



LIVING CONDITIONS OF DISPLACED PERSONS AND HOST COMMUNITIES IN URBAN GOMA, DRC



NORWEGIAN
REFUGEE COUNCIL

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The profiling and needs assessment could not have been completed without the assistance of several key people and organisations.

Professor Kambale Karafuli and Dr Edmond Ntabe of the Université Libre des Pays des Grand Lacs (ULPGL) provided invaluable help in detailing the methodology and guiding interview teams on the ground during data collection.

Steering committee members were a source of expertise and guidance, contributing to survey design, and providing feedback throughout the process. I would like to thank James Bizumuremya (Ministère des affaires sociales), David Kambale (Réseau Communautaire), Joseph Makundi (Protection Civile), Laingulia Njewa (CNR), Ildephonse Nguomoja (Protection civile), Aziz Muhindo (Ministère provincial du plan), Kasika Kibatsi (Division des actions humanitaires), Alexis Ndalihoranye (Mairie de Goma), Professor Kambale Karafuli, (ULPGL), Dr Edmond Ntabe (ULPGL), OCHA, Mercy Corps, UNHCR Protection Cluster, UNHCR CCCM, IOM, FAO Food Security Cluster, UNICEF and ECHO, as well as all others who participated in public meetings. In addition to playing an active role in steering committee discussions, IOM enabled access to the camps for the comparative study and provided assistance in mapping.

The Joint IDP Profiling Service (JIPS) provided support throughout the study and facilitated secondment of staff from Statistics Norway to assist with data analysis. Special thanks go to Assanke Koedam and Ivan Cardona from JIPS and Vibeke Nielsen from Statistics Norway for her essential support during data analysis.

We extend thanks to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NMFA) for providing funding for the profiling exercise and the pilot response. It should not be assumed that any of the opinions expressed in this report are necessarily those of the NMFA.

Thanks also go to the NRC team who supported the profiling and needs assessment, in particular Bouthaina Toujani, Hugues Furuguta and Josue Saidi.

Thanks to Tim Morris for assistance with editing.

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ACRONYMS

■ CDF	Congolese Franc
■ DRC	the Democratic Republic of Congo
■ IDP	Internally Displaced Person
■ IOM	International Organization for Migration
■ JIPS	Joint IDP Profiling Service
■ NFI	Non-food item
■ NMFA	Norwegian Ministry for Foreign Affairs
■ NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
■ PAD	Person affected by displacement
■ WHO	World Health Organisation
■ ULPGL	Université Libre des Pays des Grand Lacs
■ UNHCR	UN Refugee Agency

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Goma has been a central point for the reception of displaced persons over the last 20 years of conflict in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Following significant waves of arrivals in 2012 and 2013, due to conflict with the M23 – a militia active in North Kivu from early 2012 to late 2013 – ¹ camps around the city were grossly overcrowded. The humanitarian community found itself confronted by the challenge of responding to a large population about whom they had no information, in an environment in which they had little previous experience. While the size of the urban internally displaced person (IDP) population is unknown, approximately 62 per cent of the 900,000 IDPs in North Kivu are living outside of camps and sites (OCHA, 2014).

This study responds to the knowledge gap on current living conditions of persons affected by displacement, identifies areas of primary concern for government and humanitarian actors and proposes avenues for further research.

In December 2013, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), with funding from the Norwegian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, conducted a multi-sector profiling and needs assessment of urban IDPs and host families. The survey sought to:

- provide a snapshot of the living conditions of urban IDPs and host families, as compared to residents
- provide information to the humanitarian community and government in order to raise the profile of urban IDPs
- stimulate debate on appropriate responses in urban areas
- inform the development of an integrated programme response.

IDPs are more vulnerable than other residents of Goma across all quarters of the city. Profiling results show that IDPs are the most vulnerable, followed by host families. Key findings were that:

- Living conditions are very poor, particularly in the inner city and the extreme peripheries. The main problems are unsafe, overcrowded accommodation, low tenure security and poor access to good quality water and sanitation.
- IDPs have poor economic stability and low asset ownership. Key concerns are high levels of food insecurity, debt and unemployment; insecure, unpredictable informal sector employment; wage

disparity as compared to residents; low levels of property and land ownership and loss of productive assets.

- Access to services such as electricity, water and education is poor.
- Security concerns particularly centre on violent crime, sexual violence and fear of recruitment by armed militias. There is low take-up of official law enforcement services and state mechanisms for protection and dispute resolution.
- Weak governance has an impact on those affected by displacement², particularly with regards to government accountability and access to government services including registration, documentation and representation.
- The host community continues to be willing to absorb and support IDPs but their capacity to do so is strained by the repeated and protracted nature of urban displacement and lack of space and resources.
- A third of IDPs intend to stay in Goma, further stretching the city's limited resources.
- Among those who intend to return to places of origin few have concrete plans.
- Many with land or other property in their place of origin are unable to access it as it has been occupied by armed groups or destroyed.

These issues affect all residents of Goma but are especially acute for IDPs with greatly limited financial, social and political resources.

The current lack of engagement in urban programming indicates failure to support steps towards durable solutions for those living in protracted displacement and the inability of humanitarian and development actors to respond to new displacement into urban areas.



¹ Estimates place the number of people displaced by conflict between the M23 and the government at up to 800,000 (IDMC, 2013). While M23 is no longer active, it was by no means the only armed group active in North Kivu. With up to 40 other groups still operating in North Kivu, fresh displacement continues.

² A person affected by displacement (PAD) is a term used here to refer either to an Internally Displaced Person (IDP) or an individual/family hosting IDPs in their residence.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Findings indicate that immediate needs are not being met in the urban areas of Goma. There is a clear need to support the integration of the most vulnerable IDPs into their host communities. Additionally, the humanitarian community can do more to meet the immediate needs of existing IDPs and support new arrivals. There are positive steps that the International community can take to support the state to protect displacement-affected households and support a durable solution to displacement in North Kivu.

1. implement an integrated response to the needs of those affected by displacement in the most vulnerable quarters of Goma
2. assist IDPs to meet identified priority needs through unconditional cash transfers
3. support increased provision of information on availability of, and access to, essential services
4. support communities to improve, rehabilitate, and where possible, expand existing shelter to improve living conditions and reduce household tensions
5. increase IDP engagement and representation in community-based organisations, and support them to better engage with authorities in order to address IDP concerns
6. represent the rights of people affected by displacement in order to influence and facilitate more equitable access to the statutory and customary legal systems

7. work with state and private sector actors to facilitate access to essential services, including healthcare, education and clean water
8. improve accountability and accessibility of government actors and state services for those affected by displacement in urban areas
9. increase preparedness to manage and provide assistance to new IDP arrivals into urban zones at the community, government and NGO level
10. advocate to increase government recognition of local integration as a viable durable solution
11. advocate for greater attention and funding for urban displacement from donors and other humanitarian agencies
12. share lessons learned from Goma with other urban contexts in the Kivus.

NRC will build on learning from the profiling and needs assessment to design an integrated urban programme response which draws on NRC's core competencies in food security, shelter and information, counselling and legal assistance, as well as addressing overarching governance and protection concerns relating to accessibility to state services and accountability. We will work closely with local state actors and the international community to promote debate and coordination around responses to urban displacement.



Figure 1: Street trade

CONTEXT

A succession of armed conflicts in eastern DRC over the last 20 years has had a significant impact on important population centres and key roads linking major towns and cities. This has resulted in large movements towards urban centres where there is an increased sense of security. Between 2012 and 2013 the population of Goma increased by approximately 45 per cent (WHO, 2012³), from 580,000 to 839,000, a far greater rate than seen in other urban centres of DRC – particularly those unaffected by conflict. This suggests a large proportion of the movement is forced displacement linked to conflict in the eastern region.

Camps and settlement sites around Goma are filled to capacity, and there is a lack of an exit strategy for those in protracted displacement in the camps. Humanitarian assistance in and around Goma has been focused on camps and IDP sites, but an urban approach to forced displacement is yet to be defined. Despite having recently ratified the *African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa* (the Kampala Convention)⁴ the government remains focused on returning IDPs to their

place of origin, thus insufficiently acknowledging scope to facilitate other durable solutions – local integration or resettlement.

While humanitarian actors are aware of significant numbers of IDPs living with host families in the city, figures are imprecise and they know very little about their situation and living conditions. There is extremely limited knowledge about the situation of IDPs living independently.



³ Personal correspondence with WHO, Goma, December 2013

⁴ See: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/sub-saharan-africa/kampala-convention/>

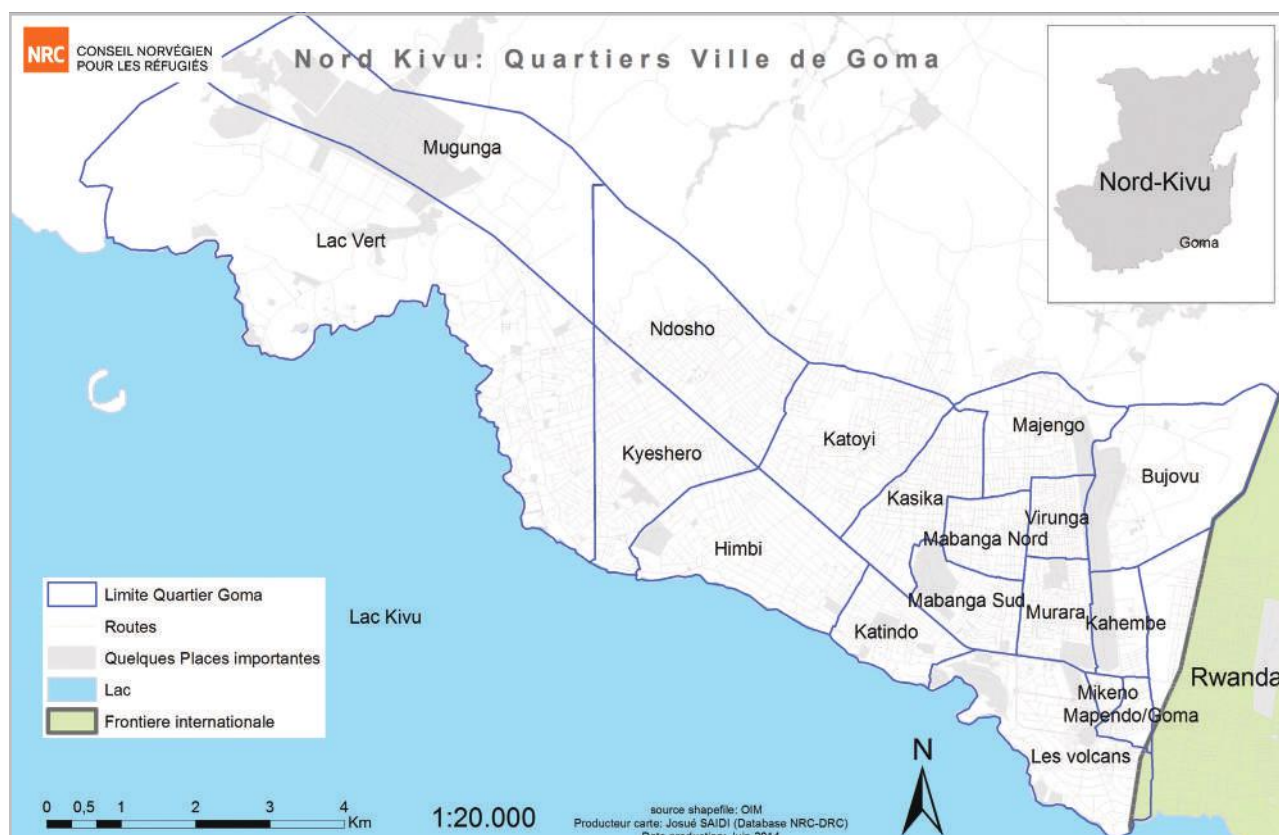


Figure 2: Map of Goma

GOMA

The estimated population of Goma is 1,029,964 (as of December 2013) (Mairie de Goma, 2014) with approximately 60,000 IDPs in camps and 35,000 IDPs in host families (OCHA, Sept. 2013⁵), in addition to an unknown number of IDPs living independently. Officially, at least 11 per cent of the population of Goma is displaced.⁶ Four per cent are with host families. However, population statistics outside the camps are questionable and the total number is most likely much higher.

