Livelihood Strategies of Internally Displaced Persons in Urban Eastern DRC

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Livelihood Strategies of Internally Displaced Persons in Urban Eastern DRC

Strategieën van ontheemden in steden in Oost-Congo om hun bestaan op te bouwen.

Thesis

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‘Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by them, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living’.

Robert C. Tucker, The Marx-Engels Reader, 1972

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Gloria NGUYA BINDA

Kinshasa, 21 April 2019

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Figures and Tables

Abbreviations and Acronyms

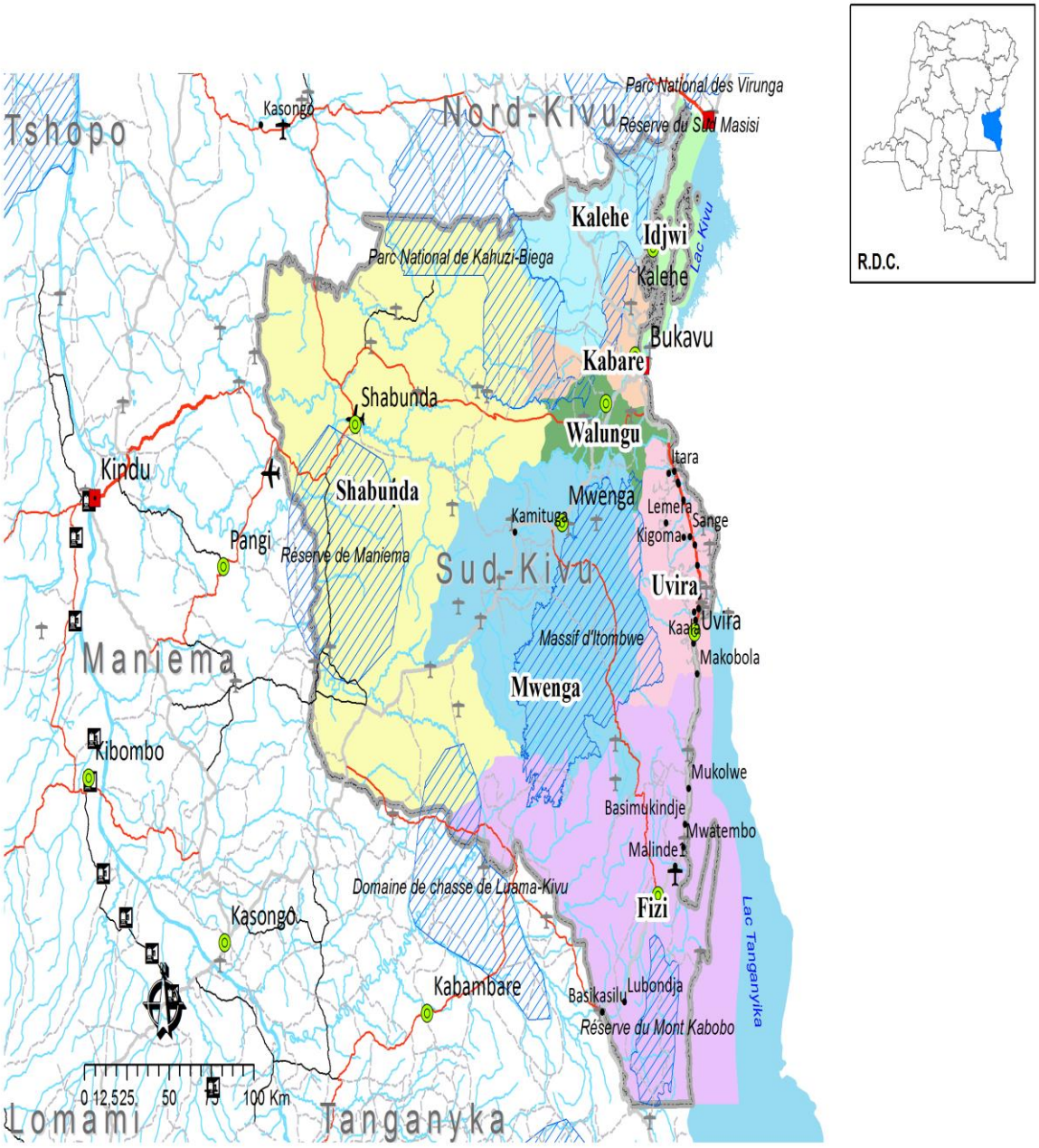
AVSI	Association of Volunteers in International Service
BA'AVU	Solidarity of Bahavu
BDOM	Bureau Diocésain des OEuvres Médicales
CNR	Commission Nationale pour les Réfugiés
CELPA	Communauté des Eglises Libres de Pentecôte en Afrique
DFID	The United Kingdom's Department for International Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EU	European Union

FARDC	Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo)
FDLR	Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda)
FEC	Fédération des Entreprises du Congo
FORAL	Foundation Rama Levina
IDP	Internally displaced person
IEAD	International Emergency and Development Aid
IMC	International Medical Corps
IRC	International Rescue Committee
KAF	Kataliko Action pour l'Afrique
MERU	Ministère de l'Eglise du Christ au Congo pour les Refugiées et les Urgences
MSF	Doctors Without Borders (Médecins Sans Frontières)
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PEAR	Program of Expanded Assistance to Returnees
RFMDI	Réseau des Femmes Médecins pour le Développement Intégral
RRM	Rapid Response Mechanism
RRPM	Rapid Response to Population Movement
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States dollar
SFCG	Search For Common Ground
SLRC	Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium
SOMIBA	Solidarity of Bashi
WASH	Water, sanitation and hygiene
WFP	World Food Program

Map 1

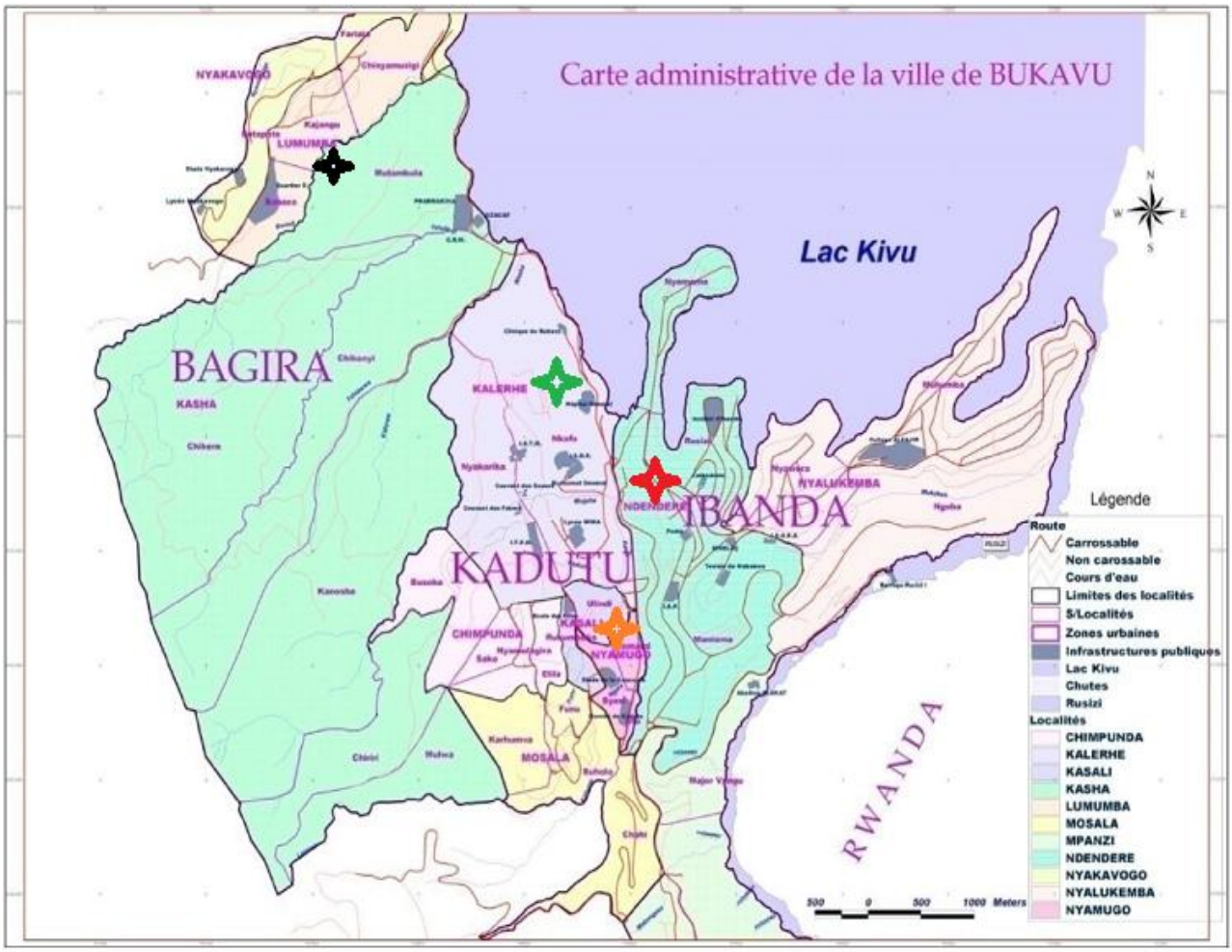
Figure 3.1 Province of South Kivu[1]

[1] https://www.caid.cd/index.php/donnees-par-province-administrative/province-de-sud-kivu/?donnees=fiche


Tshopo
Kasongo
Nord-Kivu
Parc National des Virunga
Réserve du Sud Masisi
Kalehe
Idjwi
Lac Kivu
Parc National de Kahuzi-Biega
Kalehe
Bukavu
Kabare
Shabunda
Walungu
Itara
Kindu
Shabunda
Mwenga
Lemera
Sange
Kamituga
Kigoma
Pangi
Réserve de Maniema
Sud-Kivu
Uvira
Uvira
Massif d'Itombwe
Maniema
Makobola
Mwenga
Kibombo
Mukolwe
Basimukindje
Mwatembo
Malinde
Domaine de chasse de Lwama-Kivu
Fizi
Kasongo
Lac Tanganyika
Kabambare
Basikasilu
Lubondja
Réserve du Mont Kabobo
0 12,525 50 75 100 Km
Lomami
Tanganyka
R.D.C.

Map 2

Figure 4.1 Map of Bukavu city[2]



Legend

- Bilala Market
- Beach Muhanzi Market
- Kadutu Market
- Kafundwe Market

[2] https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Carte-administrative-de-la-ville-de-Bukavu-wwwinstitut-numeriqueorg-consulte_fig2_317527785

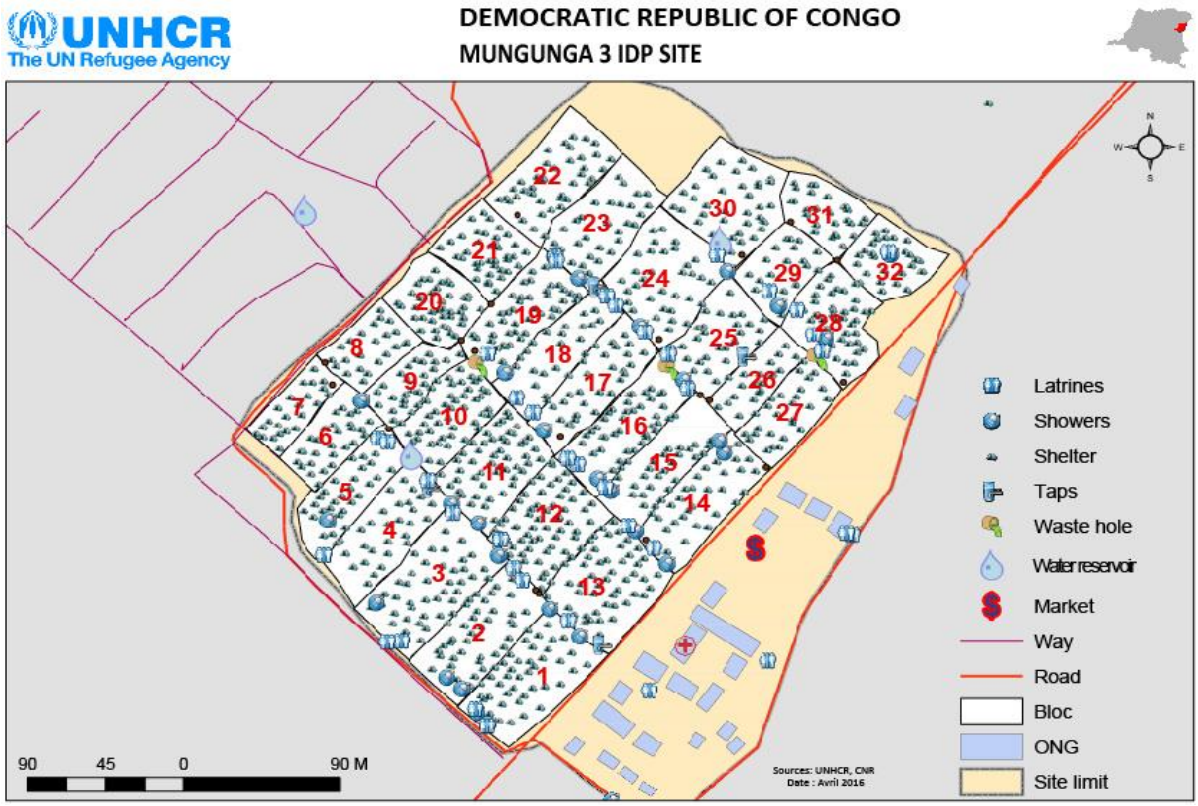
Map 3

Goma city and its surrounding neighbourhoods[3]

[3] www.afrikarabia.com

Map 4

Mugunga 3 IDP camp[4]



[4] Democratic Republic of Congo Mugunga 3 IDP site, UNHCR, 2009, https://humanitarianresponse.info/fr

Chapter 1 : Understanding internal displacement in urban contexts in eastern DRC

1.1. Introduction

The number of people affected by forced displacement has sharply risen in crises throughout the world. The nature and complexity of these crises make studying forced displacement relevant for understanding how people that are uprooted in crisis make a live and livelihood in urban areas, as well as for understanding the changing dynamics in urban areas as a result of population movements. In general, forcibly displaced populations consist of two main groups: refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). Refugees cross international borders fleeing persecution, violence, impoverishment or brutal regimes, whereas IDPs experience a refugee-like situation in their own countries for similar reasons. Refugees have been extensively considered by the international community, as their concerns were laid out in the introduction to the *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* in 1951.

IDPs have largely been overlooked for a long time, in spite of the introduction and recognition of a legal frame for their protection and assistance in 1998 (Cohen 2006, pp. 102-103). The fact that there are significantly more IDPs than refugees worldwide has had little effect on the attention given to the plight of IDPs, despite commitments made by donors over the years (IDMC 2017, p. 9-10). The shifting dynamics in urban populations resulting from conflicts and disasters triggered by natural hazards make paying attention to IDPs crucial. A United Nations (UN) High Commission for Refugees report launched in 2006 projected that, by 2026, more than half of the sub-Saharan African population would be living in urban areas (Pavanello et al. 2010, p. 11) and 51% of the worldwide IDP population would be resettled in urban spaces (IDMC 2017, p. 28).

