities interact? Please give examples
12. Are you able to access schools, health services if you want to?
13. Where do you get food from when displaced?

Diversity and Security of Livelihoods

14. What are traditionally the main livelihoods in this area?
15. Which livelihoods have you managed to continue even when displaced? Why?
16. Which livelihoods did you have to stop when displaced? Why?
17. Have you started any new livelihoods? What?
18. Are there different activities between men & women? Which ones?

Governance

19. Who are the groups of people who have authority/power in your community?
20. How involved are you in decisions made by local authorities?

21. If you want to complain about a problem in the community who do you go to?

Last questions:

22. Have you had any help from NGOs?

23. What has been the best thing they have helped you with?
Appendix 3: Ethics Review Form

Faculty of Technology, Design and Environment

Ethics Review Form E1

This form should be completed by the Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Student undertaking a research project which involves human participants. The form will identify whether a more detailed E2 form needs to be submitted to the Faculty Research Ethics Officer.

Before completing this form, please refer to the University Code of Practice for the Ethical Standards for Research Involving Human Participants, available at http://www.brookes.ac.uk/Research/Research-ethics/ and to any guidelines provided by relevant academic or professional associations.

It is the Principal Investigator / Supervisor who is responsible for exercising appropriate professional judgement in this review. Note that all necessary forms should be fully completed and signed before fieldwork commences.

Project Title: How can the resilience of IDPs be strengthened?

Principal Investigator / Supervisor: David Sanderson

Student Investigator: Caroline Kassell

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Does the study involve participants who are unable to give informed consent? (e.g. children, people with learning disabilities, unconscious patients)</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>If the study will involve participants who are unable to give informed consent (e.g. children under the age of 16, people with learning disabilities), will you be unable to obtain permission from their parents or guardians (as appropriate)?</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Will the study require the cooperation of a gatekeeper for initial access to groups or individuals to be recruited? (e.g. students, members of a self-help group, employees of a company, residents of a nursing home)</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Are there any problems with the participants’ right to remain anonymous, or to have the information they give not identifiable as theirs?</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Will it be necessary for the participants to take part in the study without their knowledge/consent at the time? (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places?)</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Will the study involve discussion of or responses to questions the participants might find sensitive? (e.g. own drug use, own traumatic experiences)</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Are drugs, poisons or other substances (e.g. food substances, vitamins) to be administered to the study participants?</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Will blood or tissue samples be obtained from participants?</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Is pain or more than minimal discomfort likely to result from the study?</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Could the study induce psychological distress or anxiety?</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing of participants?</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Will deception of participants be necessary during the study?</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Will the study involve NHS patients, staff, carers or carers?</td>
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If you have answered 'no' to all the above questions, send the completed form to your Module Leader and keep the original in case you need to submit it with your work.

If you have answered 'yes' to any of the above questions, you should complete the form available at [http://www.hec.org.uk/ResearchEthics/EthicsReview/](http://www.hec.org.uk/ResearchEthics/EthicsReview/) and together with this E-Form, email it to the Faculty Research Ethics Officer whose name can be found at [http://www.hec.org.uk/ResearchEthics/Contact/](http://www.hec.org.uk/ResearchEthics/Contact/)

If you answered 'yes' to any of questions 1-8 and 'yes' to question 11, an application must be submitted to the appropriate NHS Research Ethics Committee.

Signed: [Signature]
Principal Investigator /Supervisor
Signed: [Signature]
Student Investigator
Date: 1.7.14