Goma sits on the DRC border with Rwanda, bordered by Lake Kivu in the south and Mount Nyiragongo and Virunga National Park to the north. The city is divided into two communes – Goma and Karisimbi – and has 18 districts (quartiers).

METHODOLOGY

The urban IDP profiling and needs assessment tool used for this study was designed to give a snapshot of the current situation in Goma and to inform a pilot project responding to identified vulnerabilities within the IDP and host communities.

The general objective was to understand the living conditions of IDPs, host families, and host communities in urban Goma. Specific objectives were to gather quantitative data in order to:

- determine the socio-demographic characteristics of the IDP population of Goma (including by age, gender and occupation)
- evaluate living conditions of IDPs, as well as those of their host families, and residents.
- identify specific needs in terms of income, food security, shelter, sanitation, protection, health and education
- identify perceptions and intentions of return
- identify actions to undertake to improve conditions of vulnerable persons affected by displacement in Goma
- develop a non-camp response for future waves of displacement to Goma.

This report's findings are based on survey data collected in December 2013, supplemented by a less extensive comparative study of the camp IDP population.

SURVEY

Given the lack of existing data on IDP populations in Goma, *Université Libre des Pays des Grand Lacs*

(ULPGL) conducted a pre-study to establish numbers of IDPs in Goma, based on registration records of the quartier leaders. This study was inconclusive however, as many quartiers' officials did not acknowledge the presence of IDPs, or did not have documentation of their numbers. This did, however, indicate the lack of awareness or interest in IDP populations in some quartiers of the city⁷ and highlighted the inconsistency of the existing registration system. Due to limited and poor information regarding the IDP population size and location the profiling and needs assessment described in this study was conducted in all 18 quartiers of Goma. It also included Bugamba, a peripheral area that acts as a corridor for movement of displaced populations, to ensure that data collected was fully representative.

The study used a two-stage sampling methodology, first purposively selecting families based on their displacement status (displaced, host family or resident), and subsequently using a snowball methodology to find further interview candidates. A snowball methodology was used once entry-point households had been identified to avoid bias due to authority selection of



⁵ Personal correspondence with OCHA, Goma, December 2013

⁶ OCHA, September 2013. This estimated eleven per cent includes IDPs in camps surrounding the city.

⁷ Quartiers which did not have data on IDP populations available were: Bugamba, Bujovu, Himbi, Kahembe, Lac-vert, Les Volcans, Mabanga Nord, Mapendo, Mikeno, Murara and Virunga.

certain households and to find IDP households in quarters which were not aware of, or did not report their presence. Sixty four households were selected per quartier, divided into 32 displaced households (IDP families living independently and in host families), 16 host family households, and 16 resident households (including returnees). In total, individuals from 480 IDP, 308 host family and 469 resident (including returnee) households were interviewed.⁸ Fifty eight per cent of respondents interviewed were women, 42 per cent were men.

The questionnaire used was based on that developed by the Joint IDP Profiling Service (JIPS),⁹ and included questions on family composition, shelter, WASH, livelihoods, displacement, host family, education, health, food security and protection. It was adapted to the context in eastern DRC through an iterative process of revision between the NRC-DRC country office, NRC head office technical advisors and the profiling steering committee.

Interviews were conducted using smart-phones running the Mobenzi survey and data collection application, which allowed for automatic tailoring of questionnaires based on previous responses and assured secure storage of responses. Data collection was conducted over ten days in December 2013 by ULPGL interviewers. NRC staff were not visible during data collection to avoid bias resulting from expectations of humanitarian assistance.

First results were presented in mid-February to members of the government, the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and other interested parties in Goma. The information was well received and ensuing discussion helped identify future research topics and key areas of interest for intervention, such as:

- the involvement of authorities
- comparison with the camps around Goma
- mechanisms for restitution of housing, land and property
- a response supporting a planned camp exit strategy which is now under discussion.

There is a strong interest in increasing available information on urban IDPs and developing non-camp responses, with many organisations and government bodies in DRC beginning to pay attention to the necessity of addressing the needs of this so-far ignored group.

CAMP COMPARISON

The study in the city was supplemented with a small comparative study of the living conditions, intentions to

return and interactions with the city of IDPs in camps and sites around Goma. This was not intended to be statistically significant, but to give an indication of major trends and key differences between the camp and the urban IDP populations. This study was undertaken with the assistance of IOM in Mugunga I camp, one of the largest camps around Goma. The questionnaire was based on an adapted version of that used in the urban setting, with questions relevant only to host families removed. Twenty households were interviewed over two days in April 2014. Households were identified using a transect walk.

LIMITATIONS

Important limitations of this methodology include:

- reliance on self-identification of displaced households
- ability of snowball methodology to capture the most vulnerable households with few social connections
- questionnaire programming.

Further information on the potential effects of these limitations and the steps taken to mitigate their impact can be found in appendix one.



Figure 3: Young woman selling vegetables



⁸ While host family and resident targets were exceeded, only 79 per cent of the target for IDP households was achieved. This is due to the sampling strategy used, and the difficulty of finding IDPs living independently.

⁹ The JIPS profiling tool has previously been used in similar settings, including an urban profiling exercise in Delhi. See: <http://www.jips.org/en/field-support/country-operations/india/india/delhi-urban-profiling>

FINDINGS

FAMILY

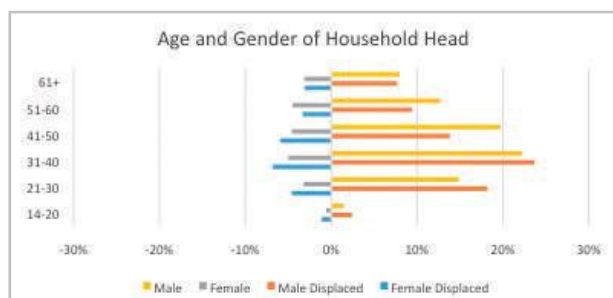


Figure 4: Chart showing the age and gender of household heads

Household heads are on average 43 years old and there is little variation between urban IDP, host and resident families. Displaced households are slightly more likely to have a young head of household (11 per cent of displaced households are led by somebody aged 25 or younger, compared to an average five per cent for non-displaced households). There were very few instances of households being led by someone under 18 years old. Nine per cent of household heads are over 60 and the highest age recorded is 90.

The average dependency ratio is approximately 2:3, with two adults supporting three other family members. This does not differ between groups. However, the number of persons being supported does not include working-age adults with disabilities or those suffering from chronic illness. As seen below, 56 per cent of the population is under 18.

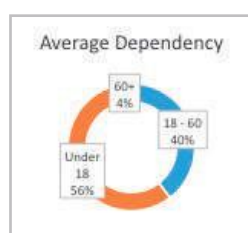


Figure 5: Chart showing the average dependency ratio

The average family has seven members. Large families are common, 20 per cent have more than ten members and five per cent have more than 15.

Single female-headed households are more common among the displaced and returnee populations (24 per cent and 23.5 per cent respectively) compared to 18.6 per cent for residents. In 64 per cent of female-headed households the family is no longer together (46 per cent average). Fifty two per cent of female-headed

households are led by widows. The findings show that female-headed households are more vulnerable, particularly in terms of livelihoods and protection risks.

MOVEMENT HISTORY

FAMILY MOVEMENTS

Nearly all families reported having fled due to conflict and conflict-related activities and many have lost family members. The main incentive to come to Goma city rather than a camp was existing family and friendship ties. Thirteen per cent of households came to Goma instead of a camp due to a perceived lack of shelter and poor sanitation in the camps. Eight per cent came due to improved work opportunities. No respondents indicated they came to Goma to receive humanitarian aid. A third of respondents do not intend to return to their place of origin, regardless of changing conditions.

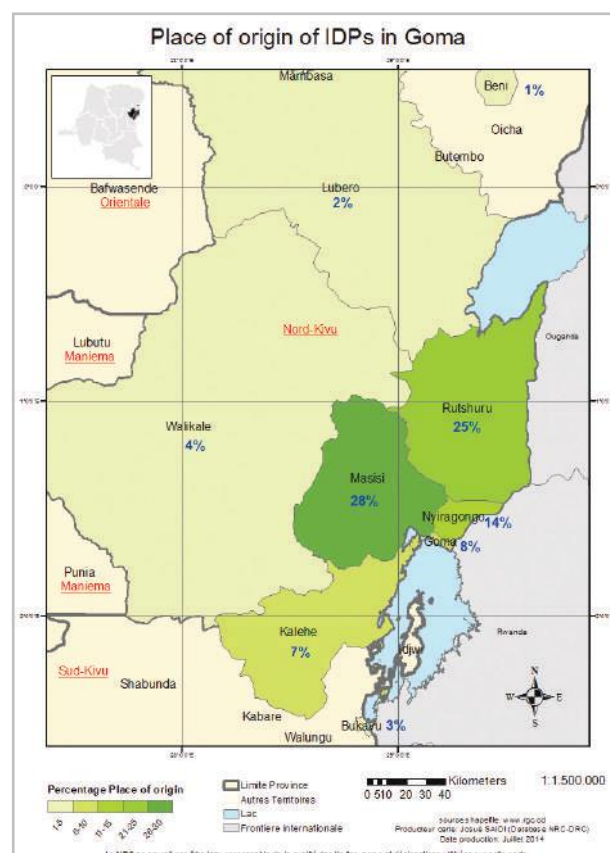


Figure 6: Place of origin of IDPs in Goma, December 2013

The main reason given for flight is armed conflict. Fear of recruitment by armed groups, destruction of housing and property and disappearance of a family member are also common reasons for flight. Among female-headed households 13 per cent said they left due to the disappearance or kidnapping of a family member (compared to nine per cent of male-headed households). They were also more likely to cite security (36 per cent of female-headed households) and family relations (28 per cent) as their motivation to come to Goma. Fourteen per cent of families have been expelled from their place of origin by an armed group.