Despite IDPs being largely overlooked by the international community, the body of literature examining IDPs is growing. Some have considered IDPs to be victims, whereas others have acknowledged the ability of IDPs to rely on existing structures to survive as active agents. In my research, I adopted the approach of considering IDPs as active agents in my exploration of their experiences with displacement in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). I sought to revise some of the common assumptions related to IDPs' experiences as most studies about migration in Africa are dominated by the experience of a rather limited

portion of the globe (Bakewell and Jónsson 2013, p. 480). Through my research, I hope to provide a frame of reflection for understanding IDPs' experiences in urban areas in future research and policy orientations related, to inform actors dealing with IDPs and non-IDPs regarding ways of addressing issues related to IDPs, to call for the consideration of the IDP population as part of the urban population when it comes to creating solutions and to bring attention to the IDP population at multiple levels of discussion.

Eastern DRC has seen conflict for the last 20 years. For multiple reasons, conflicts have erupted and involved different actors, placing the country in an ongoing crisis situation. Population movement, particularly of IDPs, has been a major consequence of these ongoing conflicts, placing DRC at the top of the list of countries where displacement is associated with conflict and violence (IDMC 2017, p. 21). Providing assistance for IDPs has been a challenge because violence and working conditions have often hindered the delivery of aid.

In this context, IDPs are 'invisible'. Not much is known about them other than information from statistical analyses or anecdotal stories regarding waves of population movement. At the beginning of my field research, I conducted a focus group with women in Ciriri neighbourhood in Bukavu to gather some initial information about IDPs. When I asked whether the focus group participants knew IDPs in their neighbourhood, a woman stood up and said there were no IDPs. According to this woman, those who referred to themselves as IDPs were not actually IDPs because they had sufficient resources to settle in Bukavu. She concluded by saying that these internal migrants came in Bukavu to take 'our jobs and plots of land', while pretending to be fleeing conflict. I was struck by this woman's words, which did not help much to put the other women in the room at ease. Nevertheless, I tried to explain my interest in IDPs in more detail and encouraged the group to feel free to express themselves. This encounter was not unique; residents often asked about my motivation for studying IDPs—a population that was considered no longer relevant in Bukavu or was 'invisible'. When the presence of IDPs was acknowledged, this was often done in a negative way. During my fieldwork, for example, I was invited to join a radio broadcast to talk about my research in South Kivu. One of the other speakers, the president of an official market in Bukavu, openly blamed IDPs for insecurity in the city. He did not stop there; he went on to characterise IDPs as responsible for other problems, including overpopulation and crime. Listening to this man, I began to realise that my research could tell an important story about IDPs in eastern DRC.

Whether this man's intention was to attract positive attention to IDPs or not, his answers reinforced in me the need to understand the reality of IDPs' experiences in eastern DRC, based

on their lives, struggles and survivals. With a background in quantitative research and a strong belief in the power of numbers to analyse facts, I doubted my ability to tell the real story of IDPs in eastern DRC without expanding my methodological toolbox. Hence, I adopted a qualitative approach to describe the details of IDPs' experiences and to bring light to the reality of IDPs in Bukavu and Goma. The challenge was almost surreal: I was not expecting to face problems such as the lack of official records on IDPs from the Congolese authorities, the lack of interest and the invisibility of the IDP population. At some point, I even started to doubt the existence of IDPs myself.

I decided to give voice to the experiences of IDPs living outside of camps—a population that is particularly difficult to deal with in general (humanitarian actors, local authorities, non-IDPs), and I knew it would be challenging to provide insight into their experiences with displacement. I began my research in urban areas but kept an open mind regarding possible visits to rural areas. My focus was on urban areas because most previous work on IDPs reported that it was difficult to distinguish the experiences of IDPs from those of non-IDPs. Because of this difficulty, there is a tendency to use refugees' experiences to understand lives among those experiencing forced displacement, broadly. However, it is difficult to address IDPs' needs based on understandings gained from examining refugees. My study was among the first to reflect directly on IDPs' experiences in eastern DRC.

The present study consists of a PhD project conducted in South and North Kivu, DRC. The PhD project was part of a global research programme, the Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium,[5] which explores livelihoods, basic services and social protection in conflict-affected situations. The SLRC was funded by DFID, and hence this project was also indirectly funded by DFID. The work presented here is totally independent and there has been no interference from the donor with the findings.

The fieldwork for the present study was carried out from October 2013 to March 2015. For over 18 months, I examined IDPs' experiences in urban areas, with a particular focus on their livelihoods and on how the concept of 'IDPs' was conceived. The data collection for the study was mainly conducted in South Kivu in Bukavu, but I also directed some attention to IDPs in North Kivu in Goma and carried out field visits in rural areas in both of these provinces. This research allowed me to uncover the complexity of the phenomenon of urban IDPs—particularly those living outside of camps.

[5] (http://www.securelivelihoods.org/content/2252/Who-we-are)

Section 2 describes the context of eastern DRC, briefly summarising the situations regarding armed conflict, population movement and humanitarian assistance. The next section (Section 3) explains the research focus and outlines the literature on urban IDPs. Then, in Section 4, the main research question and the objectives of the thesis are described, highlighting the empirical chapters of the thesis. Section 5 then presents the study methods, giving an overview of the different approaches taken in the study. Section 6 introduces multiple aspects of the analytical theory used in the research. Finally, Section 7 presents an outline of the thesis.

1.2. The eastern DRC context

1.2.1. The armed conflict situation

Eastern DRC's recent history has been marked by violent conflict since 1992, but it was the events occurring in August 1998, when the violence reached its peak, that caught the international community's attention. The provinces of South Kivu and North Kivu have both experienced major insecurity over the last 20 years, with terrible attacks and ongoing violence affecting populations and their rights. In addition to the growing scale of the violence, these provinces have seen rising numbers of armed groups involved in the violence, increasing the level of instability in this part of DRC (Simpson 2010). Both provinces' main cities—Bukavu in South Kivu and Goma in North Kivu—have experienced a great deal of population growth in recent years. According municipal data in each city, Bukavu's population grew from 415,521 inhabitants in 2003 to 869,640 in 2013, and Goma's population rose from 351,181 inhabitants in 2000 to 1,029,964 in 2012. Internal population displacement is one of the factors explaining this population growth in these two main cities.

South Kivu and North Kivu have been characterised by very active armed conflict since the 1990s, with tendencies towards the destabilisation of eastern DRC and the creation of protracted conflicts (Carayannis 2009; WorldBank 2017). In addition to the destabilisation of the region, armed groups have often been accused of carrying out extreme violence against civilians, such as looting, recruiting children into their forces, committing rapes, or using civilians to carry their goods from looted villages to their headquarters. The extreme violence committed by armed groups has been difficult to track because of alliances and divisions among these groups or between the groups and the Congolese government (Simpson 2010, p. 15). In reality, the armed groups active in eastern DRC are a maze of shifting alliances. The reported number of armed groups active in the region varies from 15 to 25. Some of the well-known forces are the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (*Forces Démocratiques de Libération du*

Rwanda, FDLR), which is particularly active in South Kivu; the National Congress for the Defence of the People (*Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple*, CNDP), which was the precursor of the March 23 Movement (M23); and the Mai-Mai Militias, which are active in both North Kivu and South Kivu (Arieff 2014; Spittaels and Hilgert 2012; WorldBank 2013). The most commonly described motivations of armed groups are control over mining sites, access to land and land conflict situations. It has also been alleged that Rwanda and Uganda authorities are main actors behind some of the armed groups (Huggins 2010; Rafti 2006; Vlassenroot 2008).

1.2.2. Population movement and the experience of internal displacement

The first recorded large-scale forced population movements in eastern DRC occurred during the Belgian colonisation, when thousands of people were forced to settle in North Kivu from 1937 to 1957 (Pelerin 2010, p. 12). The next important population movement occurred after the Rwandan genocide in 1994, when approximatively 1.2 million Rwandan refugees were settled in refugee camps in what was then Zaire (the former name of DRC) in the eastern provinces of North and South Kivu (Simpson 2010, p. 7).

Despite a long cycle of conflict in these two provinces, a peak of population movement was recorded in 2003, with 3.4 million Congolese people were uprooted (IDMC 2014b, p. 3). This prompted large contributions of the international community towards the plight of IDPs (FMR36 2010). At the end of 2017, DRC had the largest displaced population in the world, with the number of IDPs reaching an estimated 4.49 million. The provinces of North and South Kivu have been the most affected in eastern DRC, with estimated totals of 1.15 million and 647,000 IDPs, respectively, as of 2017 (OCHA 2017b).

There are several limitations regarding getting accurate information and assessing the humanitarian impact on IDPs. There are three reasons for these limitations. First, current data are still lacking on the numbers of IDPs in some urban areas, including Goma and Bukavu, as well as inaccessible areas in both provinces. Second, patterns of displacement are characterised by multiple periods of displacement in people's lives, as the majority of displaced persons have previously been displaced at least once (IDMC 2014b, p. 5). Third, displaced persons often live in host communities rather than in camps in both North and South Kivu, which causes problems with registering these types of population movement (OCHA 2017b, p. 7). While some people may be concerned that actual number are even higher, the Congolese authorities have argued

that the estimated numbers of IDPs in DRC are an exaggeration (Mwanamilongo and Anna 2018). Regardless, these figures merit further discussion, and they are considered in this thesis.

1.2.3. Humanitarian assistance

Overall, the international community has contributed very generously to DRC over the last two decades. In the context of the recurrent revival of political and security tensions, the international community has sought to ensure the protection of IDPs and to provide them with assistance, while the DRC government was occupied with fighting rebels and armed groups. It was vital for IDPs to receive this assistance and protection with respect and impartiality and in accordance with humanitarian principles.

From 2006 to 2015, the humanitarian community allocated USD 893 million to the most vulnerable people in DRC, USD 154.6 million for North Kivu and USD 100.6 million for South Kivu (OCHA 2016). To ensure the successful delivery of humanitarian interventions, in early 2006, the cluster approach was applied in DRC as a tool to strengthen humanitarian coordination and improve the response on the ground. Basically, the cluster approach is a grouping of humanitarian organisations—both UN and non-UN—in the main humanitarian sectors. In total, there are nine[6] sectors, and each sector has a designated leading organisation—the 'cluster lead'. The nine sectors discuss and agree on priority needs, which are assessed through early warning systems, monitoring activities and needs assessments (OCHA 2012a). One issue with the coordination and registration of IDPs is that they are not dealt with in a designated cluster but fall under different clusters for different needs they may have.

Regarding its coordination, humanitarian assistance for IDPs is quite different in North and South Kivu. In North Kivu, assistance for IDPs is mainly concentrated in camps or other defined sites, whereas, in South Kivu, this assistance is found outside of camps. This difference in the types of assistance in the two provinces is related to the camp policies of each province and to the fact that IDPs in eastern DRC generally prefer to stay with host families, in contrast to the situations in Darfur and Uganda. Outside of camps, aid is provided in a specific location or village, where IDPs gather and wait for the assistance. Additionally, IDPs are not the only

[6] The cluster are Water, Hygiene and Sanitation (cluster lead: United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF]); Education (UNICEF); Logistics (World Food Programme); Non-Food Items and Emergency Shelter (UNICEF); Nutrition (UNICEF); Protection (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees); Community Reintegration and Recovery (United Nations Development Programme); Health (World Health Organization); and Food Security (Food and Agriculture Organization/World Food Programme)

people assisted; organisations include other vulnerable people in locations where aid is provided to avoid creating jealousy in the community.

1.3. Main research focus

Studying forced migration in eastern DRC presents an opportunity for understanding how IDPs cope with the challenges of displacement and shape their livelihoods, as well as how they are helped or hindered by non-IDPs, aid actors and authorities. Studying the coping mechanisms of IDPs is key for better addressing the protection of this population and for reflection on future waves of displacement in the region. This research focused on urban areas of Bukavu, the capital city of South Kivu, and on Goma, the capital of North Kivu, because both cities have experienced a large influx of displaced persons for approximately 20 years, and many IDPs are currently living in the two cities.

For IDPs living in cities like Bukavu or Goma, it is necessary to be able to afford basic service delivery, to earn an income and to pay rent, and it is a daily struggle to fulfil one's basic needs. Whether they are in camps or outside of camps, IDPs are often described as vulnerable in terms of their neediness (Landau 2014, p. 142) and precarious situation (Jacobsen 2006, p. 280-281), which is caused by their informal legal status, poor living environment and dependency on the cash economy. Many of these characteristics they share with other urban poor (Meikle 2002, p. 38).

I have chosen to focus my research on Bukavu and Goma because I was interested in the way IDPs make their living during the ongoing conflict and when they are entirely dependent on external assistance and the cash economy, given that people who are forcibly displaced experience a loss of assets (Jacobsen et al. 2006, p. 32). Additionally, little is known about IDPs' survival strategies in either of these cities.

Recently, recognition of urban forced migration has strengthened the resolve among humanitarian policy makers to better assist and protect forced migrants, even though refugees and IDPs are difficult to distinguish from the rest of the population in urban settings (Fábios and Kibreab 2007). The development of research in this area has taken place at a time when increasing numbers of people live in urban areas. According to the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), 60% of a projected global population of 9 billion will live in urban settings by 2030 (UNDESA 2009). Considering the waves of IDPs entering many cities, it has remained difficult to target these individuals and to tailor assistance actions to their needs (Cohen and Deng 1998, p. 27-28).

In 2009, a policy of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on the right to life and the freedom to move in urban places (UNHCR 2009) acknowledged that urban IDPs have the right to protection and assistance in accordance with the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* (Davies 2012). Mooney (2005) had previously made this argument, asserting that the point was no longer to accept or reject the idea of having a particular group on the ground in situations of conflict, but rather to ensure that IDPs receive the necessary attention as referred to in the *Guiding Principles*.

1.3.1. Being an IDP outside of camps in South Kivu

The act of labelling has been very controversial since the late 1980s. Some scholars have associated the process of labelling in general with '[…] a relationship of power, in that the labels used by some sets of actors are more easily imposed upon a policy area, upon a situation, upon people as classification than those labels created and offered by others' (Wood 2014, p. 20). As Escobar explained, labelling must be seen as 'essential to the functioning of the institutions dealing with problems of third world … they embody concrete relationships of power and influence the categories with which we think and act' (Escobar 1995, p. 109). Other researchers have also pointed out that it is essential to study how labelling comes about in practice (Zetter 1991).