Half of all families who have moved are no longer living with all household members from their place of origin. This rises to 64 per cent for female-headed households. Commonly, family members have stayed behind to take care of property (27 per cent), due to old age or illness (eight per cent) or for other unspecified reasons (44 per cent). Many do not know where the missing family members currently are (29 per cent). Among female-headed households, 34 per cent do not know where their missing family members are.

INTENTION TO RETURN

Twenty nine per cent of IDPs do not intend to return to their place of origin. This is higher among female-

headed households, of whom 39 per cent plan to remain in Goma. Many of those who say they intend to return have no concrete plans to do so. Fifty six per cent arrived in 2013. Members of this most recently arrived group were the most likely to express intentions to return.

Main reasons given for intention to return include land-ownership (41 per cent), property ownership (17 per cent), and ability to find employment (14 per cent). Of those intending to return, 11 per cent wanted to return for family reasons. Family reasons were higher among female-headed households (19 per cent). Seventy six per cent of respondents who intend to return have property in their place of origin. Thirty four per cent of those who intend to stay in Goma own property in the city, compared to only nine per cent of those who intend to return.

In comparison to urban IDPs, 90 per cent of those interviewed in the camp intend to return and say they plan to do so within the next three months.¹⁰ The remaining ten per cent intend to relocate to the city of Goma. Fifty per cent of respondents from the camp have family members living in Goma, and 40 per cent say they conduct petty trade within the city.

HOST PROFILE

A large number of host families have hosted multiple families several times for a short duration. Sixty one per cent of host families interviewed are currently hosting members of their own family and 14 per cent were hosting those they knew from their place of origin. Ten per cent of host households reported hosting IDPs with whom they had no previous relationship, but to whom they felt a sense of compassion and duty to help. Displaced persons who know others from their place of origin in their community, even if they do not reside with them, tend to pay a lower rent. Though they are also more likely to feel secure, they still experience discrimination or have low participation in community activities.

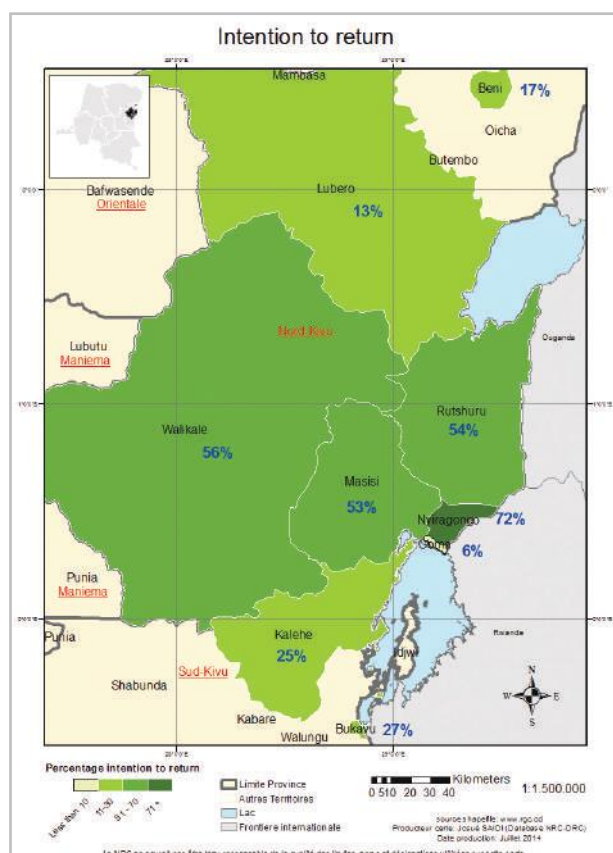


Figure 7: Map of intention to return to place of origin, by place of origin



¹⁰ Official government policy is to encourage return of IDPs to their place of origin. Given the poverty of those in camps, and their strong family and trade links with the city of Goma, a larger proportion may in fact move to Goma in the event of camps closing.

Forty-three per cent of households have been hosting for more than six months. Among female-headed households this figure rises to 54 per cent. Half of the host families have previously hosted families. On average, host families are simultaneously hosting members of two families (an average of four IDPs per host family). Both host families and IDPs use hosting arrangements as a coping strategy. These provide rental income for host families, cheaper or free accommodation for IDPs and sharing of resources for both families.

Thirty five per cent of host families say they have experienced problems in hosting a family, of which 67 per cent cite a lack of resources to host a family. Fifty eight per cent note a lack of space. Nineteen per cent of host families reported that IDPs were not managing to pay their rent. Approximately 20 per cent of respondents state that there are occasionally problems or tensions between displaced families and their hosts. This is equally reported between the two. Problems with maintaining household hygiene, fighting between children and conflict between women were the most commonly identified sources of these tensions. Resource constraints mean that host families, when asked about their key needs, commonly express concern about their capacity to feed both families. This indicates that many host families do not simply provide physical space in which IDPs can shelter but take them into their care.

FOOD SECURITY, LIVELIHOODS AND ECONOMIC STABILITY



Figure 8: Woman selling charcoal

Displaced persons have a higher rate of unemployment, and are more likely to work in insecure or low-paid sectors such as informal construction, agricultural labour or portering. Much of this work is casual daily labour for \$1-2 a day with no guarantee of steady income.

Displaced persons and female-headed households are also more likely to rely on income support from their family than other groups.

The majority of IDPs own property in their place of origin, but have lost goods during their flight. Priority needs for displaced families are assistance paying rent, food and replacement of non-food items (NFIs). Across all groups, the priority needs are food and a desire to have their own accommodation. Only 12 per cent of respondents reported having ever received any assistance from international NGOs, the government or their community.

INCOME

Sixty five per cent of respondents had undertaken some form of remunerated work in the previous month. Displaced persons and returnees are ten per cent less likely to have done so than residents or members of host families. Only 55 per cent of female-headed households reported working, either formally or informally. Less than six per cent of families have a child who works. Child labour participation is higher among displaced and host families (7.5 per cent and 6.8 per cent respectively) compared with 4.4 per cent for residents).

Average income is \$100 per month per family, though this can vary greatly each month for families dependent on finding daily labour.¹¹ Primary income sources¹² account for 74 per cent of income on average and tend to be supplemented by petty trade. Displaced families earn on average \$64 per month to support seven people.

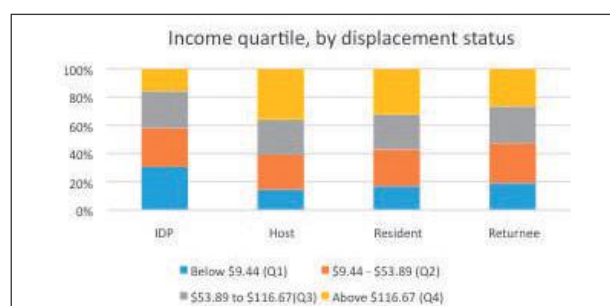


Figure 9: Chart showing income quartiles, by displacement status



¹¹ Income is based on the sum of income from the primary and secondary sources. In urban areas there are potentially multiple sources of income, which are not included here.

¹² Primary and secondary sources were identified by respondents based on how much they earn.

Most frequently identified primary sources of income are small businesses, salaried work in private companies and civil service employment. Displaced persons, however, have far lower rates of employment in government and small businesses and are much more likely to be employed in low-paying positions as porters or domestic workers. In addition, IDPs consistently earn less than other groups, even when doing equivalent work. For example the average daily wage for casual construction labour is \$1.8, whereas, IDPs, on average, earn \$1.2. As can be seen above, IDPs are more likely to be in the lowest income bracket, as compared to other groups.

Displaced persons are also more likely to receive gifts or money from family members, or rely on begging – though the total proportion begging remains low (4.4 per cent IDPs, two per cent hosts, 1.1 per cent residents as a primary income source; 5.2 per cent, 5.2 per cent, and 1.7 per cent as a secondary source). Among female-headed households petty trading and casual labour remain the largest sources of income. Nine per cent of families rely on family support as a primary source of income. This is reflected in the coping mechanisms listed: 44 per cent rely on help from family members and 30 per cent cohabit with a host family, who are often related. Other frequent responses including borrowing money and reducing the quantity of food consumed per day.¹³

Displaced families have a greater dependence on secondary sources, which account for 31 per cent of their income. For the displaced, secondary sources are more likely to be insecure casual labour, begging or family gifts than among other groups, thus making their income more unpredictable. IDPs earn less from their petty trading activities compared to the other groups. This may be due to a lack of capital to buy larger amounts of stock or competition for trading positions for which IDPs do not have the necessary social connections.

Seventy per cent of IDPs own property in their place of origin. The rate is lower among female-headed households (61.5 per cent). Eighty seven per cent lost household assets due to displacement, most commonly agricultural equipment, land or petty enterprises.

Approximately 20 per cent of respondents cultivate land in Goma, though this is lower among residents than other categories. Of those who cultivate, about 40 per cent own the land they use (an overall average of eight per cent of families own agricultural land in Goma). Rates of cultivation and ownership of agricultural land are higher in peripheral quarters, particularly Mugunga and Bugamba, as land is more available and cheaper than in other areas and many IDPs look after houses and land in these zones. Fourteen per cent of respondents have livestock, but this is lower among the displaced (ten per cent). The study showed that use of farming land in Goma is not correlated with improved household food security (as measured by higher food consumption scores). However, ownership of land or livestock is.

Food security is poorer for IDPs than for other groups. Forty five per cent of IDPs only have one meal a day, compared to 26 per cent of residents. Fifty nine per cent of IDPs say they have problems feeding their family often or most of the time, compared to 36 per cent of residents. As can be seen below, a greater proportion of IDPs have a poor food consumption score (35 per cent), as compared to other groups (21 per cent of host families, 15 per cent of residents and 20 per cent of returnees). On average, host families and residents have a satisfactory food consumption score (43 for host families, 46 residents) though as can be seen, there is a large proportion who do not.

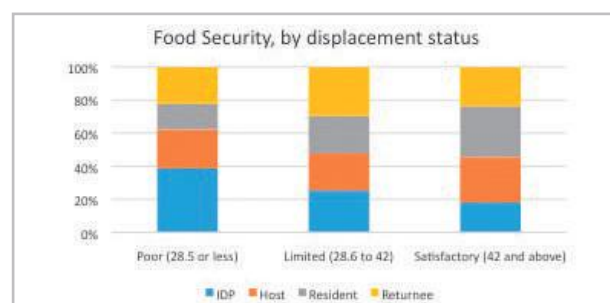


Figure 10: Chart showing food consumption score classification, by displacement status



¹³ The question asked to establish coping mechanisms was “Which strategies have you used in the last three months to make ends meet?” (Quelle stratégies avez-vous utilisées au cours de les derniers 3 mois pour joindre les deux bouts du mois?). Multiple responses were possible.

MEETING BASIC NEEDS

The average expenditure per month for each respondent group is between \$104 and \$121. For female-headed houses expenditure is much lower (\$84/month). It should be noted, however, that these families tend to be smaller.

	Total	Rent	Water	Food	Education	Healthcare
Displaced	104	18	7	41	9	29
Host Family	121	24	11	40	10	36
Residents	117	23	10	43	13	28
Returnees	117	20	12	40	9	36

Table 1: Average expenditures on basic needs per month/status

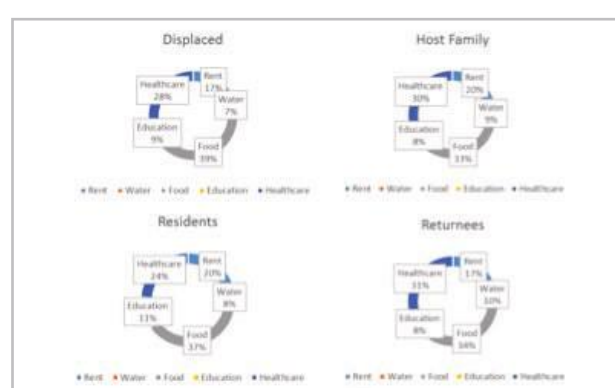


Figure 11: Chart showing proportion of expenditure on basic needs

As shown in the figure above, IDPs direct the greatest proportion of their spending towards food. A lower proportion than other groups is for water, suggesting a greater reliance on free, but untreated, lake water. The proportion spent on rent is highest among host families. This is not surprising given they often require larger houses in order to accommodate IDPs and their rent is therefore 20 per cent above average.

Residents spend the greatest proportion on education compared to the other groups. There are several potential explanations for this: their higher income in part, but it may also reflect a better level of financial security and access to credit that increases their ability to send their children to school. They may also prioritise schooling more than other groups. Others may not only have insufficient income but could also lack information on how to enrol or are discriminated against and thus unable to enrol their children.

Returnees spend little on rent, but a large proportion on healthcare. This could suggest they are living in poor quality accommodation, with low levels of sanitation and hygiene, with negative health impacts. More research is needed to confirm this.

Average levels of expenditure are much higher than average incomes, particularly for IDPs, which is reflected in the higher levels of debt among the displaced. Fifty two per cent of displaced families have some level of debt, compared to 20 per cent of residents, 30 per cent of host families and 44 per cent among returnees. Displaced families have on average 38,627CDF of debt (\$43), five times that of residents. Most families report having gone in to debt to pay for food, medical costs and school fees. IDPs indicate that loans are often used to pay for food, rent, and household items – reflecting their lower income, loss of assets during flight and low level of property ownership. Though the overall percentage is low, IDPs are more likely to report using debt to pay bribes for protection and access to services than other groups. While IDPs have high levels of debt, few IDPs have access to purchases on credit, suggesting they are highly reliant on informal or community sources of lending.

ASSISTANCE

Twelve percent of families report having received aid in Goma. Of families having received aid, 78 per cent of assistance came from humanitarian organisations, 36 per cent from the community and ten per cent from the government (some families received assistance from more than one source). Those who arrived in 2012 and 2013 were more likely to have received aid (23 per cent of those who have received aid arrived in 2013). The majority received some form of food assistance and IDPs reported receiving NFIs. Those identifying as returnees were more likely than other groups to have received shelter assistance. The 2002 volcanic eruption, and the occupation of the city by the M23 in 2012, both caused destruction of property and displacement out of Goma. Thus, it is likely that shelter assistance for returnees was linked to one of these two events.

The most common primary needs cited by respondents are food and difficulties owning or renting land or other forms of property. Secondary needs cited are school fees and NFIs. Displaced populations are more likely than others to reporting needing NFIs and assistance in paying rent. Female-headed households report higher rates of needing NFIs (10.2 per cent) and money for health care costs (9.1 per cent) than male-headed households (5.9 per cent and 5.6 per cent respectively).

LIVING CONDITIONS

Living conditions in Goma vary greatly across the city. While most respondents noted problems with overcrowding, access to services, property ownership and safety, two areas stand out as having a high proportion of households with extremely poor living conditions: the inner city and the extreme peri-urban periphery. This can be seen in the maps below, with darker colouring indicating higher vulnerability.



Figure 12: Chart showing the primary need as identified by respondents

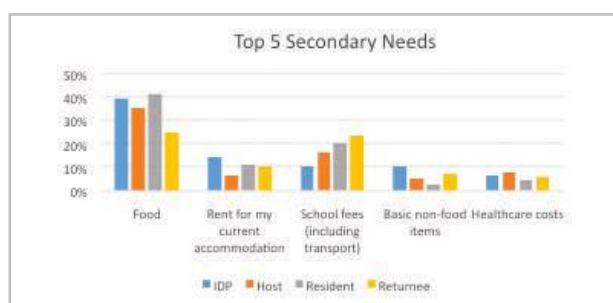


Figure 13: Chart showing the second most important need as identified by respondents

Peripheral quarters, such as Mugunga and Lac Vert, have lower rents and greater access to arable land. However, they are also characterised by lack of connection to basic infrastructure and services and inadequate housing conditions. They often have limited access to services and poor tenure security. They often have very limited or no access to electricity and are more likely to rely on alternative sources of water, rather than the piped municipal supply. Ownership rates are low and many inhabitants are taking care of others' properties. These arrangements often do not have a written lease arrangement. Houses in these quarters are less likely to have doors and windows.

Inner-city quarters are characterised by small, overcrowded houses, often a complex of a group of conjoined buildings and rooms to which additional space is added according to need. Individuals living in the inner city have greater access to municipal electricity and water, but still frequently use other sources such as the lake. Rents are three to five times higher per m² as compared to peripheral quarters: they can cost up to \$100 per month, though they average around \$24. Few people own their houses and contracts are often for less than three months. Primary needs cited by respondents living in these quarters often focus on the lack of space and number of people sharing accommodation. Sanitation is a challenge in the more congested areas of Goma, with open sewers running between the houses.



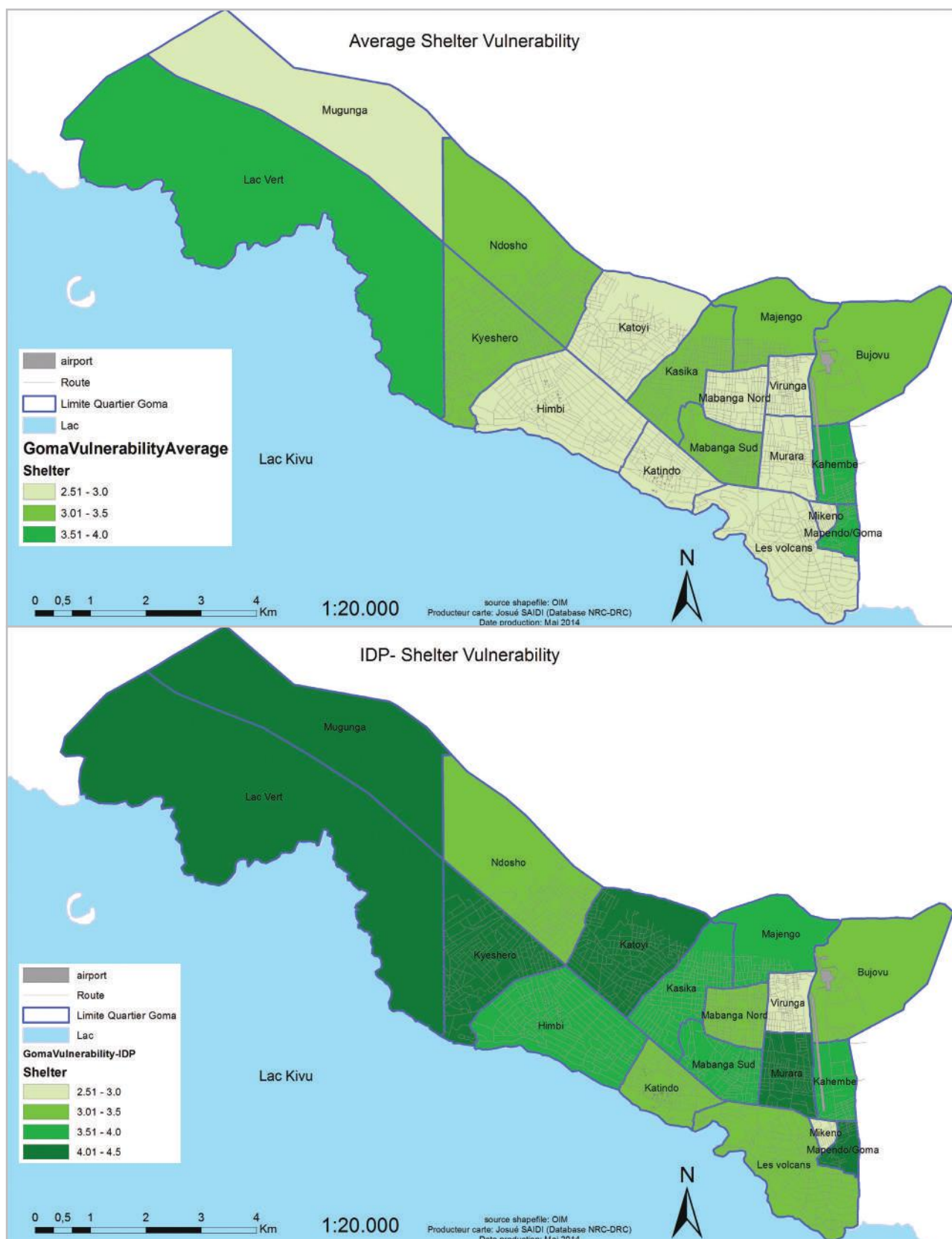


Figure 14: Map showing average and IDP shelter vulnerability by quartier¹⁴



¹⁴ Shelter vulnerability is a composite of: property ownership in Goma, length of contract (verbal or written), sufficient space for all family members to sleep, door condition, having windows, identified need for reparations, rent/m2 and building material.

SECURITY OF TENURE¹⁵

While many displaced persons cite greater housing safety and security as a reason to move to the city their actual accommodation status in the city is often precarious. IDPs frequently have low tenure security in Goma. Low rates of property ownership, lack of written lease agreements and an often indeterminate contract duration means that the tenure arrangements of IDPs are highly insecure, leaving IDPs at risk of forced eviction, harassment and other threats.