Two remarks can be made in response to the observations of authors that view labelling as processes that reinforce power inequalities and box people into certain negative stereotypes. Firstly, it is important to understand that labels can also be an asset, as people need labels for claim making and to secure entitlements. For many people, their status as vulnerable or IDP may be the only asset they have to survive (Hilhorst et al. 2017; Utas 2005). In the case of IDPs, as I will elaborate in this thesis, the label may be essential for their survival. Secondly, many researchers have found that targeting groups of people as refugees or IDPs has never been completely straightforward because of the gap between the conceptual discourse and the reality of people assigned certain characteristics as part of a group (De Voe 1981). According to De Voe (1981, p. 88), the first impression the world gets of refugees is that of a victim, but, when critically examined, the approach of viewing people as victims has proved to misrepresent the real situation. Similarly, as this thesis will demonstrate, agencies may not translate their 'labels' into practice and hence the power of labels in these cases is very meagre indeed.

Over 20 years of humanitarian assistance in DRC, little has been said about the complexities of labelling IDPs outside of camps and the possible effects of this on humanitarian assistance in

general (Bennett 2007). Although the phenomenon of IDPs and refugees living with host families is still largely unexplored, growing attention has been given to assisting IDPs outside of camps (Rudolph 2014). Additionally, there have been contestations related to the effectiveness of assisting IDPs based on certain criteria, knowing that some actors do not use criteria in their selection process for assisting IDPs (Healy and Tiller 2014). A case in point is the criticism of the Rapid Response Mechanisms (RRM[7]), which tended to reach some 'lucky' people in locations that happen to receive assistance (Healy and Tiller 2014).

In the present research, interviewing actors dealing with IDPs was the main approach to understanding the application of the definition of 'IDP' on the ground and to bring out issues related to the IDP label. In general, most theories have based their reflections on the way programmes or projects have been implemented to question the use of labels, whereas my study explored the application of the definition of IDP in terms of using the IDP label, as well as the consequences of this process. I was curious about how a definition could be applied to a population when that population was not objectively identifiable. In Chapter 2 of the thesis, I consider different ways in which actors use the IDP label to determine whether or not someone is an IDP. By revealing differences in the translations of the label of IDP, I analyse the criteria used during the process of identifying IDPs who are eligible for aid. Ultimately, the different views regarding the meaning of the IDP label and the process of identifying IDPs who are eligible for assistance among actors dealing with IDPs served as a window on the consequences of such disparities for humanitarian assistance for IDPs outside of camps in South Kivu.

1.3.2. Networking outside of camps in Bukavu, South Kivu

Throughout the migration experience, social networks have shown to be a valuable resource that assists migrants during their travels. Both temporary and permanent migrants have been able to rely on personal networks to gain access to, for example, jobs and accommodation (Colson 2003, p. 5). This argument was illustrated, among others, in Emanuel Marx's work, which examined the experience of Polish migrants in Chicago to understand the experience of refugees in a new environment (Marx 1990).

It can be noted that the urban context can be very challenging, especially for poor people. It has been acknowledged that the urban poor may be vulnerable to *social fragmentation* (Moser 1998, p. 4). Moser (1998) discussed the idea that the urban context could be less safe and stable,

[7] The RRM was a tool established by UNICEF, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the Department for International Development in 2004 to respond to acute emergency needs in DRC

compared with the rural context, because of heterogeneity of households and social diversity. This heterogeneity of households could weaken the urban poor network because of tensions in urban areas.

In general, in the DRC context, previous research has reported that family members and friends tend to be the most common networks used by IDPs, as they offer food, shelter and clothing in situations of displacement (Vlassenroot et al. 2007). However, this general understanding of IDPs' networks is known to be relevant in rural settings; but less is known about urban settings, where resources maybe be scarcer and where IDPs are in a context with other urban poor, and where IDP lives may be more socially fragmented.

Urban contexts are more complex in Bukavu than in rural areas, and, to survive, IDPs may need to include more types of individuals than only friends and family members in their networks. Additionally, support through networks may change over time, as urban dwellers may have little time to assist newcomers because of their daily jobs. Faced with such a situation, IDPs may have to widen their networks when their hosts do not have time to assist them. Another difference compared with rural contexts is that rural families may be able to host a large family of IDPs because of the possibility of space that can be converted into a shelter; this is not often the case in urban areas. This reality may reduce IDPs' support because their individuals and families in urban areas may be less willing to host them. For these reasons, this study (chapter 3) has analysed what different types of networks IDPs use at different times.

Considering the vast literature on networks, the present study thus contributes to showing how different networks play a role at different stages of IDPs' trajectories, from displacement to integration in the city. Through multiple visits and interviews about IDPs' lives in the different places where I met them, I was able to understand their networks and how they used these networks to obtain support to survive. Multiple network theories about IDPs stress the role of family members and friends. In my exploration of IDPs' networks, I also looked at the roles played by neighbours and acquaintances as well as vertical or formal networks with local authority figures. I aimed to examine both the types of relationships and the types of support obtained through these relationships at key moments in IDPs' lives. In Chapter 3, I examine how IDPs' networks differ at different key moments in the IDPs' trajectories—specifically, I explore these networks when IDPs decide to leave, along the route of flight and in their search for shelter in Bukavu. I explore the sources and types of assistance given to IDPs during their trajectories, drawing out the types of support contributed through ties to friends, acquaintances

and relatives at different periods in IDPs' lives. Exploring key moments in IDPs' trajectories was relevant for understanding how IDPs engage in networks.

1.3.3. Making a living in an urban setting: the experience of IDP women

According to Meikle (2002), cash dependency and the informal economy are characteristic of the economic context of the urban poor. In urban contexts, goods such as food, housing and water have to be bought, whereas these resources may not be cash purchases in rural areas. Moser described this difference between urban and rural contexts as '*commoditization*' (Beall and Esser 2005; Moser 1998). Informal employment and activities are the main source of income for the urban poor because formal sector employment and activities often require skills, and their monthly pay is often insufficient to cover a large proportion of a family's needs. This aspect of formal employment and activities often pushes the urban poor to engage in a variety of activities and jobs in the informal sector (Meikle 2002, pp. 38-39). In fact, research in developing countries has found that the vast majority of women work in petty trade and informal services as domestic servants, laundresses, street sellers or scavengers (Moser 1998, p. 6).

In eastern DRC, as in DRC as a whole, the informal sector represents more than 80% of the economy in various sectors (transport, sewing, hairdressing, petty trade, trade, etc.). This high level of activity in the informal sector may be even higher in poor provinces such as South Kivu, where the poverty rate is above 75% (Moummi 2010). Additionally, existing research indicates that IDPs, like other urban poor, are likely to work in the informal sector, where networks prevail over skills and where modalities of exchange are linked to the personal ties of each individual (Ayimpam 2014). However, obtaining work as a day labourer may be more difficult in urban areas than in rural areas, where IDPs could generally rely on working as day labourers in someone's fields (Rudolph 2014). As some researchers have pointed out, the type of informal activity often differs between urban and rural areas, and, in rural areas, modalities of exchange are more related to economic support in case someone may later be in a situation of hardship, whereas they are rooted more in financial gain in urban areas (Gillespie et al. 1997; Levitan and Feldman 1991; Ratner 2002). Indeed, in DRC, financial gain is one aspect of modality exchange in urban areas, as Ayimpam (2014) described in her book.

Although IDP women, like IDP men, are part of the urban poor, it is relevant to investigate women's experiences because these often differ from those of men, particularly during conflict.

An exploration of IDP women's experiences is lacking in eastern DRC, partly because of the invisibility of the IDP population in general. Additionally, there is an idea that IDPs tend to work as porters, domestic workers, casual workers or petty traders working in front of their homes (NRC 2014). Little is known about the opportunities that IDP women have when they seek to be involved in markets (place of selling and buying products) or about their roles, the modality exchange and the support they get. All of these aspects of IDP women's lives need to be studied to understand IDP women's experiences.

My exploration of IDP women's involvement in markets began by interviewing IDP in general, without paying particular attention to their livelihoods. The idea of studying IDP women in markets started with knowledge shared by local people on IDP women's activities, which piqued my curiosity regarding this unexplored topic. Most literature about IDP women has stressed their attraction to the informal environment, which is often favourable to women's activities. In contrast, I wanted to look at IDP women's petty trade activities to fill the gap regarding IDP women's livelihoods in existing work. In Chapter 4, I begin by looking at the organisation of markets to understand the role of authorities in the markets. Based on interviews with market authorities, I identified two different markets, which I compare in terms of how they are navigated by IDP women sellers, also including the perspectives of non-IDP sellers to better reflect on IDPs' involvement in the markets.

1.3.4. Differences in vulnerability among IDPs in an 'urban' camp.

There is an idea that IDPs staying in camps are lacking in resources because they are unable to rent a house or to pay for basic services and they lack a strong network of support outside of the camp (Mertus 2003; Schrijvers 1999). IDPs in camps are considered to have a dependency on humanitarian aid (Harrell-Bond 2002; Horn 2009). In this view, camp residents are considered to be victims who are more vulnerable than those who are able to use their networks to live outside of camps. However, some researchers have highlighted the possibility that camp residents can use the camp as a place of transition, recognising the agency of camp residents (Adam 2008; Pribadi 2005).

In eastern DRC, the discourse about camps has remained very much oriented towards the idea of people in need and victims, and little is said regarding the agency of these IDPs. This discourse comprises two ways of viewing IDPs in camps. The first of these considers IDPs to be vulnerable and in need of assistance and protection. Whether they are labelled as vulnerable by humanitarian actors or not, they are seen as a target group and are often identified as victims

in need of shelter, food or water (European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations 2018). The second element of this discourse considers IDP camps to be a last resort for displaced persons, when they lack support outside of the camp (Rudolph 2014, p. 33). Nevertheless, a recent study has demonstrated that most camp residents in eastern DRC manage to get out of the camp and to re-establish more autonomous livelihoods, although many people repeatedly fall back into acute crisis because of recurring violence, the failure of institutions and governance, and challenging socioeconomic conditions (debt, illness, etc.) (Rudolph et al. 2015).

Mugunga 3 camp was an urban camp established in Goma that was important in terms of the number of camp residents and the amount of humanitarian assistance provided. In the present study, interviewing IDPs in Mugunga 3 camp about their livelihoods was the starting point for understanding how camp residents survived when they did not receive assistance. Most previous studies have equated the idea of being a camp resident with having the status of a victim, being needy or lacking resources. In contrast, the present study differentiated the camp population in terms of their vulnerability. In addition, in earlier work, IDP camps were often perceived as places that prevent residents from independently pursuing their livelihoods. For the study reported in Chapter 5, I started by asking camp residents about their survival strategies in the camp and their planned strategies in case the camp was closed. This information allowed me to identify sub-populations among these residents, and I compared distinct groups of camp residents according to their livelihood assets to reflect on the question of vulnerability in Mugunga 3 camps.

1.4. Research questions and objectives

The thesis aims to understand the phenomenon of forced migration, IDPs' choices and motivations for choosing a specific strategy, and the way IDPs sustain their livelihoods in DRC, particularly in the eastern provinces of South Kivu and North Kivu. Recognising IDPs' ability to make sense of their lives even under harsh conditions allows a shift in perception away from seeing IDPs as passive victims and towards understanding that they are active actors. Additionally, understanding IDPs' agency is important for improving the assistance provided to IDPs, for helping humanitarian organisations and government actors to tailor their interventions and policies to the needs of IDPs, and for contributing to the knowledge of the social life of IDPs. Therefore, the following main question was addressed in this thesis:

How do IDPs cope with the challenges of displacement and sustain their livelihoods in cities?

In relation to the main question, four sub-questions were developed to analyse perceptions about IDPs among actors dealing with them, study the strategies IDPs use to pursue their livelihoods, and analyse IDPs' networks and how these networks influence IDPs' choices.

The sub-questions and their objectives are structured as follows and are linked to individual chapters of the thesis:

Chapter 2 How has the 'IDP' label impacted humanitarian assistance in South Kivu?

Throughout the period of humanitarian intervention in South Kivu, actors dealing with IDPs have used different definitions to approach the IDP label, and very little is known about how those definitions are applied to the IDP population. To answer this sub-question, I focused on South Kivu as an interesting case to understand different views of the IDP label.

The main objective here was to understand the IDP label's impact on humanitarian assistance in South Kivu. The first part of the research identified all of the definitions used by actors dealing with IDPs to better grasp their understanding of these definitions. Then, the second part of the research gathered criteria related to the process of identifying IDP beneficiaries of humanitarian assistance. Finally, the last part of the research analysed the consequences of the IDP label for humanitarian assistance and for compliance with the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*.

Chapter 3 How do IDPs engage through networks and use them at key moments in their displacement trajectories in Bukavu?

In a city like Bukavu, having a network is vital for many reasons, such as obtaining a job or a loan. Being forcibly displaced can make it harder to use a network and to survive when connections are lost. In this study, the topic of IDPs' networks was explored by using key moments in IDPs' lives to better understand the types of support provided to IDPs, the period of assistance, and the types of relationships and network ties that are important in obtaining this support at various times. The widely held assumption that family members and friends are the most important network ties needed to be reconsidered in this context, where IDPs' host families typically had very limited resources.

The first objective of the chapter addressing this question was to describe the different types of support IDPs received from the time they leave their place of origin until they settle in Bukavu. Next, the chapter identifies the main ties that support IDPs during their settlement in Bukavu. Finally, the chapter explains why particular ties are beneficial for IDP survival and points to issues faced by IDPs as newcomers in some neighbourhoods.

Chapter 4 What challenges do IDP women face when entering markets in Bukavu?

Like any new environment, markets are full of rules that a newcomer must learn and follow to be accepted. As newcomers, IDP women have to follow rules as new sellers before entering the market. Studying the challenges IDP women face when entering these markets is important because understanding these challenges will make it possible to improve conditions for IDP women. Additionally, little is known about IDP women's means of survival in Bukavu except the general idea that most IDP women work as maids or washwomen or make a living by carrying goods.

The objectives of the study answering this question were to describe the difference between recognised and unrecognised markets in Bukavu; to portray the practices in different markets in relation to getting a place in the market, paying taxes and potentially being ejected from the market; and to analyse IDP women's preference for a particular type of market.

Chapter 5 How do IDPs in Mugunga 3 camp differ in terms of their vulnerability, and how does this affect the meanings of the camp for IDP residents?

Mugunga 3 camp was one of many urban camps in Goma. It was an interesting case because its residents were often classified as vulnerable. The assumption that camp residents are vulnerable and lacking in resources is not new, and Mugunga 3 camp residents have previously been represented in this way. Understanding camp residents' livelihoods when they did not receive aid was part of my motivation for asking this sub-question.

Exploring the assumption that camp residents are vulnerable and lacking in resources required the differentiation of the IDP population in Mugunga 3 camp based on their livelihoods. This provided a frame to analyse camp residents' vulnerability and ways of accessing resources, their responses to a threat of camp closure, and differences in the meaning of the camp to different types of camp residents.