Figure 15: Chart showing property ownership in Goma, by displacement status

Only ten per cent of displaced persons own property in Goma, compared to a 36 per cent average. IDPs are often rent-paying tenants with no security of tenure - either legal, de facto or perceived - due to being less likely to have a written contract for their accommodation. Many IDPs are unsure of the length of their accommodation agreement and have a short term agreement (see graphs below). Many displaced persons reported the desire to own property as one of their key concerns – having one's own house is the primary need expressed by 13 per cent of respondents.

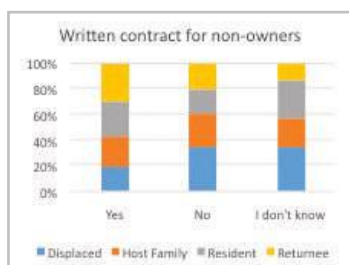


Figure 16: Chart showing proportion of non-owners with a written contract, by displacement status

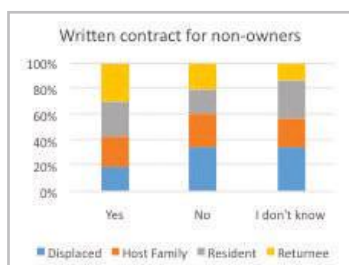


Figure 17: Chart showing the length of lease agreement (written or verbal) for non-owners, by displacement status

Thirty seven per cent of households are paying rent. Twenty one per cent are living in accommodation they do not own, but for which they are not paying rent. In some cases this is because they are being hosted without having to pay rent. In others it is likely they are living in informal settlements where they have built their own housing or are squatting. A further six per cent are taking care of others' properties and land. Average rent varies by quartier from \$7/month, to \$38/month¹⁶, or \$0.22/m² to \$1.3/m².¹⁷ Host family arrangements tend to require the highest rent, at an average of \$24 per month. This is explained by the fact that they accommodate a greater number of people.

The average house size varies across the city. Quartiers with high rent/m² tend to have smaller houses. This is particularly pronounced in the inner-city quartiers of Les Volcans, Mapendo and Kahembe.

In their place of origin, 72 per cent of IDPs owned their own property. The findings suggest that for the most part, these were individual houses rather than collective compounds. IDPs report that their houses were generally bigger than their current accommodation, with an extra room as compared to existing arrangements in Goma. For those renting, it was far cheaper in IDPs' places of origin, where rents averaged \$8/month.



¹⁵ Security of tenure is understood as tenure of land and/or housing which ensures a secure home and enables one to live in security, peace and dignity. For further information see: Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in the context. 24 December 2012. A/HRC/22/46, para 23 http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session22/AHRC2246_English.pdf

¹⁶ From the data, Katindo has the highest average rent of any quartier in the city, at \$38 per month. While there are no data points identifiable as high outliers, this is anomalous with existing understanding of the conditions and wealth in the quartier.

¹⁷ Rent per metre squared was based on the average rent per quartier divided by the average size of the house (m²) in each quartier.

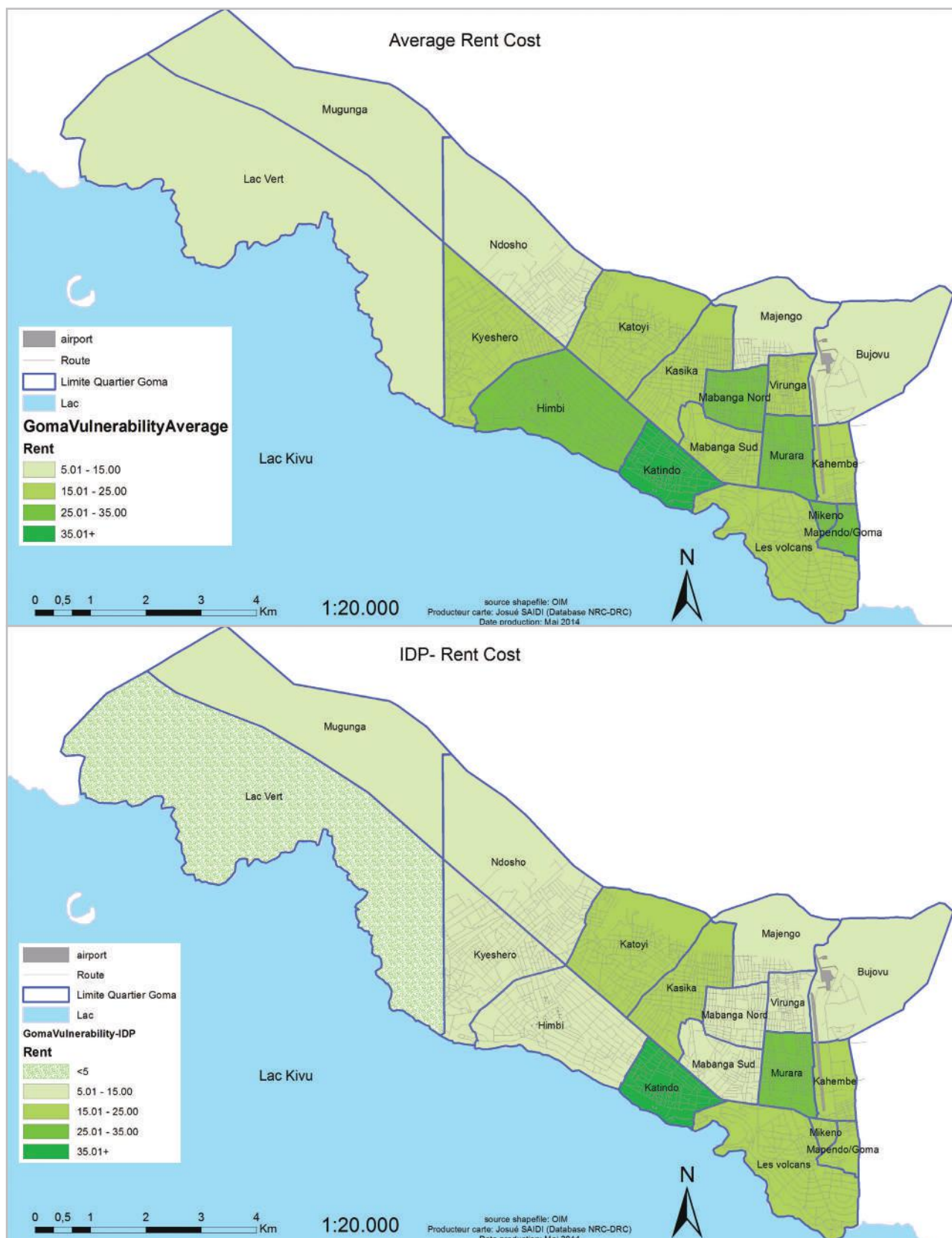


Figure 18: Map showing average and IDP rent costs, by quartier

HOUSING QUALITY

Space is at a premium in Goma, leading to an increased number of displaced individuals who share single rooms and who sleep outside due to a lack of space. In 29 per cent of both IDP and host families at least one family member sleeps outside six or seven days per week, compared to 21 per cent who do so in resident households. The primary shelter concern of host families is overcrowding, while displaced persons note the lack of rooms in which to sleep.

The quality of housing does not differ wildly between the different groups. The majority of families live in individual houses constructed of wooden planks, with a corrugated iron roof. Buildings are often hastily and precariously erected through a self-build process. Housing security is poor, especially among displaced families. While 99 per cent of houses have doors and most have windows, they are often in need of repair, do not lock, have visible damage or can be easily forced open. Seventy per cent of households cannot correctly shut doors (74 per cent of IDPs) while 76 per cent cannot close windows (82 per cent of IDPs). Thirty per cent of respondents' homes are in need of repair. While there are obvious safety concerns that could be linked with such conditions, they are not often identified as a key concern by respondents themselves.

SANITATION AND HYGIENE

General sanitation conditions are poor, with many households using poorly constructed or dilapidated overflowing latrines and, in several quarters, open sewers. There is little emphasis on hand-washing.

Displaced families are less likely to have a latrine on the premises. In general, those without latrines are most likely to use those of the neighbours, but displaced populations report higher usage of public latrines or the bush/field than other groups (21 per cent and four per cent respectively, compared to 16 per cent and three per cent for host families, and 14 per cent and two per cent for residents). Eighty per cent of respondents have latrines less than five minutes away.

Fewer than 35 per cent of respondents say their latrines are hygienic, and this is lower among the displaced population (27 per cent). Displaced persons also report greater insecurity of latrines, in particular noting poor construction. Fifty three per cent of female-headed households say their latrines are not secure, with many noting poor construction – particularly the risk of the floor collapsing, and the lack of a door - as well as personal security. Less than five per cent of all latrines are separated for men and women. Fifty per cent of latrines used by residents are lit (44 per cent

average). Thirty two per cent of latrines are emptied using a bucket and rope, with many other respondents saying they use their neighbours' latrines when theirs is full. In some host families this task, as well as other household chores, falls to the displaced family in lieu of monetary rent.

Displaced families are ten per cent less likely than the average to have a washing area in their accommodation and 20 per cent less likely than residents. However, most have access to a place to wash within five minutes walking distance. For female-headed households who have been displaced, 74 per cent do not have a washing area, compared to 49 per cent of female-headed resident families.

The priority uses for soap are laundry and bathing. Less than a third say hand-washing is a priority.



Figure 19: Community water point in need of repair

WATER

Location is an important factor for access to water sources, as the city water system does not fully extend to the peripheral areas. While lake water is freely available access to water is frequently cited as an issue. Moreover the distance to the lake and the quality of the water impacts health as a majority (87 per cent) do not treat the water. The communes of Goma and Karisimbi have been previously hit by outbreaks of cholera. National authorities and INGOs identified the main cause of these outbreaks as insufficient access to safe water (WHO, 2012).

There are not large differences between respondent groups in relation to access to water. The majority of respondents rely on the city's piped system for water. Although city water is treated at source, once illegal connections are made to the system for further sales of water then there is a chance that bacteria and

pathogens are introduced, affecting water quality. Thirty one per cent of respondents have a private source of water.¹⁸ For those who do not have access to the city water system, the primary sources are community pumps and Lake Kivu. Those identifying as returnees are more likely than other respondents to use these alternative sources. Over 80 per cent of respondents do not treat their water before drinking and the majority store water in jerry-cans. In the majority of families, women and girls are responsible for collecting water.

Water on average costs 350 CDF/20 litres (\$0.37). Average spending on water in Goma is \$10 a month, or 300CDF per day per family, sufficient for 17 litres a day per family. Sphere guidance says that 15L is the minimum required/person/ day (SPHERE, 2011). Thus,

if one considers that the average household has seven people, the purchase of household water in Goma is seriously below minimum standards. In addition to this, a large number of families supplement their water consumption with free lake water. This water is more likely to be contaminated than that provided by the city water system. While the water system now covers the whole city, coverage is not uniform and in peripheral quarters such as Kyeshero, Ndosho, Bugamba and Himbi provision is considerably less than demand. Even in central quarters, the water supply is frequently interrupted and insufficient. Residents of Mugunga and Lac Vert have no access to the city water supply, instead often relying on water from the lake or the camps.¹⁹



¹⁸ A private source of water is a source that is used only by the household interviewed. Most often this is a tap connected to the city water supply in their courtyard, though some also have private tanks filled by a water vendor.

¹⁹ Water from the camps is often cleaner than that available elsewhere. However there are several barriers to access, including limitations on using camp facilities for those not living in the camp and the distance of the camps from the city.

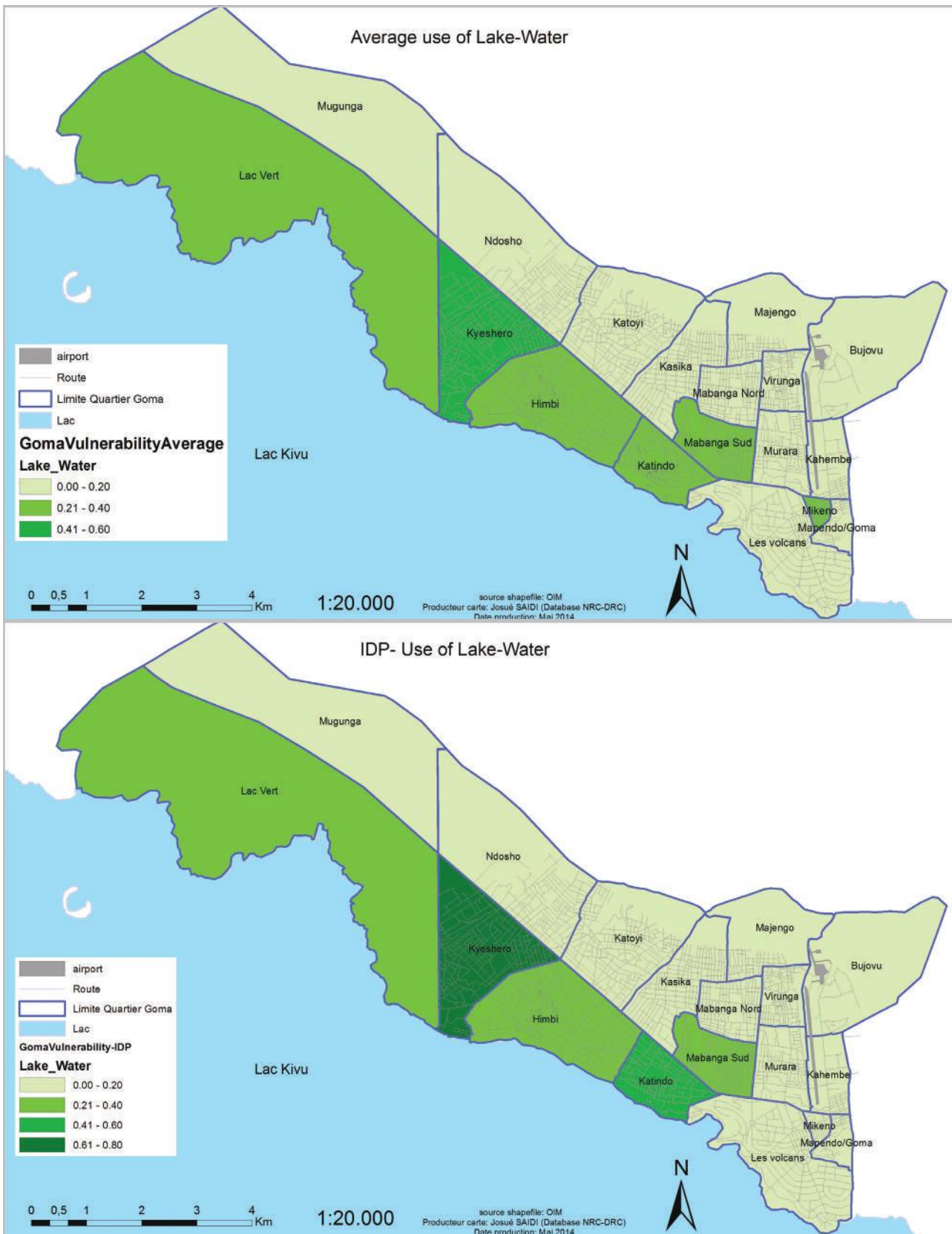


Figure 20: Map showing average and IDP use of lake water, by quartier

ACCESS TO SERVICES

HEALTH

IDPs have slightly higher rates of disability and chronic illness. However, there are not large differences in health conditions reported between the different respondent groups. Family healthcare costs on average around \$31. Average costs per group vary from \$28 (displaced) to \$36 (host and returnees) but this is largely explained by the larger family size of host families.

Sixteen per cent of resident households have a household member with a physical disability, though this represents only three per cent of individuals over five years old. While 16 per cent of displaced families also have a member with a physical disability, this accounts for four per cent of the total displaced individuals, suggesting there is a greater burden on displaced families. Far fewer families report a family member with mental disabilities - five per cent of families, accounting for only one per cent of all individuals across all groups. A quarter of all families report chronic illness, affecting four per cent of individuals. Rates are slightly lower among resident and returnee populations.

Malaria is prevalent across DRC with approximately five million cases each year (UKAID, 2011). Malaria is the main cause of death for women and for children under five in DRC (President's Malaria Initiative, 2013). In Goma, 24 per cent of individuals sleep beneath a mosquito net, though this accounts for only 18 per cent of IDPs. Goma is a high risk zone and access to treatment is limited by the cost – a consultation costs approximately \$5 and standard treatment \$5.

Twenty four per cent of women are pregnant or breastfeeding. This is slightly higher for IDPs and returnees. Thirty per cent of all women respondents between 18 and 60 reported having given birth in the previous two years, including 34 per cent of IDPs and 36 per cent of returnees.

EDUCATION

Nine per cent of all households state coverage of school costs as their primary need, with an additional 16 per cent stating it as their most important secondary need. Despite the widespread lack of means to pay school fees, 80 per cent of school-age children are currently attending primary school. School attendance rates are ten per cent lower among displaced, as compared to resident, children. This lower rate of school attendance is explained by a lack of resources in IDP households with 64 per cent (compared to 52 per cent of resident) of families with children not in school saying it is due to an inability to pay for enrolment and other costs. When

asked about their greatest concerns, household heads identified access to education and work as a serious problem for both girls and boys.

While a large proportion of children are attending school, 33 per cent of families are not sending some children to school due to the costs. Data was not collected on whether the 80 per cent of children attending school did so full time. However, given the number of families not sending some children to school due to costs, it is likely that some of those that do attend are sometimes removed from school as parental ability to pay fees fluctuates. Female-headed households are more likely than other households to cite the costs associated with school as a barrier to educating their children (40 per cent compared to 33 per cent). Female-headed households are also more likely to report problems with accessing information on schooling and registration processes.

ELECTRICITY

Access to electricity is improved by moving to the city, with a 17 per cent increase in people having access to electricity some hours of each day (ten per cent to 27 per cent) as compared to their place of origin. However, 72 per cent remain without any electricity supply and access to electricity ranks as the most noted issue for residents with regards to accommodation (51 per cent). Access to water is the second-most concerning issue (46 per cent).

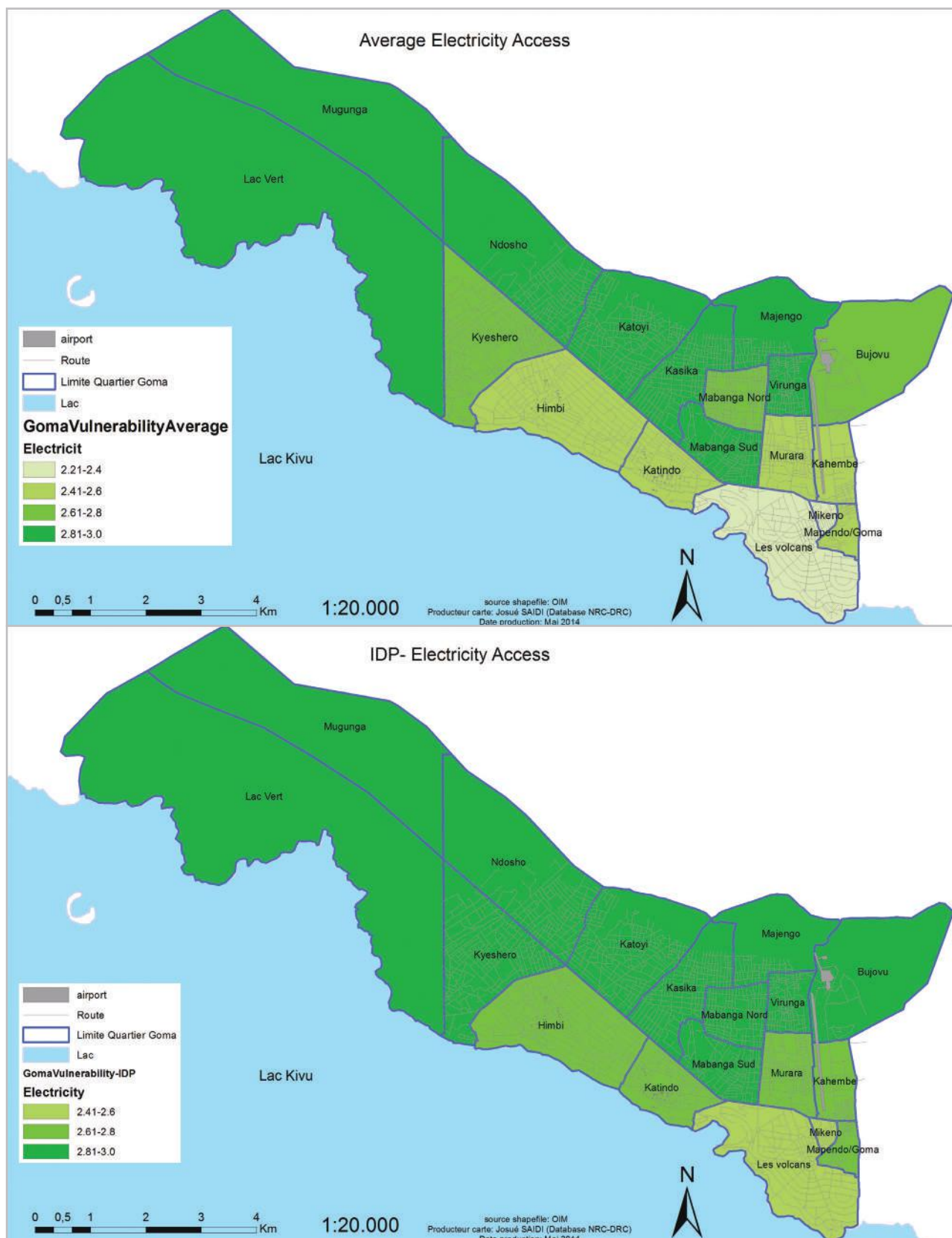


Figure 21: Map showing average and IDP access to electricity, by quartier

SECURITY

Respondents reported the greatest threats to them were criminal violence and high levels of sexual violence. Men and boys are particularly concerned by criminal violence, especially armed robbery and muggings. Many also note the role of armed street gangs (*enfants de la rue*, *maibobo*) in robbery and armed violence. For a quarter of women and girls the biggest threats are sexual violence and a general perception of lack of security. In addition, many IDPs, particularly women, report feeling discriminated against by members of the host community.