1.5. Methodological approach

1.5.1. Qualitative study of forced migration: 'hanging out' with forced migrants

To get a strong understanding of the phenomenon , the exploration and interpretation of IDPs and their lives required a qualitative approach. Mainly set in urban contexts, the empirical research needed to be capable of gathering solid information on IDPs' characteristics and descriptions as a separate group, distinct from other urban poor; the views of non-IDPs

(humanitarian actors, non-humanitarian actors, government employees, church leaders and host communities); different networks of IDPs in urban environments; practices involved in entering markets; and strategies for responding to threats. All of these issues required more than a simple description; it was necessary to have repeated, deep conversations with the research participants during their everyday lives.

For this purpose, the qualitative approach of 'hanging out' with study participants enabled me to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of IDPs (Rodgers 2004). More specifically, this approach involved gathering data through informal interaction between the researcher and the participants over a long fieldwork period. With this approach, data were collected through exploring, describing and explaining the phenomenon of forced migration in the study context instead of beginning with assumptions based on what was already known about that phenomenon. Many aspects of the eastern DRC context were experienced by the IDP participants as total chaos, who described profound confusion and disorientation during their displacement. In this context, the approach made it possible to capture and make sense of IDPs' experiences. The approach also made it possible to understand IDPs' experiences more deeply, which is necessary to better address their needs.

Importantly, while this research aimed to produce qualitative data, it wanted to ensure the reliability and validity of the evidence presented. As much as possible this was done through triangulation of data among research participants and through consulting reports and other grey literature. Nonetheless there were a number of limitations. Because little was known about IDPs outside of camps the field research was very open-ended. Often I found myself the only judge of the knowledge I generated and I tried to make sure that I spoke to enough people at repeated occasions to arrive at my insights. To ensure the reliability of my data, I found it more useful to follow the same group of IDPs for several months, instead of seeking a large sample of participants. As a result, the study sample is relatively small compared to the entire IDP population in eastern DRC. However, I remain convinced that this study would not have been possible with a larger sample.

1.5.2. Study design and methods of data collection

Throughout the research, the case study design was used to extensively explore and understand the experiences of IDPs in eastern DRC. The study focused on understanding the knowledge and experiences of IDPs, rather than generalisation or quantification. Through in-depth interviews, multiple records were collected from the same people, and data were also gathered

through participant and non-participant observation, semi-structures and open interviews and several focus groups.

1.5.3. Starting the fieldwork: finding IDPs outside of camps

After arriving in Bukavu, I began my exploration by talking with people around me to get an idea of what they knew about IDPs. The field research started in October 2012 and was concluded at the end of March 2015. The field research in South Kivu was conducted October 2013–June 2014 and March–April 2015. The field research in North Kivu took place from July 2014 to February 2015. Over 15 months of field research, data were collected through a total of 332 semi-structured and open interviews in South Kivu and 147 in North Kivu. In South Kivu, the research participants comprised 56 IDPs; 50 actors dealing with IDPs (church leaders, ethnic association members and leaders, representatives of international nongovernmental organisations [NGOs], representatives of local NGOs, civil society actors and local authorities); and 56 non-IDPs. In North Kivu, the participants were 40 IDP residents of Mugunga 3 camp, 30 actors involved in the Mugunga 3 camp and 22 non-IDPs.

1.5.3.1. Locating IDPs

After two weeks of wandering through churches, parishes and other public places, I noticed that most people I encountered did not know anything about IDPs or they thought all of the IDPs had already gone back to their villages. A friend had recommended the 'wandering' approach, thinking it would make things easier and faster, but that was not the case, and I ended up asking myself what would help to bring me into contact with IDPs, who were clearly difficult to identify.

Although some actors had developed approaches to identify IDPs, it was not possible to confirm whether the people they identified as IDPs were actually IDPs, and this was the biggest challenge in my research. Interactions with certain persons such as my host family helped to refocus and reorient my work as I rethought the questions I needed to ask in the next part of the research.

The definition of IDPs in the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* refers to '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' (Brookings-Bern and Displacement 2008, p. 12).

While there are many different approaches to identifying IDPs, I followed the definition of the Guiding principles in the sense that I focused on people whose initial displacement was a direct result of violent. The other question was until when people can be considered IDPs? After interviews with key stakeholders I decided to draw the line that this displacement had happened after 2000. This cut-off point could be considered arbitrary. It was chosen as it is connected to the arrival of the Rapid Response Mechanisms (RRM) and the Programme of Expanded Assistance to Returnees (PEAR) (Simpson 2010, pp. 85-87) in subsequent years.

Secondary reasons for selecting these two criteria was related to the period of violence in DRC and the introduction of the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* in 1998. Because of the timing of these factors, I considered any violence that occurred after 2000 a good starting point to limit the temporal period of my research in eastern DRC. Eastern DRC was already familiar with a variety of armed groups that had been spreading terror and destruction since 1996 (InternationalCrisisGroup 2013; UNICEF and OCHA 2014). However, again, I did limit the period of violence for the inclusion of participants; otherwise, the study would have included people who were displaced during the Rwandan genocide.

Like other researchers, such as Jacobs and Kyamusugulwa (2017) I started my selection of IDP respondents based on knowledgeable people in Bukavu. However, I went deeper and only decided to consider people as IDP after my own interactions with them in their everyday lives. A long field research period offered the advantage of being able to develop relationships with the study participants and to get improved answers over time, particularly when the initial answers did not reflect sincerity.

1.5.3.2. Starting with the gatekeepers

After reconsidering my approach, I decided to begin with various actors dealing with IDPs to get a global view of their methods for identifying IDPs and to be put in touch with their IDP beneficiaries as a starting point for my research. Although humanitarian actors were present in South Kivu, because IDPs were difficult for me to locate in Bukavu at the start of the field research, I started to think that accessible networks (churches, academic organisations, the private sector, etc.) might provide a chance to get more information on how IDPs gain access to basic services, jobs and loans.

At this point in the fieldwork, my interviews were unstructured but had themes for each category of actors. For instance, local authorities were all asked certain questions, while I asked

different questions in interviews with national NGO representatives or ethnic association members. The goal of these interviews was to get both general and precise ideas about IDPs from different sources before starting to follow the IDPs introduced by these sources. Indeed, these initial interviews were useful because these actors had a background with IDPs, and their knowledge and experience were crucial to have before starting my encounters with IDPs.

1.5.3.3. Selection of participants for deeper analysis

As mentioned above, in addition to providing a diversification of sources, interviewing actors dealing with IDPs was a good entry point for meeting IDPs. I then met other IDPs using the snowball sampling technique. Because I was in contact with many actors dealing with IDPs, I was able to add to the sample of research participants from many sources. This aspect of the research was important for establishing a broad sample, reinforcing the credibility of the participants. Additionally, the in-depth interviews with IDPs emphasised the triangulation of answers and the verification of stories during multiple visits with the same IDPs at different places over the long fieldwork period.

After I started to understand IDPs' environment in Bukavu, it made sense to explore IDPs' networks because this would provide a lens through which to examine many areas at the same time. IDPs' stories contributed a detailed view of their social life experiences and their situations as IDPs. Visiting the IDPs' homes provided an opportunity to observe or to take part in their lives. Walking around in the neighbourhood or going to their places of employment were other approaches to better understand their environment and their lives.

Throughout the entire research period, job opportunies for IDP women were usually narrow, focusing on certain occupations, such as performing domestic chores or carrying goods at different public places. However, interviews with some IDP women helped me to gain a different perspective, and the idea of the market study came about when some IDP women told me about their work in markets. Because the research participants were not involved in the same markets, I had the opportunity to select markets that were interesting for deeper investigation. In these markets, I observed practices, facts, gestures and languages. I ultimately selected four markets (two that were recognised by the local authorities and two that were not—often called 'pirate markets') for interviews, observation, and participation as a client and a seller.

Before starting the main investigation in a market, I interviewed several local authorities and sellers in charge of the market management to gather initial ideas and to begin to understand

the differences between recognised and unrecognised markets. Most of these interviews were conducted in the participants' offices and in the market during working hours. In both markets, in addition to helping me understand the differentiation between the types of markets in terms of their organisation, conducting these interviews also helped me to understand how IDP women navigate in the markets, as well as their preferences, and observation in the markets helped to deepen my understanding.

Although this type of observation was useful, it was not always possible to cover the entire market, particularly in recognised markets, which were large in size and had many sellers. To gain insight into the entire market before focusing on IDP women, my strategy was to interview all of the people I met, such as market chiefs, police officers, sellers working next to the research participants, sellers working outside of the market and tax collectors.

In contrast to IDPs outside of camps, IDPs in the camp were easier to locate, as the camp offered a physical delimitation between its residents and non-IDPs. However this delimitation turned out to be fluid, as some residents and non-IDPs moved in and out of the camp without being caught. After briefly shaking hands with the camp manager and staff, I had the authorisation to walk around the camp and conduct my research. (This authorisation came along with an official letter from the United Nations High Commission for the Refugees (UNHCR) and the *Commission Nationale pour le Refugies* (CNR).

Initially, I walked around the camp, making myself visible to the residents and showing my interest in them. The first three months were very difficult because I needed to find out which camp residents were 'real' IDPs before deepening my investigation. To accomplish this first step, I conducted multiple interviews each day with different people on different subjects to make sure I talked to some IDPs. This approach was not simple because some respondents would not show up for a second interview or would suddenly disappear for days or a week at a time. Overcoming the situation was particularly difficult because the residents were accustomed to students walking around in the camp to survey vulnerable residents for future food distribution.

1.5.3.4. Gaining trust

Visiting the same participants multiple times took a great deal of time because it involved repeated in-depth interviews conducted over multiple visits to the homes of the same group of research participants. This process allowed me to build the participants' level of confidence in me, to adjust the questions, to gain trust and to increase my own confidence about the research.

Non-participant and participant observation helped me to grasp certain details, such as who loaned money to the IDP participants or the type of contributions they might make for a party. Travelling to their villages was another interesting way to build trust and to gather information about IDPs' networks and how they were useful during particular periods in the displacement trajectory, and this kind of participant observation also offered the possibility of using their means of travel without paying a fare.

These opportunities took time to build, as mentioned above, and, over time, the participants felt comfortable enough with my presence and my inquiries to open up about subjects such as loans, children's school fees, receiving assistance and property at their place of origin. Again, these matters took time to be revealed, and, although the participants did not tell the full story, I was able to get a part of the story, which helped me to understand IDPs' network ties.

Interviewing sellers was often difficult because they were easily bored, so, instead, I would buy a product or join a conversation while conducting observation in the market. All of these strategies helped me considerably in understanding both types of markets and in learning about how each relates to IDP women. Here, too, it was not possible to gain sufficient insight in one day, so I returned many times to gain trust and to make sellers comfortable with my presence and questions.

With IDPs in the camp, I asked camp residents for their phone numbers in case they did not show up for a second meeting or to arrange to meet them outside of the camp. I did not omit non-IDP camp residents from my research because they contributed to the triangulation of participants and facilitated the verification of information.

1.5.3.5. Dealing with expectations

Throughout the research period, people often expected something in return if they helped me or participated in an interview. I was accustomed to this attitude because it is common in Kinshasa (the capital of DRC), where I am from. However, I decided not to give money to anyone for a service or an interview but to seize this opportunity to provide help in other ways. For instance, if I had an interview with a seller, I would buy his or her product or I would share a lunch with the participant. Other examples of how I dealt with expectations include paying for a transportation fare or bringing a food item (e.g. beans, rice or fruit) or a non-food item (e.g. soap). I frequently brought a food or non-food item to participants' homes, as they often invited me to share their food, and this sometimes helped with talking with other people in the household as well.

1.5.3.6. Dealing with language

Nearly everyone in eastern DRC speaks Swahili, and it was important to make an effort to learn the language because I did not want to be perceived as an outsider or an NGO worker, which could cause me to be mistaken for an humanitarian actor . Because I stayed with nuns who knew the local language, they helped me to learn some key phrases to facilitate my interaction with the local people. I also hired a local assistant for the duration of the research period to help me to improve my Swahili, to travel in the cities and the countryside to interpret, to transcribe and to translate interviews into French because most interviews were conducted in Swahili.

My role as a Congolese researcher could have been easier if I had known how to speak Swahili. Unfortunately, my initial inability to speak Swahili reinforced feelings of mistrust at the beginning of the field research because many people wondered why I did not speak their language. Additionally, my role as a researcher was sometimes not very clear because participants were not often used to my approach of the research such as using recorder, asking for their consent, observing and taking notes at the same. When I had to introduce myself or the purpose of my work, I always explained that I was in my last year of school and that I needed to write a thesis to complete my schooling. In the end, being a Congolese researcher usually tended to hinder me because people often think of a researcher as an NGO worker, and I decided to avoid the term 'researcher' to the extent possible when introducing myself.

1.6. Theorising about urban IDPs

In this thesis, my argument is rooted in the growing literature on refugee camps and refugee-related issues. In the present work, the analytical orientation is based on a problem-oriented approach and on previous studies of the social life of refugees in camp settings.

The actor-oriented perspective is a very interesting framework for analysing and elucidating how actors come to grips, cognitively and organisationally, with the situation they face. In his definition, Long emphasised the *how*, which should be grounded and not viewed in terms of broad social forces (e.g. culturalism, capitalism or ecological change; (Long 2012). The analysis of the phenomenon of forced displacement in eastern DRC in this thesis is centred on the actor-oriented perspective because of the opportunity it offers for examining how actors' perceptions and practices are materialised and socially constructed. In the actor-oriented approach, issues like livelihoods, discourses, intervention practice, ideology and organisational capacities are not seen as predetermined but are essentially outcomes of multiple voices and contested realities, where actors struggle to give meaning to their experiences.

The problematic of forced displacement lies in how people use their agency within a restrictive environment and the outcome of an interplay between social structures and agency (Hear et al. 2018, p. 929). The concept of agency focuses on people bringing about change in their lives through individual and/or collective action rather than being passive, 'inert' recipients (Sen 1999). Importantly, the actor-oriented approach allows analyses of how situations enable or do not enable people to use their agency (Samman and Santos 2009, p. 3). This point is very pertinent, as it brings out how people navigate the difficult conditions in which they find themselves.

Throughout this thesis, the actor-oriented approach served as an analytical lens to make sure I recognised the agency of all of the different groups represented in this research, including church leaders, local authorities, ethnic associations, private organisations, civil society, local NGOs, international NGOs, non-IDPs (members of the host community) and IDPs, and formed a meta-level basis for exploring the specific research questions.

1.6.1. IDPs and agency

This thesis had the orientation of learning from IDPs as forced migrants in eastern DRC, through exploring their social life and organisation in the camp, for example. Therefore, IDPs are understood as capable of using their agency to make something of their lives. Agency has been defined as concerning 'events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently. Whatever happened would not have happened if that individual had not intervened' (Giddens 1984, p. 9). Using this broad definition, two aspects of agency help to reflect on the reality of IDPs' lives in eastern DRC. The first of these refers to the ability of individuals to **make choices** within the circumstances and the constraints of the choice. Viewing IDPs as people with agency acknowledges that IDPs are knowledgeable and capable of processing, learning and acting in ways that intervene in their lives during their flight.

The understanding of agency in this thesis is connected to a representation of IDPs as capable of reflecting on their lives, even under challenging circumstances. In this thesis, all IDPs are followed in how they go about, for example, finding a job, feeding their families, whether or not to stay with a host family and whether or not to engage in begging on the street.

In the chapter 3 on networks, IDPs' agency is illustrated through their ability to rely on different types of support during their displacement. IDPs make new friends in the neighbourhood and are able to broaden their sources of assistance. Essentially, networking with new people is worthy of attention in an examination of IDPs' lives because it is a powerful example of IDPs'

agency in an unknown situation, allowing them to process their experiences and to pursue survival.

The chapter 4 on economic life illustrates IDP women's ability to become involved in recognised markets to pursue their livelihoods. The fact that IDP women engage in these market environments demonstrates how IDPs' agency can evolve in new environments and in response to risks.

In the chapter 5 describing the differentiation of IDPs according to their vulnerability in Mugunga 3 camp, IDPs' agency is exemplified by their abilities to access to resources when they are not considered vulnerable. IDPs' approaches to belonging to a group in Mugunga 3 camp and to obtaining resources reveal their abilities to think about their survival and to take action to gain access to resources in the camp.

1.6.2. Networks and social ties

In the plight of IDPs, networks and social ties play an important role in everyday life in relation to gaining access to limited information and resources. Within the uncertainties of their daily lives, IDPs rely on people linked to them by family, friendship, kinship and other types of relational ties (Kibreab 2001; Thukral 1996; Van Damme 1999) to be able to face and to construct their own social world (Long 2012), far from the logic of capital or the intervention of the state (Long 2001, p. 24). IDPs' networks have the distinctive characteristic of being the channel of information enabling them to gain access to resources and to exercise power. In other words, these actors make use of their relationships to cope with their everyday lives and to strategize the mobilisation of the network. Relationships may be indirect or direct, and, individually or organised in groups, actors use these relationships to pursue and achieve their goals in every structure and situation in their lives (Long 2012, pp. 11-12).

Instead of focusing on a certain type of relationship—because it can be complex to distinguish the nature of relationships—most work on social networks has paid attention to types of support and resources in the examination of networks and of how people make use of these networks in varied ways and at different times (Hellermann 2006; Morgan 1990; Oakley 1992). In general, three main types of support are provided through networks: emotional support, informational support and instrumental support. Each of these types of support is used in accordance with a certain need and time period.

In chapter 3, I concentrated on three types of networks—namely, family and friends, acquaintances, and vertical connections with people involved in formal institutions, including

NGO workers or employees in the socio-political hierarchy such as local authorities, church leaders, police officers or ethnic association leaders. Each type of network can provide a particular type of support. Family members and friends often provide emotional support, and these networks are very helpful in combating homesickness, preventing loneliness or sharing feelings. Acquaintances help by providing instrumental (practical) support with jobs or housing inquiries in a new area. Vertical connections with people involved in formal institutions or in the socio-political hierarchy offer informational support such as knowledge of where to get health care and where to send one's children to school. Each network is important, and, in this thesis, certain networks were found to provide specific resources during key moments in IDPs' displacement trajectories.

In chapter 4, I focus on IDPs' social networks in relation to survival activities, as has been highlighted in many existing studies (Meertens 2002; Phillips 2002; WorldBank 2001). The social network approach has been used in the field of economic sociology to understand and explain economic behaviour and individuals' economic lives. When exploring an individual's economic life, economic behaviour paradigms such as economic practice, behaviour patterns (e.g. prices and strategies) and firm structures emerge in networks of actors (Smelser and Swedberg 1994). Additionally, many studies have deepened the understanding of access to resources such as jobs among immigrants (Portes 1994), women (England and Folbre 2004) or those who have been forcibly displaced (Evans 2007; Hynie et al. 2011; Lopes et al. 2011; Sorensen and Olwig 2002).

In DRC, as in many countries in Africa, access to jobs is more likely through social networks than through skills or qualification (Chant and Jones 2005), and informal activities such as hawking, petty trade, casual or day labour, domestic work and seasonal work offer a source of income because of the easy entry into these types of work through the social network (Breman 1980).

1.6.3. The livelihoods approach

The livelihoods approach is among the most pertinent approaches allowing practitioners and academics to analyse and understand poverty in terms of both material and non-material aspects (Haan and Uford 2001). To explain livelihoods, Long expressed the central idea as 'the way that individuals and groups strive to make a living; attempt to meet their various consumption and economic necessities; cope with uncertainties; respond to new opportunities and choose between different value positions' (Long 2001, p. 53). In the livelihoods approach, people make use of five types of capital or assets to achieve their goals: human, physical, natural, social and

financial capital (Farrington et al. 2002; Haan and Uford 2001). These types of capital represent the resources people use, such as skills, tools, plots of land, networks of friends and livestock (DFID 1999).

Concerning the livelihoods of forcibly displaced persons living in camps, many researches have studied IDPs' responses to meeting basic needs, such as engaging in survival activities in camps, obtaining information on how to find land to cultivate, undergoing vocational training and joining associations (Brun 2010; Fulu 2007; Lawrie and Van Damme 2003; Porter et al. 2008).

Most literature on IDPs' livelihoods in camps is related to livelihoods that are accessible in the camp, such as cultivating land around the camp, selling products in a market or leading an IDP association. This thesis focuses on identifying the main livelihoods of IDPs in Mugunga 3 camp and outside of the camp. IDPs in this study relied on agricultural activities, petty trade, and employment and entrepreneurship. Access to livelihoods differed among the IDPs: Some relied on skills, whereas others relied on being seen as vulnerable and being targeted by humanitarian actors. This second group had to play the 'vulnerability card' to gain access to resources.

1.6.4. Governance and aid

Governance refers to the horizontal interactions through which public and private actors at various levels of government coordinate their interdependencies to enact public policies and deliver public services (Klijn and Koppenjan 2012). In the case of humanitarian governance, two schools of thought are dominant. First, classical humanitarianism (the classical Dunantist paradigm) puts forth the idea that humanitarian action is governed by the UN, international donors, and international NGOs (Hilhorst et al. 2019). The second school of thought refers to the idea that there is an interplay between humanitarian agencies, national authorities and local communities (Hilhorst and Jansen 2010).

In this thesis, I followed the second school of thought, considering humanitarian actors to be one layer of a larger body of actors providing humanitarian services. The full range of actors providing these services includes humanitarian agencies, national and local authorities, private associations, ethnic associations, churches, national NGOs and others. All of these actors are involved in basic service delivery. Depending on their roles, they are all directly or indirectly part of the humanitarian action as advocates, facilitators of the humanitarian process in the field or assistance providers.

In eastern DRC, service delivery relies mostly on a governance network, where state and non-state actors engage jointly to provide basic services to the population (Aembe 2017). In this context, institutional multiplicity has led to hybrid forms of governance in service delivery (Weijs et al. 2012). In the governance of both development and humanitarian interventions, multiple actors are represented, including the government, churches, local and international NGOs, the private sector, and UN agencies involved in sectors such as health, education, and water and sanitation. To give credence to this multiplicity of actors I will now describe in some more detail the thinking on three main actors (1) local authorities; (2) Non-governmental actors; (3) international actors.

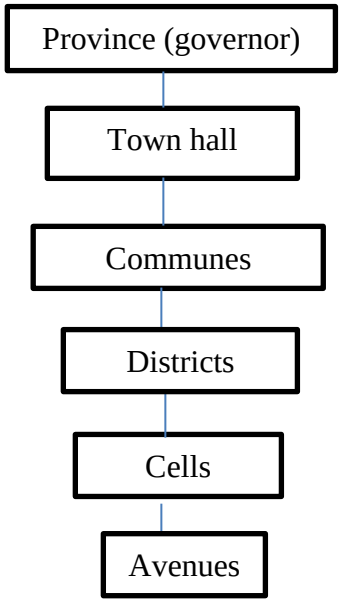
1.6.4.1 Local authorities

In many studies, the DRC state has been described as a failed state, a collapsed state, a stateless state, a weak state or a predatory state, referring to the Congolese state's inability to provide social services, public services and other services that a state is expected to provide for its people (Shouten 2013; Trefon 2009; Trefon et al. 2002; Trefon 2002) Given this characterisation of the state and its inability to fulfil its roles, non-governmental actors have stepped in to play the role of interface in the provision of some services (Dijkzeul 2005; Mugumo 2012; Whetho and Uzodike 2009).

However, this characterisation of the Congolese state has been challenged because the state in DRC has proven to be rather resilient in the face of continuous challenges (Englebert 2003 ; Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers 2008). In this thesis, two approaches are used to consider the Congolese State. The first is based on Weber's rational–legal ideal type of the state, including a set of key functions (Weber 1958), and the second is related to both administrative practices and by how ordinary citizens imagine and represent the state in their everyday lives (Gupta 1995). This thesis holds a starting point that while indeed the Congolese state might be weak, it plays a relevant role in the lives of IDPs and needs to be fully integrated for the analysis to be complete.

At the county town level, authorities are represented at various governance levels (local and provincial) and are involved in the movement of population on a daily basis through their work. Figure 1 presents the administrative structure of county towns in eastern DRC. This structure has been used to operationalise the understanding of the state in the thesis.

Figure 1.1. Administrative structure of county towns in eastern DRC[8]



As the first entity responsible for IDPs in the country, DRC authorities adhere to the Kampala Convention of 2009 because DRC has never adopted or implemented a national policy regarding IDPs (FMR36 2010, pp. 8-9). The Kampala Convention established IDPs' right to be protected as a binding legal norm, enabling actors to better address the question of displacement. Influenced by the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, the Kampala Convention has helped countries to recognise the rights of displaced persons and has provided a better legal instrument for fulfilling the state's role as the first entity responsible for IDPs.

As stated above, the ideas and attitudes of ordinary people or citizens were part of the research presented in this thesis. Interactions with civil servants, including a neighbourhood chief, market officials, police officers in the city, and a police officer in an IDP camp, revealed multiple perspectives towards IDPs. Chapter 2 focuses on local authorities (civil servants) and how they represent IDPs. The chapter also describes the involvement of government actors during IDPs' arrival. Chapter 3 focuses on the relationships of IDPs in Bukavu with local authorities (civil servants) during the IDPs' trajectories, illustrating cases where governmental actors played crucial roles in assisting IDPs. In Chapter 4, the focus is on local authorities in the markets and the role they play in IDP women's access to the markets. Chapter 5 examines the role of local authorities in the livelihood pursuits of IDPs living in a camp.

[8] Annual report 2011, Town Hall of Bukavu, pp. 9–10

1.6.4.2. Non-governmental actors

In DRC overall and in eastern DRC in particular, governance is characterised by a hybrid political order or a situation of institutional multiplicity, where diverse and competing authority structures, sets of rules, logics of order, and claims to power co-exist, overlap, interact and intertwine, combining elements of introduced Western models of governance and elements stemming from local indigenous traditions (Boege et al. 2009). This form of governance is the result of the state's failure or the fragile, conflict-affected state in DRC, where institutions or new organisational arrangements are involved in meeting the gaps in state capacity (Meagher et al. 2014). Networked governance is another characteristic of governance in eastern DRC, where the state acts as one of several organisations that come together in diverse networks to deliver services (Bevir 2000). From this view, public services becomes a common pool of resource that is owned by everyone in the community, and all of the key stakeholders are potential governance practitioners (Bwimana 2017).

International and other NGOs, faith-based organisations, community-based organisations and a range of donor organisations are among the non-governmental actors engaging in service provision in eastern DRC. To operationalise the range of services provided in the humanitarian response to IDPs, I considered the national, provincial and local levels of response. At the national level, the national humanitarian coordination includes actors such as donors, UN agencies and NGOs. At the provincial level, the provincial humanitarian coordination includes actors involved in the clusters (UN agencies, international NGOs, national NGOs and faith-based organisations) and the civil society platform of local NGOs. At the local level, private organisations, local associations and ordinary residents play a role.

Chapter 2 focuses on actors dealing with IDPs and their views and definitions in relation to the application of the IDP definition; Chapter 3 explores the relationships between IDPs and non-governmental actors during their displacement by presenting the types of support and resources offered by these actors; and Chapter 4 focuses on the role of non-governmental actors during IDPs' stay in Mugunga 3 camp.

1.6.4.3. International actors

International actors are often considered the only actors providing assistance to the vulnerable; however, the case of DRC has shown that assistance could come from a range of actors playing the role of service provider (Mowjee 2008). In eastern DRC, the presence of international actors can be patterned on three levels. At the national level, there is a national cluster led by UN actors and donors. Then, at the provincial level, there are two types of international actors. The

first is the provincial cluster and the second is the Rapid Response to Population Movements (RRMP), represented by UN agencies and international NGOs. Finally, at the local level, a more operational representation is found, through IDP camps, international NGOs working with NGOs, local communities, faith-based organisations and local authorities.

Depending on the type of assistance provided to IDPs (in camps or outside of camps), international actors have implemented interventions in accordance with the mechanisms at each type of setting. Most assistance is provided through the clusters in the context of assistance in the camps, and both through the clusters and through RRMP in the context of assistance outside of camps. It is also important to consider the type of intervention (development or humanitarian) because international actors, as described above, are more directly involved in humanitarian interventions and more indirectly (through the government, churches, local NGOs or the private sector) involved in development interventions.

To operationalise the range of international actors, I focused on the provincial and operational levels, as the national level is more involved in attending meetings and sharing reports among international actors, whereas the provincial and local levels are more oriented towards operationalising humanitarian coordination in the field.

Chapter 2 shows how the criteria for the IDP label differ depending on whether it is international actors or local NGOs identifying IDPs. In Chapter 4, camp residents are shown not only to rely on assistance from international actors but also to develop strategies to survive in Mugunga 3 camp.

1.7. Thesis outline

The actor-oriented approach of the thesis provides an interesting angle for understanding the social life of IDPs, hopefully contributing to the future assistance of IDPs in this specific region, which is prone to violence and displacement. The empirical findings are organised in four chapters.

Chapter 2 is an attempt to deconstruct the IDP label, with a particular look at the definition of IDPs and the process of identifying IDP beneficiaries to receive assistance in urban settings. The last part of the chapter discusses the consequences of the IDP label for humanitarian assistance to IDPs outside of camps and examines how this relates to the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*. During humanitarian crises in eastern DRC, humanitarian actors have adjusted their work to fit the context, especially when assisting IDPs outside of camps. This type of assistance has resulted in particular attention being directed towards IDPs' rights and

choices. However, little is known about the challenges of defining and identifying IDPs outside of camps, and this chapter reflects on the social construction of the IDP label.

Chapter 3 deals with IDPs' social networks, with a specific focus on differences throughout the displacement trajectory. This chapter presents the role of networks at different points in the trajectories of IDPs, beginning with their flight from their place of origin. The chapter dedicates significant attention to the types of support provided through different types of ties in Bukavu because previous research has assumed that friends and family members are the principal ties supporting IDPs. This assumption needed to be revisited because acquaintances and formal ties (e.g. with employers) were the most efficient in getting a job or a loan, for example. Additionally, the assumption that friendship and family ties are paramount is called into question by certain factors in the study context, such as the scarcity of resources, the size of IDP families and the precariousness of host families.