Community protection is the norm, with families relying on restricting movement after dark and maintaining good relations with their neighbours as main protection strategies. IDPs in particular are unlikely to go to state services for protection, especially the police.

SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND INSECURITY:

The majority of respondents report feeling secure all or most of the time. Displaced, hosts and returnees are more likely to report feeling insecure than residents. Ten per cent of displaced persons report never feeling safe. While the majority of people do not report feeling threatened by a particular group or action, a large proportion note community concerns related to discrimination and violent crime. Feelings of discrimination are highest among the displaced and returnees. Members of 20 per cent of female-headed households report feeling discriminated against (compared to 14 per cent in male-headed). The most common threat reported is fear of being robbed (73 per cent), followed by a fear of being beaten up (37 per cent). Sixteen per cent of household heads identify sexual violence as the greatest threat for women and 21 per cent of household heads see this as the main threat for girls. Returnees generally report a higher rate of having felt threatened, and have a greater fear of being arrested or sexually abused. Residents are less likely to say they have ever felt threatened (78 per cent), most likely reflecting their higher levels of housing security, access to police and state services and social capital. Somewhat unexpectedly, displaced persons are also likely to say they have not felt threatened (79 per cent). This may be due to subjective comparison with their place of origin, given that a third of IDPs came to the city for primarily security reasons.

Most respondents feel free to move around the city (76 per cent) and a large number report having no problems in their community. The most common problems identified are limited access to food, high criminal violence and lack of work. These concerns are universal across groups. A lack of food and water are

more likely to be identified as a concern for women and girls than for men and boys. Displaced and host families also frequently cite discrimination by the community as a key concern.

Household heads consider criminal violence (16 per cent) and a lack of work or income (19 per cent) to be the biggest threat for men. For women the greatest threats are rape or other sexual violence – 16 per cent of household heads report this as their biggest security concern for women, and an additional 6 per cent cite the general lack of security for women. These numbers are even higher concerning girls – for 21 per cent of girls the biggest threat is sexual violence. Eight per cent do not feel safe due to their gender. Displaced women and girls feel more discriminated against, as do returnee girls.

The main threats reported for boys are criminal violence (12 per cent) and recruitment by armed groups. On average, ten per cent of boys feel threatened by recruitment. This fear is higher among displaced boys, which may reflect experiences in their place of origin. The fear is, however, found across all groups.

In comparison, none of the respondents from the camp said they feel unsafe all of the time and only 15 per cent report having been threatened. The main threats for men and boys centred on access to food and work, rather than the violent crime mentioned in the city. Fear of rape and sexual violence was higher for women and girls in twenty households interviewed in the camps (35 per cent and 50 per cent respectively).

The majority of respondents never participate in community activities. This is particularly true of displaced families. Fifty four per cent of displaced households say they know other families from their place of origin within their community. These families say they feel more secure in their community and on average pay a lower rent. Approximately 47 per cent of respondents (not including IDPs) say they feel authorities take good care of their well-being. Among the displaced, this drops to 42 per cent, with 13 per cent not wanting to respond.

AUTHORITIES:

While half of all respondents say they think the authorities take good care of them, the police or state authorities are rarely the first place people turn to for help. This tendency is more pronounced among IDPs: they have markedly less trust in the authorities and are more likely to turn to family or faith-based organisations than the state.

The most common methods of protection within the home that were cited were to alert the neighbours, alert the authorities²⁰ and come to a friendly agreement. For property disputes, the most common response is a family agreement, though displaced families frequently refer the dispute to a traditional court (tribunal coutumier). Approximately 20 per cent of respondents report having had property disputes, a rate slightly higher among returnees. Female-headed households are more likely than others to try and avoid community tensions and problems as a method of protection.

The nature of the event – such as theft, harm or family disputes – has little bearing on who people go to seek assistance. In most cases, people first turn to their family and if this is unsuccessful, the police, the church/religious organisation or a state representative. The exception to this is in cases of physical harm, in which case state representatives – not including the police – are often the first consulted. Female-headed households are also more likely to turn to the church for help following a crime. In contrast, following a crime or physical harm encamped IDPs are most likely to turn to a community organisation such as the IDP committee²¹ and then the police if the first result is unsatisfactory. The exception to this is in the case of a family dispute, in which case camp residents first go to other family members for help before the IDP committee.

Kyeshero, Mabanga-Sud, Majengo and Kasika are the most vulnerable quartiers.²² The difference in vulnerability between residents and IDPs is high in Kyeshero and Mabanga-Sud. While Himbi and Murara also show large differences in vulnerability between IDPs and other groups, the relative level of vulnerability as compared to other quartier is lower.



²⁰ The authorities could refer to the quartier leader (chef de quartier), police or representatives of the mayor.

²¹ IDP committees play an important role in camp coordination, representing camp residents and frequently acting as a first port of call for problem resolution (Norwegian Refugee Council, 2008).

²² Vulnerability assessment is based on a composite of: lack of space to sleep inside; reliance on lake water; level of debt; food consumption score; multiple displacement; housing security – door condition; access to electricity; ability to pay education costs; violent crime; sexual violence; physical or mental disability, or chronic illness and ownership of property in Goma. Thresholds were set using either recognised standards or the average of respondents in Goma.

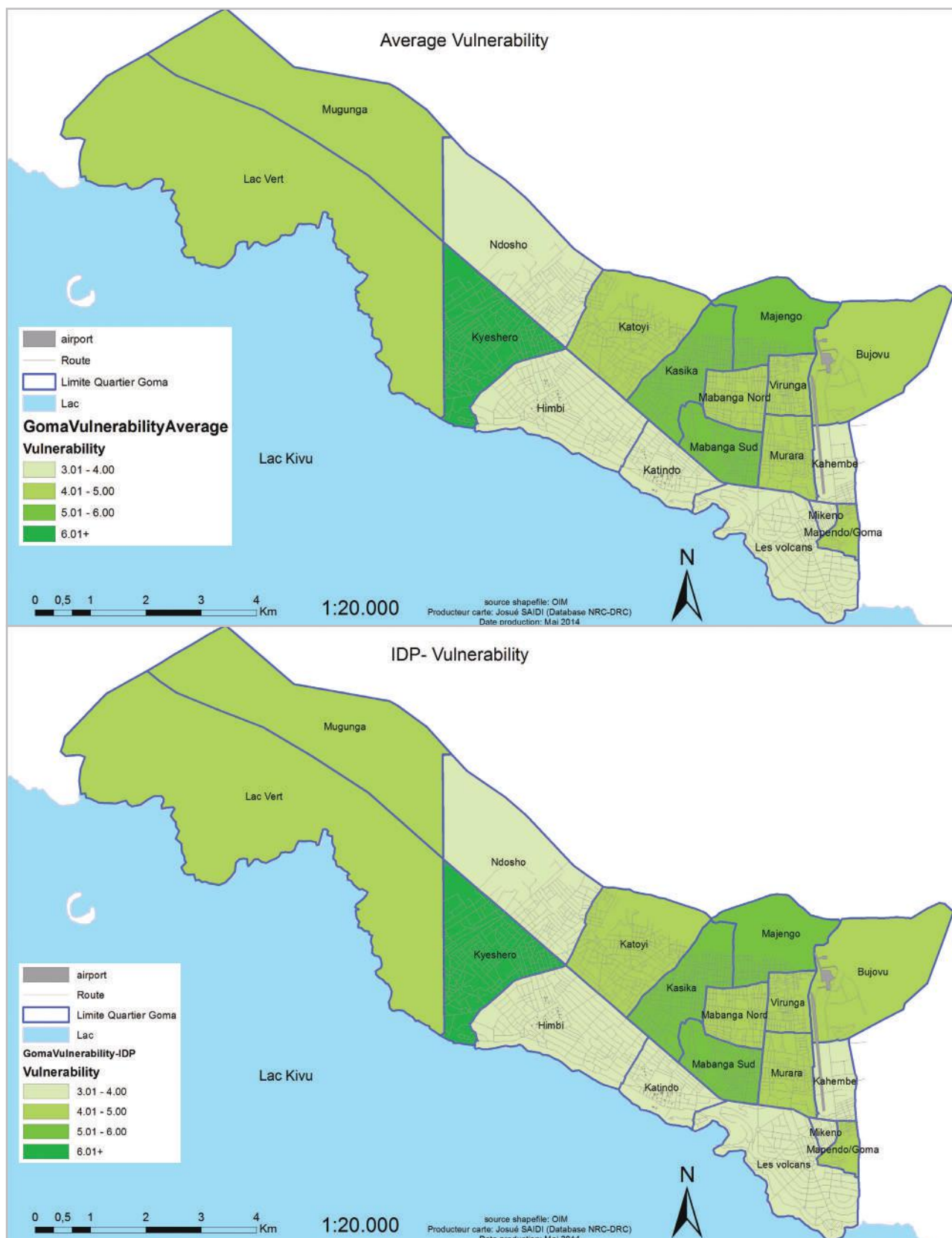


Figure 22: Map showing average and IDP vulnerability, by quartier



Figure 23: Women trading

CONCLUSIONS

The urban profiling and needs assessment clearly identified many ways in which IDPs are more vulnerable than their host families and other residents of Goma.

IDPs are far more economically vulnerable than host families and residents. They are less likely to be employed, and when they are, are more likely to have informal casual work without a stable income. Even when working in the same sector, IDPs consistently earn less than other urban residents. IDPs have on average five times greater debt than residents but with limited access to formal credit. Given their low income they are unlikely to be able to pay off their debts. Food security is poorer for IDPs than other urban residents, with approximately a quarter of IDPs in a situation of extreme food insecurity. IDPs have fewer assets, particularly property in the city and have experienced the loss or destruction of productive assets during flight. While many maintain land and property in their place of origin this is often inaccessible, or has been occupied or destroyed.

Urban IDPs in Goma live in small, overcrowded accommodation, at risk of forced eviction. This overcrowding is identified by host families as a key source of tensions between host families and IDPs. Housing security is generally poor, with badly constructed doors and windows, which often do not lock or close properly. Such conditions put residents at greater risk of theft or other violent crime. Many regularly sleep outside due to the lack of space, putting them at an even greater risk.