Chapter 4 describes the analysis of the economic life of IDP women in an urban setting, with a consideration of the type of market where IDP women were most engaged. In many studies, the informal sector is considered especially convenient in terms of gaining access to a job and a means of survival because the dynamics allow people to use resources such as networks to gain entry. Additionally, the informal sector is thought to be characterised by flexibility, opportunities and accessibility—allowing vulnerable people with network ties to gain access. The present study tested this assumption, with the aim of understanding the difference between recognised (formal) and unrecognised (informal) markets, including the process of getting a place in the market, the guarantee of security at the market, the payment of taxes in different markets and the support IDP women get in different markets. Counterintuitively, I found that it is easier for IDP women to enter the formal market than the informal market.

Chapter 5 details the types of IDPs who were living in Muganga camp 3 in Goma during the fieldwork, with a particular focus on differentiating between them in terms of their livelihoods, planned destinations in case of a camp closure, vulnerability and perceptions regarding the meaning of the camp. Again, as was the case in Chapters 3 and 4, Chapter 5 aims to empirically assess the assumption that camps are destinations for vulnerable people and can be considered 'the last resort'. As is discussed in more depth in the body of the chapter, this assumption has already been tested and proven mistaken elsewhere, suggesting that IDPs in camps are not all vulnerable; rather, they are able to make a living through different activities, even in remote locations. An important part of this chapter is the description of the social life of IDPs in

Mugunga 3 camp, who were able to assign meaning to their stay in the camp over the years, demonstrating the specific role of the camp in the lives of its residents.

Chapter 6 provides the general conclusion for the thesis. This chapter includes major discussions and concluding remarks drawn on the basis of the key findings and the driving concepts for this research, which were developed in the general introduction and the subsequent chapters. The overall finding of this thesis is IDPs sustain their lives in cities with little humanitarian aid. The main issue they faced was that their displacement status was being neglected as a criterion for obtaining assistance outside of camp and the inconsistency of the nature of the assistance inside the camp. Nevertheless, this study's findings recognises and affirms urban IDPs agency to act and to process because they have different ways of obtaining support and accessing resources in or outside of a camp-setting.

Chapter 2 : Defining and identifying IDPs outside of camps in South Kivu, DRC: challenges, contradictions and consequences

Abstract

Through two decades of conflict and complex humanitarian response, internally displaced persons (IDP) have been at the core of assistance in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo and have attracted generous funding and attention. However, little is known about the meaning of the IDP label in the field for different actors involved in their assistance. Most importantly, the consequences associated with the label have not yet been addressed in terms of the future of IDPs in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. As a setting where IDPs are assisted outside of camps, South Kivu provides an opportunity to better understand the IDP label's application on the ground. This is important because IDPs make up a key vulnerable group in regard to the conflict. Based on multiple interviews, observations and focus groups involving actors and host communities dealing with IDPs, this study aims to provide insight into the multiple definitions of IDPs and strategies to identify this group. The study reveals challenges in the view on the definition of the word IDP; describes several contradictions in the IDP selection process and highlights some consequences of the IDP label. More importantly, the chapter also looks

towards the future by engaging in a discussion on the discourse of IDPs assistance outside of camp regarding the use of the IDP label and the respect of the Guiding Principle on Internal Displacement.

Keywords: Internally displaced person, social construct, IDP label, identification process, humanitarian discourse, Guiding Principles

This chapter has been published as a Working Paper for the Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium, SLRC. (Hyperlink will follow)
A research brief based on the chapter was also published by SLRC

2.1. Introduction

In August 2015, the Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN) stated that 'most IDPs are hosted by families or host communities instead of staying in camps and therefore they are the first humanitarian actors in DRC'.[9] An Oxfam GB report on the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) had already acknowledged this in 2008, stating that 70% of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in DRC lived with host families instead of in camps of the kind seen in Darfur and Uganda (Harver 2008b). The report also highlighted several concerns regarding the likelihood of assisting a population that is blended with other populations and emphasised the debate around assisting IDPs through camps versus host communities.

The importance of such a discussion is rooted in the understanding of 'IDPs'. The way in which IDPs are identified has been challenged and revisited, motivated by the desire to improve the treatment of this group of people and to reduce discrimination. The identification of IDPs has been at the centre of controversies about whether assistance should be based around the camp setting, the criteria for and description of IDP populations, and the need to provide better assistance to those affected by forced migration in urban settings. Applying these debates to IDPs in DRC, the present study aimed to highlight and explain five problems with defining and identifying IDPs: (1) the disagreement about who should be counted as an IDP; (2) the consequent disagreement about how many IDPs there are; (3) the ineffective and scattered response, especially for IDPs in urban areas in non-camp settings; (4) the message conveyed by the use of the IDP label; and (5) the rights of IDPs.

The debate about whether IDPs should be assisted inside or outside of camps is ongoing. Those in favour of camps have highlighted that camps offer the possibility of facilitating the organisation of assistance, attracting international aid, monitoring and targeting beneficiaries, and distributing aid quickly and efficiently (Schmidt 2003). However, those favouring assisting IDPs outside of camps argue for non-discrimination based on IDPs' settlement choices, respecting IDPs' preferences, enhancing IDPs' coping mechanisms and improving the host communities that support IDPs (Davies 2012).

[9] Mamadou Diallo, Deputy Special Representative for the UN Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. He also serves as the United Nations Resident Coordinator, Humanitarian Coordinator and Resident Representative of the UN Development Programme (www.radiookapi.net/2015/08/19/actualite/societe/rdc-les-familles-congolaises-premier-acteur-humanitaire-dans-le-pays)

Based on the non-discrimination argument, assistance to IDPs outside of camps is widely recognised in many conflict-affected countries. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, of 173[10] monitored countries, at least 54 have few or no IDP camps. Acknowledging that IDPs are living in urban areas also directs attention towards urban forced migration and, correspondingly, works towards a durable solution in addition to addressing the humanitarian issues (Christensen and Harild 2009; Kirbyshire et al. 2017; Tibaijuka 2010; Zetter and Deikun 2010).

The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement that were first presented at the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1998[11] (see also Box 1) provide a broad definition of IDPs as those 'who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence', but this definition has drawn criticism as a 'catch-all term' that does not establish categories of persons confronted with very different situations (Hickel 2001). The application of the Guiding Principles calls for the neutrality and impartiality of humanitarian actors in their everyday work, challenging the methods of identifying the population of IDPs and underscoring the need for the inclusion of different actors during this process (Crisp et al. 2012).

The province of South Kivu in DRC provides a window on the effect of applying the IDP label outside of camps. After two decades of humanitarian assistance, many questions are being raised, such as how effective aid to IDPs is in the long term and how IDPs' lives can be improved. This humanitarian assistance has been provided without the existence of official IDP camps or the official registration of IDPs. Furthermore, there is a lack of accuracy in estimates of the number of IDPs. As the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre's website states: 'It is unclear whether the 1.4 million IDPs in DRC who were displaced at the end of 2008 are still living in displacement, whether they have achieved durable solutions or whether they have been displaced again since that time.' As the situation has remained unstable and new waves of displacement have occurred since 2008 figures on total numbers of IDPs are even more debatable.

The relevance of the IDP label is also called into question in the South Kivu context because the process of identifying IDPs often happens in an environment of complex population movements, which can make the work of humanitarian actors difficult. According to 2015 statistics from the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), of 322,300

[10] Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre: Global Figures 2015 http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures

[11] Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2): www.ohchr.org/en/issues/idpersons/pages/standards.aspx

IDPs in South Kivu, 96% lived with host families and 4% lived in temporary settlements (OCHA 2015). The process of estimating the numbers of IDPs in South Kivu remains controversial among donors and other actors. For example, a USAID factsheet highlighted a reduction from an estimated 2.7 million IDPs countrywide in December 2014 to nearly 1.4 million by May 2015 – a decline of approximately 48% (USAID 2015). Although it is unlikely that this shift in estimates reflects a real reduction in the number of IDPs, which number is correct and how the different estimations were produced remain open questions.

Linking the provision of assistance to IDPs outside of camps and the application of the IDP label, the present study aims to understand the consequences of identifying and assisting displaced persons in non-camp settings. After discussing the literature, describing the research methods used and providing a general introduction of the IDP situation in South Kivu, this paper presents two sections about identifying IDPs. The first of these analyses three strategies used by agencies in relation to defining IDPs (setting criteria, relying on local knowledge or self-identification, and paying less attention to the IDP label). The second analyses actual practices used to identify programme beneficiaries, which are usually based on rough criteria that are adjusted by those in charge of the programmes. This is followed by a discussion about IDPs' loss of claim-making capacity when displacement criteria are not used for assistance, how the IDP label may become more meaningful, and gaps in the meaning of the IDP label on the ground and in IDPs' rights as laid out in the Guiding Principles.

Box 2.1. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement

Since the recognition and the appointment of a Representative of the Secretary General on Internal Displacement in 1992, the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2) were developed between 1993 and 1997 as the issue of internal displacement became increasingly recognised as a global human rights and humanitarian issue. The final document was presented to the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1998 by the Representative of the Secretary-General on IDPs, Francis Deng.

The document, which is not legally binding, sets out 30 principles, including principles relating to protection from displacement, to protection during displacement, to humanitarian assistance, and to return, resettlement and reintegration. More than a restatement of existing human rights and humanitarian law, the Guiding Principles provide a framework for identifying protection needs and for planning, implementing and monitoring protection activities to be incorporated into domestic laws and policies (Kälin, 2005).

Responding to the absence of a document capable of responding to humanitarian and political and security crises, the Guiding Principles offered a broad understanding of protection, defining the internally displaced as all those of have left their homes involuntarily without crossing an international border, whatever the circumstances, and addressing the full range of rights that may be relevant – not just those limited solely to the survival and physical security of IDPs (Kälin, 2005).

The Guiding Principles have been a key plank in the development of normative standards on the issue of internal displacement, setting the stage for later standards such as the IDP Protocol of the Great Lakes Pact (2006) and the African Union's 2009 Kampala Convention. Internal displacement has also increasingly been recognised as a development issue, reflected in the inclusion of IDPs in the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (paragraphs 23 and 29).

Despite the progress, the numbers of displaced have been rising for decades, with some states resistant to fulfilling their responsibilities toward IDPs, and many humanitarian development and senior UN actors not sufficiently engaged (GP20, 2018). In 2017, as the 20th anniversary of the Guiding Principles approached, an IDP stakeholder meeting led by the UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of IDPs identified four priority issues for an Action Plan on the issue: participation of IDPs, national laws and policies on internal displacement, data and analysis on internal displacement, and addressing protracted displacement and supporting durable solutions (GP20, 2018).

2.2. Background

Since the introduction of the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* in 1998[12], addressing IDPs' needs has remained a challenge. IDPs remain the responsibility of the affected state, which is in charge of providing protection and assistance for its population (Cohen and Deng 2009). However, this duty is frequently not fulfilled, and IDPs are often trapped in the middle of an armed conflict or are targeted or abandoned by their own governments (Deng 2006). These cases are considered an international matter because IDPs' human rights need to be protected, but IDPs do not have the legal status afforded to refugees and lack a UN agency dedicated to their case.

Assistance and protection provided to IDPs in camp settings have been widely studied. Indeed, focusing on camp settings remains a convenient approach for assisting those affected by forced migration because of the associated high level of accessibility of people in need. Unfortunately, camps remain linked to the idea of restricted freedom: 'It is a camp because we cannot leave when we want to' (Malkki 1995, p 139). Additionally, Black (1998, p. 4-7) argues that 'camps represent a poor solution for forced migration'. These arguments reinforce the idea of respecting individual choices when providing assistance (Hilhorst 2015, p 7).

In December 2011, a report of the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General recognised the different choices made by IDPs, using the phrase 'IDPs outside of camps' to refer to 'IDPs who may live in a variety of settings or situations; they may be in urban, rural, or remote areas, renting, owning a housing, sharing a room, living with a host family, homeless, occupying a building or land that they do not own, or living in makeshift shelters and slums' (Federici 2013, p 11). This report emphasised the role of humanitarian actors in considering this part of the IDP population, regardless of their location.

Indeed, although it is uncomfortable for many donors and humanitarian actors, it is now clear that the majority of IDPs live outside of camps, blending in with the rest of the population; this fact requires adapted approaches to providing IDPs with assistance and protection (Brookings-LSE and Displacement 2013). Additionally, previous studies have proposed that IDPs' preferences for living with host families are based on 'the perception of camps as crowded, insecure, unhealthy and associated with the violence and cholera that plagued the camps along

[12] See Box 1

the border with Rwanda following the genocide. By contrast, a host family is seen as a source of security – physical, emotional, and even "spiritual"' (McDowell 2008, p 22).

Research in DRC has suggested that IDPs living outside of camps are more vulnerable than their host families and other residents, based on comparisons of the living conditions of different types of urban residents. In Goma, for instance, 'IDPs were more vulnerable than other residents across all quartiers of the city' (NRC 2014). This had also been pointed out in a 2008 Oxfam report calling for more attention for both IDPs and host communities on the ground, noting that host communities' needs were often overlooked (Davies 2012; Harver 2008b).

On the whole, studies in DRC have advocated assisting IDPs outside of camps, referring to the large numbers of IDPs outside of camps and describing their reasons for making this choice (Harver 2008b; IDMC 2014a). In addition, some studies have explored the significance of programmes targeting IDPs, seeking to improve IDP assistance or to call for action by exposing failures in this assistance (Bailey 2014; Healy and Tiller 2014; MSF 2014; Rudolph 2014).

Beyond the need for better assistance for those labelled as IDPs, there is still uncertainty regarding the relevance of such a label outside of camps. 'IDP' is not an objective title. Implicit in the definition of IDPs is the idea that they are clearly visible and distinguishable from the rest of a population. However, this idea is often exposed as unrealistic wherever the international community seeks to provide assistance. Many studies have already examined how the IDP label has been applied and how the label has determined tendencies towards exclusion or inclusion (Shacknove 1985). For example, in Sri Lanka, IDPs were refused the right to work because they were not formally registered in their place of refuge (Brun 2003).

Despite persisting questions around the IDP label, the *Guiding Principles* set a standard benchmark for IDP protection and assistance during displacement, return, resettlement and reintegration (Cohen 2004, p 465).

However, some research has identified gaps between the *Guiding Principles* and their implementation on the ground (Borton et al. 2005, p 94). In the context of South Kivu, the *Guiding Principles* provide a lens to examine the respect of IDPs' rights because of the setting characterised by the assistance outside of camps and the difficult task of distinguishing IDPs from non-IDPs.

This paper begins by questioning the relevance of the IDP label in South Kivu, describing the patterns related to defining IDPs on the ground. It continues with an empirical examination of how an 'IDP' is socially constructed, an exploration of the process of identifying IDPs, an

analysis of the discourse of assistance for IDPs outside of camps and a discussion of whether this discourse is in line with the *Guiding Principles*. Specifically, the paper addresses three research questions:

- How is the definition of IDPs translated and used in practice? (Section 5)
- What are the challenges to applying the IDP label in South Kivu? (Section 6)
- How does the IDP label impact humanitarian assistance in South Kivu? (Section 7)
- What are the consequences of assisting IDPs outside of camps with the use of the IDP label?
- Is assistance to IDPs in line with the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement?

2.3. Methods

This study was conducted as part of a larger project[13] in South Kivu province in both urban and rural areas. Starting in October 2013 and ending in April 2015, the research aimed to explore IDPs living outside of camps. As detailed in Tables 1.1 and 1.2, interviews, focus groups, and participant and non-participant observation were used to gather information from 65 participants.

Finding IDPs was a very difficult task. This category overlaps with other marginalised groups, such as migrants and the urban poor, and there is no official database of IDPs (White 2015, 6-7). After three months of fieldwork, I wondered, 'Where are the IDPs?' Furthermore, considering that, according to OCHA (2017b), there are 422,000 IDPs in South Kivu, I also questioned how organisations go about identifying IDPs.

2.3.1. Participants

Things started to fall into place after I began to interview actors involved in assisting both IDPs and non-IDPs. It was important to have a non-governmental organisation (NGO) platform to facilitate the work and my contact with different actors. The previous director of the international NGO Search for Common Ground[14] made it possible for me to interact with his co-workers and other NGO workers of different backgrounds involved in humanitarian assistance and to build a network related to my research interests.

[13] Gloria NGUYA, urban economic and livelihood of IDPs in eastern DRC, PhD study

[14] Search For Common Ground is involved in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. In DRC, it is involved in bolstering the nation's maturing democracy, ending ethnic conflict, promoting gender equality and transforming the country into a peaceful one.

Before starting the interviews, I identified several actors involved in providing assistance to IDPs and non-IDPs. Data were collected from humanitarian actors, local NGO representatives, civil society actors, local and national authorities, church leaders and members, ethnic association representatives and ordinary non-IDPs in the community. Table 2.1 presents an overview of the range of participants interviewed or observed, and Table 2.2 provides further detail on the organisational participants. Because IDPs lived outside of camps, this research approach was necessary to collect reliable, clear and up-to-date data (Jacobsen and Cardona 2014; Borton et al. 2005; NRC 2008; JIPS 2012). Three times each week, the Civil Society Office holds a meeting with different local and international NGOs based in South Kivu to reflect on issues in the province. At these meetings, I had the opportunity to present my research at the beginning and the end of the fieldwork. These meetings were helpful in extending my network.

Table 2.1. Research participants and methods of data collection

Participant type	Number of actors	Organisation or position of participant	Method of data collection
United Nations actors	3	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations Children's Fund, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs	Interviews
Non-United Nations actors	11	Malteser International, Association of Volunteers in International Service, Norwegian Refugee Council, International Rescue Committee, Search For Common Ground, International Emergency and Development Aid, Caritas, International Medical Corps, Women For Women, Direction Du Développement et de la Cooperation-Suisse	Interviews, participant observation
Local NGOs	10	Bureau Diocésain des Œuvres Médicales, Kataliko Action pour l'Afrique, Foundation RamaLevina, Centre Ekabana, Alliance SUD, Réseau des Femmes Médecins pour le Développement Intégral (RFMD), Foundation Panzi, Mouvement des Femmes du Sud-Kivu, Association Paysanne de Développement Intègre, Ministère de l'Eglise du Christ au Congo pour les Refugiées et les Urgences	Interviews, participant and non-participant observation
Local authorities	3	Town Hall of Bukavu, neighbourhood chief, grouping chief	Interviews, focus groups, non-participant observation
Civil society	2	Agents	Interviews, participant observation
Churches	2	Small Christian Community, RAMOT Church	Interviews, focus groups, participant and non-participant observation
Ethnic associations	3	Solidarity of Bahavu, Mutuality for the Barega in South-Kivu and Maniema, Solidarity of Bashi	Interviews
Firms	1	Federation des Entreprises du Congo	Interviews
Urban poor people	30	Residents of poor neighbourhoods such as Panzi, Bilala, Bagira and Giyamba	Interviews, focus groups, participant observation
Total	65		

2.3.2. Data collection and analysis

The extended fieldwork period and the large amount of data collected required a tool to aid in the interpretation of the ideas expressed by the participants. NVivo software was used to organise the data and to help make sense of the information collected (creating codes and identifying patterns).

2.3.3. Limitations and other considerations

Because of security issues in some areas on the periphery of the city and in rural areas (Bunyakiri, Nindja and Lusenda), data were collected mostly during the daytime in participants' offices and houses and during their trips to their villages. Focus groups with non-IDPs, for example, were mostly conducted in the participants' neighbourhoods, where insecurity had to

be considered, especially as on weekdays many participants were free only after work in the evening. It was therefore necessary to conduct data collection during weekends.

Gaining the trust of the interviewees was important during the fieldwork, as some pertinent details regarding IDPs did not emerge until a second interview or an interview in a different location. Hence, increased budget and time resources were often necessary to attain valuable answers and to respect the ethical principles of research. As a related point, I shared food and beverages with local authorities and non-IDPs during interviews instead of giving money, so as not to be mistaken for an NGO worker.

Notably, I did not include IDPs in my categories of participants; I refer instead to 'urban poor people'. Given the difficulties mentioned above, it was impossible to distinguish IDPs from non-IDPs in this phase of the research. Therefore, I interviewed organisational representatives and urban poor people (see Table 1.1), many of whom claimed to be IDPs, and I posed questions about the perceptions of actors who deal with IDPs instead of referring to their personal experiences.

Table 2.2. Names of organisations participating in the interviews

Actor	**Type of intervention provided**	**Type of beneficiary population**
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)	Relief aid	Refugees, IDPs
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	Relief aid	IDPs, returnees, vulnerable people
United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)	Advocacy	Vulnerable people, IDPs,
Malteser International	Relief aid	Vulnerable people, IDPs, returnees
Association of Volunteers in International Service	Relief aid	Vulnerable people, IDPs, returnees
Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)	Relief aid	Vulnerable people, IDPs
International Rescue Committee (IRC)	Relief aid	IDPs, returnees, vulnerable people
Search for Common Ground	Peace building	Armed groups, local authorities, national army
International Emergency and Development Aid	Identification of IDPs	IDPs, vulnerable people
Caritas	Relief aid	IDPs, returnees, vulnerable people
International Medical Corps	Health assistance	Vulnerable women
Women For Women	Assistance	Vulnerable women

Direction Du Développement et de la Cooperation-Suisse	Development aid	Local NGOs
Bureau Diocésain des Œuvres Médicales	Health assistance	Clinics
Kataliko Action pour l'Afrique (KAF)	Assistance to survivors of sexual violence	IDPs, vulnerable people
Foundation RamaLevina	Assistance to survivors of sexual violence	Women, men, children
Centre Ekabana	Assistance to abandoned children	Vulnerable children
Alliance SUD	Relief aid	Vulnerable people
Réseau des Femmes Médecins pour le Développement Intégral	Health assistance	Vulnerable women
Foundation Panzi	Assistance to survivors of sexual violence	Women
Mouvement des Femmes du Sud-Kivu	Assistance to survivors of sexual violence	Women
Association Paysanne de Développement Intègre	Assistance to farmers	Farmers
Ministère de l'Eglise du Christ au Congo pour les Refugiées et les Urgences (MERU)	Relief aid	IDPs, refugees, vulnerable people
Solidarity of Bashi	Relief aid	Vulnerable people
Solidarity of Bahavu	Relief aid	Vulnerable people
Mutuality for the Barega in South-Kivu and Maniema	Relief aid	Vulnerable people
Federation des Entreprises du Congo	Relief aid	Vulnerable people
Civil society	Advocacy	Vulnerable people

2.4. Understanding humanitarian assistance in South Kivu

Humanitarian assistance in South Kivu has been provided mainly without IDP camps, with the goal of including more IDPs who prefer to live in host communities. This has required better coordination among humanitarian agencies because of the challenge of distinguishing IDPs from non-IDPs and the lack of official records. In 2006, the 'cluster system' was introduced to coordinate humanitarian assistance along thematic lines, such as education, health, or water and sanitation, to allow national and international agencies to better face crises and to assist the displaced. One issue with the coordination and registration of IDPs is that they are not dealt with in a designated cluster but fall under different clusters for their different needs.

2.4.1. Situation of IDPs in South Kivu

In 2016, there were an estimated 422,000 IDPs in South Kivu, representing 6% of the province's total population of 6.4 million (OCHA 2017d). The province has the second largest number of IDPs in DRC, after North Kivu, and uprooted populations are located in all territories of the province except for Idjwi territory.

In response to violence and long-term conflict, three types of displacement may be seen in South Kivu.[15] The first is a pendulous displacement, where IDPs spend the day in their villages and hide in the bush in the evening. The second is a preventive displacement, where IDPs flee for short periods and return when it is safe. In this case, IDPs stay close to their homes to look after their properties and track the security situation. The last type of displacement is long-term displacement, where IDPs move further away for a long period of time, particularly when the violence is persistent. According to a 2009 *Médecins Sans Frontière* report, IDPs in eastern DRC travel from half a day to a day to reach a safe place, where they often have to wait several days while their vulnerability is evaluated before receiving assistance, as described in sub-section 4.2.

2.4.2. Local responses

As there are no IDP camps in South Kivu, host communities are the first humanitarian actors after the population movement. While awaiting assistance, IDPs rely on people's good will for shelter, food, land to cultivate and a safe place to stay (Lauten and Kesmaecker-Wissing 2015; OCHA 2014).

[15] Interviews with actors dealing with IDPs.

The local response is enacted by three groups. The first is local people, who may be linked to the IDPs by friendship or kinship ties. They assist with shelter, food or land to cultivate. The second is the local authorities (chief or administrator of a village), who are often involved in advocacy in cases of misunderstanding between IDPs and non-IDPs, for example. The third consists of local organisations (churches, civil society, local NGOs, the media, ethnic associations, etc.), who are often involved in IDP advocacy.

2.4.3. International responses

International actors have been visible in terms of providing emergency relief commodities; food assistance; health care and medical services; water, sanitation and hygiene; and in supporting economic recovery activities. From 2006 to 2015, US$893 million in humanitarian assistance was allocated to assist vulnerable people in South Kivu. Of this, 53% was channeled through UN agencies, 37% through international NGOs and 10% through national NGOs. This assistance is reported to have helped 68.8 million people, but the results have not been broken down to show how many IDPs were reached (OCHA 2016). Indeed, humanitarian actors are never clear about their approach here, and beneficiaries are targeted based on vulnerability rather than IDP status (OCHA 2012b, 36).

IDPs are provided with international protection and assistance under the Rapid Response to Population Movement (RRPM) programme, which aims to address the needs of IDPs, returnees, vulnerable host populations, and people affected by natural disasters and large-scale epidemics. The programme was launched in 2010 to respond to emergency crises in complex situations of population movement, such as providing assistance in areas with security issues or physical obstacles (e.g. bad road conditions or areas accessible only by plane). Through a partnership of the UN OCHA, the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) and two other international NGOs (Association of Volunteers in International Service [AVSI] and the International Rescue Committee [IRC]), four topical areas are covered by the RRPM programme: water and sanitation services and structures, non-food items and shelter materials, health support and emergency education. With $286.9 million allocated from 2006 to 2015 (OCHA 2016), the RRPM has been the most important mechanism of humanitarian emergency assistance, as detailed in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3. Allocation of funds and people reached by the DRC Humanitarian Fund, 2006–2015

Item	Allocation (in millions of USD)	Percentage of people reached
Multi-cluster	149.4	
Food security	145.2	12.4
Water, sanitation, hygiene*	109.9	23
Logistics	95.9	12.7
Health*	85.1	32.2
Coordination	81.8	
Non-food items and shelter *	62.8	12.4
Nutrition	59	3.3
Protection	57.7	0.6
Education*	31.8	2.5
Early recovery	15	1
Telecommunications	0.06	
Total allocation, 2006–2015	893.66	

*part of the Rapid Response to Population Movement programme

Reviewing the data in Table 1.3, it is interesting to contrast the availability of information on the total number of people reached with the lack of information related to IDPs reached. One explanation for this is the difficulty of targeting only IDPs in Bukavu because of the cost of identifying them, which could be higher than a simple assistance project, as some humanitarian actors participating in the present study revealed. Additionally, the type of assistance provided to IDPs in Bukavu was mainly food or non-food assistance given over a short period to avoid assisting non-IDPs. More importantly, humanitarian actors developed other approaches that focused on assisting a whole neighbourhood community, such as rebuilding a market, repairing a water fountain or giving vocational training to poor people.

Regarding the number of projects allocated to assist IDPs in DRC, according to the International Aid Transparency Initiative online database, of 6,842 projects receiving funding in 2018, 115 targeted IDPs (IATI 2018). Most IDP projects were related to updating records on IDPs, the RRPM programme, emergency health assistance and related efforts. The same database reported that Bukavu city has had 33 projects mainly linked to capacity building and reconstruction.

Reviewing the existing programmes in DRC reveals that the large number of IDPs does hardly translate into targeted programmes for this population or reports that provide clear and accurate numbers of IDPs that have been reached. Multiple factors have led to this situation, including the lack of surveying capacity, the lack of official records on IDPs and the cluster system, which

does not include an IDP focus under one specific cluster. Further, as will be demonstrated below, actors have different conceptions of what constitutes an IDP and different approaches to using the IDP label in practice.

2.5. The social construct of the definition of IDPs

This section addresses the question of the social construction of IDPs. All of the research participants were part of the construction of the social reality of the 'IDP' as they interacted with and labelled IDPs in different ways. Based on the interviews I conducted, I identified three different strategies used by different actors in identifying IDPs: formulating objective criteria to define IDPs; relying on self-identification and local organisations; and paying less attention to the label.

2.5.1. Strategy 1: Formulating objective criteria to define IDPs

The first strategy is based on the idea that IDPs can be defined using objective criteria, such as location or inclusion based solely on vulnerability. The amount of time spent in a location was sometimes used as an important objective criterion for defining IDPs. A Caritas staff member explained that the longer an IDP stayed somewhere, the more likely it was that 'he or she finds responses within the community'.[16] Time spent in a location was already considered through the RRPM, as the programme would only assist IDPs who had been displaced for fewer than three months (Harver 2008b, 12), and an IRC staff member highlighted this as a 'humanitarian rule'.[17]

However, other actors did not consider the 'duration of displacement' criterion, instead of using other criteria such as the location where IDPs lived or took refuge. Actors relying on the criterion of location type focused mainly on the idea that IDPs living in 'urban areas' were less vulnerable than were those living in rural areas. Some actors expressed a preference for assisting IDPs in rural areas with large numbers of people in need, but rural areas were generally not attractive environments for large numbers of IDPs. As an AVSI staff member clarified, 'IDPs would rather stay in places with churches, a FARDC [*Forces Armée de la République Démocratique du Congo*] position or a multi-ethnic city such as Kalehe centre, Uvira or Bunyakiri.'[18] An NRC staff member highlighted that their interventions were only tailored to rural areas, although the demarcation of rural and urban areas is blurred in many places in South Kivu.