Most households have a latrine within five minutes' walk but they are often overflowing and poorly constructed, at risk of collapsing or not hidden from passersby. Access to clean water is poor and many families supplement their city water supply with unclean, untreated lake water.

Access to other services, particularly electricity, is poor across the city, with less than 28 per cent of households having any access. Schooling is barred for some children due to the costs: a third of families are not sending all of their children to school. IDPs have limited access to government services, particularly registration, documentation and representation. They report lower rates of going to the police and using state services after crime or injury and are less likely to say the government takes good care of them.

Other residents of Goma experience these problems but to a lesser extent than urban IDPs. Host families are more vulnerable than residents. In addition to reporting problems with overcrowding, host families note disagreements between family members and problems keeping dwellings hygienic. They also report difficulties with ensuring sufficient resources to meet the needs of both families, particularly meeting food needs. The protracted and repeated nature of displacement in eastern Congo has drained the resources of host families. The stated intention of one third of IDPs to stay in Goma, regardless of changing conditions in their place of origin, will further stretch these limited resources.

The government and the humanitarian community have previously been challenged in responding to urban displacement due to a lack of information and experience. It is hoped that this study sheds some light on current living conditions and primary concerns of persons affected by displacement and suggests avenues for further research.

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are immediate needs which are not being met in the urban areas of Goma. There is an urgent need to facilitate integration of the most vulnerable IDPs into their host communities. The international humanitarian community should do more to meet the immediate needs of existing IDPs and support new arrivals as happens elsewhere for non-encamped IDPs in DRC. There are positive steps that the International community can take to support the state to protect displacement-affected households and to help facilitate a durable solution to displacement in North Kivu.

1. implement an integrated response to needs in the most vulnerable quarter of Goma
2. assist IDPs to meet identified priority needs through unconditional cash transfers
3. provide more information on availability of, and access to, essential services
4. support communities to improve, rehabilitate and, where possible, expand existing shelter to improve living conditions and reduce household tensions
5. increase IDP engagement and representation in community-based organisations and support them to better engage with authorities in order to address IDPs' concerns
6. represent the rights of those affected by displacement in order to influence and facilitate more equitable access to statutory and customary legal systems
7. work with state and private sector actors to facilitate access to essential services, including healthcare, education and clean water
8. improve accountability of government and IDPs' access to state services in urban areas
9. increase preparedness to manage and provide assistance for new IDP arrivals in urban zones at the community, government and INGO level
10. advocate for increased government recognition of local integration as a viable durable solution
11. advocate for greater attention and funding for urban displacement from donors and other humanitarian agencies
12. share lessons learned from Goma with other urban contexts in the Kivus.

NRC will build on learning from the profiling and needs assessment presented here to model an integrated urban programme response, incorporating NRC core competencies in food security, shelter, and information, counselling and legal assistance, as well as addressing overarching governance and protection concerns relating to accessible and accountable government. We will work closely with local state actors and the international community to promote debate and coordination in relation to urban displacement.

FURTHER RESEARCH

In addition to increasing knowledge of the living conditions of persons affected by displacement in Goma, the urban profiling assessment also revealed areas requiring further information.

1. Numbers and location

Given the methodology limitations imposed by the lack of information prior to the profiling, this assessment was unable to provide a more accurate estimate of the size and location of the urban IDP population of Goma. This information would be highly valuable in order to appropriately plan for and address the needs of urban IDPs, as well as to correctly target communities with high IDP populations. There are a number of methods that could be used to improve our knowledge on IDP populations and locations. An exhaustive survey of households could be undertaken in selected quarters to act as a statistically representative sample from which city wide figures could be extrapolated. The costs associated could be prohibitive. Implementation of a registration system could be beneficial but its ability to capture those already living in the city is debatable.

2. Market analysis

There has been no detailed market analysis in Goma. As markets in Goma are functional, a wide range of goods is available and markets are accessible by all households, a cash-transfer programme would enable local purchasing and support existing market structures and traders, rather than risk undermining trade through the distribution of food or NFIs. However, current understanding of individuals' access to markets is poor as is the impact this has on their vulnerability. There is a need to generate adequate information to develop appropriate livelihood interventions.

A detailed analysis of income generation, rental markets, petty trading, informal loans and water purchasing would identify constraints and opportunities for vulnerable IDP households. This would help to identify more innovative ways to intervene through direct or indirect support to households, traders, and landlords and through policy or registration processes.

3. Preparedness

North Kivu continues to be highly unstable, with continuing conflict and displacement. While Goma is not currently threatened or receiving large waves of newly displaced persons, such conflict and displacement events affecting the zone have historically been cyclical, and are thus likely to occur in the coming years. Goma would be severely impacted by the closure of camps surrounding the city and there are many other urban zones (e.g. Beni and Masisi-Centre) which are receiving large numbers of IDPs. Given these conditions, building urban preparedness to deal with the risk of new arrivals is prudent and would have a major impact on the way government and humanitarian actors respond to urban displacement. NRC recommends that existing community-level support mechanisms be supported to improve their response capacity. The government should be supported to develop an urban coordination mechanism for community-level preparedness. Humanitarian contingency planning should be reviewed and improved.

4. Urban Planning

Urbanisation is increasing globally and Goma is no exception. Municipal authorities need to manage expansion. Particular emphasis should be placed on building adequate shelter in safe areas and expanding service provision to meet the needs of a growing population. Advocacy to raise awareness of urban displacement will target the government and other interested NGOs, UN agencies and donors in order to improve and expand city planning capacity.

5. Camp/IDP Site Exit strategy

More work is needed to design and implement an appropriate exit strategy for the camps surrounding Goma, incorporating the Inter-Agency Standing Committee's Framework on Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons (Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2010).²³ While the profiling indicated that the majority of camp residents wish to return to their place of origin there are a number who instead intend to move to Goma. Obstacles to return persist in many areas of eastern Congo. The government has made recent moves to consolidate some camps around Goma, and is strongly urging large-scale return of IDPs to their places of origin. While return is prevented by ongoing conflict in these zones of origin currently encamped individuals are increasingly likely to move to Goma, particularly if they are forcibly moved out of camps due to their enforced closure. An IDP camp/site exit strategy has been much discussed but remains controversial. It is hoped lessons learned from the response to urban IDPs will provide new ideas how to take forward an exit strategy.



²³ See: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2010/04/durable-solutions>

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ANNEX: LIMITATIONS OF THE METHODOLOGY

Self-identification: The study was based on self-identification of IDP, host and resident households. Self-identification as verification of self-identified IDP status can be extremely time-consuming and costly, especially in urban areas where IDPs often live in very similar situations to the urban poor and do not form distinctive sub-communities. This approach runs the risk of excluding those who do not wish to be identified as IDPs and erroneously including others who are not displaced but expect some gain (e.g. humanitarian assistance) from saying they are. Both tendencies may have affected the validity of results. The exclusion error was addressed by assuring respondents of the confidentiality and anonymity of all responses. The risk of false identification as an IDP was addressed by NRC staff not being present during data collection, reducing the expectation of assistance. While these measures aimed to reduce problems of misidentification, some selection bias may remain.

Invisible IDPs: Snowball sampling was used to contact households invisible to the authorities, due either to a lack of awareness of their presence or household's desire to maintain a low profile within the community. However, this sampling strategy is unable to capture those families who are invisible to community members and who tend to be the most marginalised. It is therefore likely that the survey results do not accurately represent the most vulnerable IDPs in Goma, those without social connections or interaction with the community.

Questionnaire design and programming: The base demographic data for some questions was missing. For example, questions on literacy for 18-24 year olds cannot be analysed as the household composition did not include this group as a separate age group. This affects few questions, mainly those dealing with education and health, but is a weakness of the questionnaire design.

Programming errors mean that some questions were unintentionally skipped in the majority of questionnaires, resulting in too little data for analysis. The questions skipped from the survey were on sharing resources between host and IDP families; why IDPs chose to live with a host family rather than independently and the distance to water points for those without their own tap.

Response/refusal rate: The response/refusal rate is unknown, as this information was not recorded.

Data cleaning: Where it is obvious that the data are incorrect they were changed to 999 where the true answer was not clear, or were given the real value when the probability of it being a specific value was very high.²⁴ Very few data points were dropped.

Variables which required significant cleaning were:

- 1. Income and expenditure:** There was some confusion as to currency and time-frame. The majority of these errors were able to be corrected and results fit with other information and pre-conceptions.
- 2. Family size:** There were errors due to misunderstanding of the question separating the composition of the entire household and just those members who were IDPs. These variables should be treated with limited confidence. Where the true answer was not clear the IDP section was discarded. In some cases this may have led to underestimates of the number of IDPs hosted per family.
- 3. Female-headed households:** Of the households who said they were currently being led by a woman, (in total 264), 43 are also registered as having a male head of household in later questions. Of the 993 households registered as led by men, 124 heads are currently led by a female.²⁵ Some households registered as led by men may be temporarily led by women, which explains the latter mismatch. However in other cases the respondent might have misunderstood the question or it may have been completed incorrectly. By going through each observation, most of the cases gave indications of



²⁴ This judgment was based on comparison with other data and contextual awareness. For example, in several cases rent costs had been entered in \$ rather than CDF.

²⁵ In the identification section, respondents were asked if they were the head of their household and their gender. In the family composition section, respondents were asked if the household was currently led by a woman. These responses did not always match, and in 45 cases the corrected answer could not be identified. These cases were dropped.

correct answers by looking at other variables. Forty five cases were, however, difficult to classify based on other variables, and were eliminated. Eliminating them does not have a major impact on the results due to the small number of cases dropped and the magnitude of differences in vulnerability between female- and male-headed households.

4. Displacement history: While all other sections were based on self-identification (as discussed above) the section of the survey on displacement history added a verification question asking whether the household had previously lived elsewhere. The intention was to discover how many host families had also been displaced. It was expected that all IDPs, plus some host families and residents, would have answered positively. However, the results show that while some host families and residents had lived elsewhere (19 per cent and 17 per cent respectively), not all self-identified IDPs said that they had. There are 480 households that answered that they are displaced and this is confirmed by almost all of these households answering questions about place of origin. Of these 480, however, 219 answered that the household had not previously lived elsewhere. There are several possible explanations for this, including misunderstanding the question, being born into a displaced family already living in Goma or false identification in the expectation of assistance. For this section, only households that had both self-identified as displaced and answered yes to having previously lived elsewhere were included, bringing the IDP group down to 261. This had little impact on results, suggesting that many of those who did not identify as displaced have been forcibly displaced but did not want to identify as displaced, or that those moving who did not identify as displaced had similar experiences to those who identified as displaced (e.g. loss of family members).

Analysis: Disaggregated information, (i.e. by quartier and by female-headed households), is of limited confidence due to the low number of observations. This information can be used to indicate key trends and issues, but should not be taken as statistically significant.