Finally, inclusion based solely on vulnerability was an idea stressed by actors in charge of IDP assistance in the RRPM and representatives of UNICEF, the IRC and AVSI. A UNICEF staff

[16] Interview with a Caritas staff member in Bukavu.
[17] Interview with an IRC staff member in Bukavu.
[18] Interview with an AVSI staff member in Bukavu.

member explained this during an interview: 'I can come in a village and select a non-IDP [resident of the village] to be eligible … because the displaced criterion does not entitle a right to the assistance.'[19] The core of the IDP definition, namely the criterion of being displaced, was no longer seen as a condition to provide assistance. There was a contradiction between the obligation to assist IDPs or returnees and actually providing assistance to non-IDPs, because the assistance is supposed to be reserved for displaced people. Correspondingly, UNICEF and some humanitarian actors no longer assist IDPs because of their displacement status (Harver 2008c, p 15).

Similarly, an AVSI staff member stressed that 'it is very important to assess the severity of the vulnerability'[20] before assisting people associated with the IDP label. In this way, assistance to vulnerable IDPs in urban areas could be justified, as humanitarian actors based their choices on gauging vulnerability.

2.5.2. Strategy 2: Relying on self-identification and local organisations

The second strategy for identifying IDPs uses self-identification, as well as local organisations' and authorities' judgment. Many international organisations work with local organisations and rely on local organisations' knowledge and criteria to identify IDPs. The Protestant Church in charge of Humanitarian Affairs (*Eglise du Christ au Congo*-MERU) explained that more than the criterion of vulnerability was necessary because anyone could mislead them by pretending to be in need at any time to receive assistance. According to a MERU staff member, to avoid confusion, MERU agents in charge of identifying IDPs in Bukavu, for instance, could 'ask the origin of the person'[21] to verify his or her vulnerability. This staff member further explained that 'someone in need won't travel a long distance to reach a place like Bukavu'.[22] The longer the distance travelled to reach the city, the less likely the person could be considered a vulnerable IDP because of the assumption that a person who could pay for his or her transport had enough resources to live. In contrast, some NGO representatives considered the choice to live in urban areas to be 'an expression of despair or an emotional shock or wound'[23] from experiences during the conflict. Making a related point, a *Kataliko Action pour l'Afrique*[24] staff

[19] Interview with a UNICEF staff member in Bukavu.
[20] Interview with an AVSI staff member in Bukavu.
[21] Interview with an MERU staff member in Bukavu.
[22] Interview with an MERU staff member in Bukavu.
[23] Interview with a KAF staff member in Bukavu.
[24]Local NGO under the Trust Fund for Victims in charge of victims of conflict linked to psychological rehabilitation, medical service referrals and material support.

member explained that some IDPs did not want to return to their villages because of 'atrocities they saw or [because] they were victims during [the] conflict'.[25]

The Civil Society Office served as a platform for advocacy for many NGOs working in different sectors, such as human rights, sexual violence, rural development and conflict, and as an intermediary between 'state' and 'society' in DRC. According to one Civil Society Office board member, 'the humanitarian community does not have interest in IDPs in town',[26] although he also explained that the city was full of IDPs. Interestingly, this person defined IDPs as 'people who fled because of human disaster such as witchcraft'.[27] Put simply, the Civil Society Office held the view that many more people had been forcibly displaced than were recognised by the humanitarian actors and that improvements could be made in addressing IDPs' concerns. Civil Society Office board members also maintained that many humanitarian actors were not interested in humanitarian intervention in Bukavu, which tallied with the abovementioned finding that agencies tended to focus their interventions in rural areas.

Despite the weakness of the state's role in assisting IDPs, some local authorities showed interest in the IDP situation. Some Bukavu neighbourhood chiefs said that there were no longer IDPs living in their neighbourhoods: 'We do not have IDPs, as life is difficult here'.[28] This same neighbourhood chief stated that people living in Bukavu should not be labelled as IDPs because only migrants – not IDPs – could afford the cost of living in Bukavu; those who remained in Bukavu came from wealthy families and should therefore not be considered IDPs. In contrast, in a poor neighbourhood of Bukavu, a neighbourhood chief acknowledged a wave of IDPs in his neighbourhood, describing them as the poorest of the community and in a 'situation of loss'.[29] The two views show how the neighbourhood where IDPs settle matters for IDP assistance. For local authorities, IDPs who settle in wealthy neighbourhoods come from wealthy families, have resources and are not in need of assistance, whereas IDPs who settle in poor neighbourhoods lack resources and are in need of assistance.

Church leaders have also been very much involved in the conflict situation in eastern DRC, providing initial assistance to some of the IDPs scattered across Bukavu. These leaders stressed their involvement in the assistance of IDPs upon arrival. In his house in Bagira, a church leader responsible for assisting vulnerable people at a small community-based church said that it was

[25] Interview with a KAF field staff member in Bukavu.
[26] Interview with a board member of the Civil Society Office in Bukavu.
[27] Interview with a board member of the Civil Society Office in Bukavu.
[28] Interview with a local chief in Ndendere, Bukavu.
[29] Interview with a local chief in Panzi, Bukavu.

necessary to be very cautious towards people labelling themselves as IDPs when they are not introduced by a member: 'In our community-based organisation, our members often present issues at the end of the service and bring out [an] IDP or someone in need of assistance'.[30]

Although some programmes relied on local agencies, the agencies themselves, such as NGOs and churches, often used criteria that were similar to those of external donors to adjust their programmes. However, in practice, these local agencies often drew more upon their knowledge of the personal histories of people to determine eligibility for assistance.

Assistance to IDPs also followed ethnic lines, as ethnic associations were involved during waves of displacement in some areas. 'When there is a need for assistance in our countryside during conflict, members will contribute to assist our community members',[31] explained a member of Solidarity of Bashi.[32] A representative of another ethnic association, Solidarity of Bahavu, elaborated on providing assistance to some displaced members of their community in need, including 'persons displaced due to justice'.[33] Solidarity of Bahavu acknowledged that many displaced persons had land issues in the Kalehe territory when they returned home and then had to stay in other villages, fearing hostility or threats to their lives. Local groups such as ethnic associations, *cirika* (catholic community-based churches) and other local associations thus sometimes tended to set their own criteria, as they could differentiate levels of suffering in their communities. However, most local groups (NGOs, churches, and actors engaged with the non-IDP part of the humanitarian process in a host community) relied heavily on international actors to adjust these criteria because these groups funding came from external donors and they did not have funding to survey IDPs.

As part of host community, non-IDPs were an important group in this research because they were often host families or members of communities where many IDPs settled. According to some non-IDPs, IDP status was associated with the idea of vulnerability and dependence: after displaced people were able to make a living and live independently, they were no longer considered IDPs. During a focus group with members of a Small Christian Community in a house in Bagira, several ideas behind what it means to be an IDP were explained using interesting anecdotes. As one participant said, 'Once, I bought some wooden boards from a man who arrived here as an IDP. Now he owns the wooden boards shop and still has a house in this village ', and another participant added, 'to tell the truth, we cannot call them IDPs because

[30] Interview with a church leader of a small community-based church in Bagira, Bukavu.
[31] Interview with a representative of Solidarity of Bashi in Bukavu.
[32] Interview with a representative of Solidarity of Bashi in Bukavu.
[33] Interview with a member of the Solidarity of Bahavu in Bukavu.

they are settled and integrated in the community'. The story revealed that an IDP was someone poor and needy, and changing circumstances in this person's life ultimately affected his or her IDP identity. Additionally, being able to live independently called into question the person's IDP status because IDPs were not thought of as skilled; being skilled might cause an IDP to be labelled as an economic migrant instead.

2.5.3. Strategy 3: Paying less attention to the IDP label

Some humanitarian actors interviewed said that they were not interested in the IDP label because their humanitarian principles were purely needs-based. For example, Doctors Without Borders and the International Committee of the Red Cross provided assistance in accordance with their charters or principles, prioritising acting without differentiating between different categories of people in need on the ground.

To sum up this section, Table 2.4 describes how different actors who participated in this study identified IDPs. For each type of actor, the 'Strategies for defining IDPs' column presents the process for identifying IDPs in terms of the verification of their stories, places of origin and documents related to their movement. The next column describes characteristics motivating assistance for each type of actor involved in assisting IDPs. Notably, the characteristics motivating assistance are associated with the vulnerability of both non-IDPs and IDPs. The final column, which is linked to the criteria for meriting assistance, summarises the criteria used to determine whether assistance was merited. The table highlights some stark differences between approaches. Some actors (e.g. UNICEF and the IRC) excluded IDPs in urban areas, whereas others did not (e.g. Doctors Without Borders and the Red Cross). Some put a time limit on how long IDPs could receive assistance (ordinary non-IDPs and church leaders), but others did not (Civil Society Office). A last important difference relates to IDPs' geographic origins. For some (e.g. AVSI), this was an important element for determining vulnerability, but this was not the case for other actors (e.g. local authorities).

Table 2.4. Process of labelling someone as an IDP

Type of actor dealing with IDPs	Strategies for defining IDPs	Situation for assistance	Criteria for meriting assistance
Humanitarian actors: the United Nations, the International Rescue Committee, Malteser International, Association of Volunteers in International Service, the United Nations Children's Fund	**Strategy 1: Formulating objective criteria** • Collaborative approach • Vulnerability survey • Snowball technique • Triangulation of sources	• Critical level of vulnerability • Number of IDPs • Reason for displacement • No assets (land, clothes, kitchen utensils, etc.) • Physical aspect (big families, number of people living in a house) • Staying with host families • Location (not in urban areas such as Bukavu) • Time spent in the area (no assistance after three months)	• Severity of the need • Time spend in the host community (no assistance after three months) • Location
Humanitarian actors: Doctors Without Borders, International Committee of the Red Cross	**Strategy 3: Paying less attention to the IDP label** • Principles or charters	• No difference between IDPs and non-IDPs	• Armed conflict
Local NGOs	**Strategy 1: Formulating objective criteria** • Collaborative approach **Strategy 2: Relying on self-identification and local organisations** • Self-identification • National identification card (*carte d'électeur*)	• Armed conflict • People with health reasons for moving • Non-physical aspect (trauma, lack of social network) • Place of origin (not from far away) • Budget	• Severity of the need (physical and psychological) • IDP's final destination
The Civil Society Office (platform for different NGOs)	**Strategy 2: Relying on self-identification and local organisations** • NGOs involved in IDP projects	• Armed conflict • Human-made disaster	• Inclusion of those displaced because of the practice of witchcraft

Local authorities	**Strategy 2: Relying on self-identification and local organisations** • Identification card • Census of the population • Newcomer in a neighbourhood • Neighbourhood chief • Self-identification	• Movement because of conflict • State of loss • Dependency • People without national identification cards • IDP's job (conveyer of goods or rubble, maid, worker at a building site, etc.) • Location • Time spent in the area	• Severity of the need • IDP's final destination
Church leaders	**Strategy 2: Relying on self-identification and local organisations** • New member of the community • Letter from a church leader • Visiting needy people	• Staying at someone's house with the intention to return • Movement because of conflict • No family • Needy people • No assets • Location • Time spent in a location	• No family • Staying with host families • Severity of the need
Ethnic associations	**Strategy 3: Paying less attention to the IDP label** • People from the same ethnic group • Member of the association	• Conflict • Justice issues or land issues • Ethnic ties	• Severity of the need
Urban poor	**Strategy 3: Paying less attention to the IDP label** • Neighbour • Companion (church or workplace) • Acquaintance	• IDP's job • No assets • Location • Time spent in the neighbourhood	• Severity of the need • Staying with host families

The differences in the 'Strategies for identifying IDPs' column of Table 1.4 show that the identity of IDPs is socially constructed and that by several agencies, such as the UNHCR, UNICEF, IRC and AVSI, have dropped displacement from their criteria at policy level. The history of violence and forced displacement mattered less in most approaches than did the current level of vulnerability; as a result, programmes intended for IDPs could be used for different people. The question of who is an IDP was therefore relegated to the background in many approaches, even for programmes that focused on IDPs. This raised questions about the actual targeting and identification of beneficiaries in programmes: using the vulnerability criterion, there would always be many more people to assist than there were available resources, and the allocation of aid appeared arbitrary to the study participants.

2.6. The identification of IDPs that merit aid: contradictory selection processes

Section 2.5 has shown that a significant number of organisations do not consider the 'IDP' label to be important in determining support. Furthermore, those organisations that do make use of the label have very different ways of defining and providing support to IDPs. The complexities of defining IDPs as a category frames a vast population of urban poor as potential beneficiaries of IDP programmes. The question then becomes how the selection process produces the final list of recipients in view of the programmes' small resource bases and the vastness of the urban poor population.

Despite the differences in approaches among organisations, they all tend to consider three main criteria when determining which people to assist as programme recipients. Notably, the displacement criterion has again disappeared from the selection process.

2.6.1. The severity of the need

First, the severity of the need was a prominent criterion among research participants for designating someone as a beneficiary of an IDP support programme. As explained above, some actors relied on a vulnerability survey to identify beneficiaries of assistance. A field staff member of the IRC noted that 'the household survey gives a score to assess the vulnerability of the household',[34] allowing the organisation to establish the possessions of the household. Because of the costs involved in identifying IDPs, some actors relied on triangulating information from other sources or an assessment made by agents in charge of the vulnerability survey during their work. Other actors considered psychological factors an important aspect of

[34] Interview with a fieldwork staff member in Lusenda groupment, Fizi territory, South Kivu.

the severity of the need. These might include the experience of trauma or violence during the conflict. Such psychological factors required special assessment. 'We have *pair encadreur* [social workers][35] who are very well aware of girls' situation or who have contacts with gatekeepers in poor neighbourhoods,'[36] remarked a *Réseau des Femmes Médecins pour le Développement Intégral* staff member, explaining their assessment of the severity of needs among potential beneficiaries.

2.6.2. The housing situation and location

The severity of the need was also linked to a second criterion, namely the housing situation, which was another essential factor. Indeed, when an organisation was referred to an IDP, they expected to find them living with a poor host family. While visiting some poor families, the leader of the poverty commission of a Small Christian Community pointed out an IDP family who used to receive assistance. They were no longer receiving assistance because 'they are renting a house'.[37] Renting their own house was considered proof of the family's capacity to make a living on their own. In the same vein, some actors took the position of the host in the community into account. An AVSI fieldworker noted, 'someone who stays with a village chief is in a better condition because the chief has enough resources'.[38] Ultimately, the IDP label was applied only when the host was poor in their community.

It is generally assumed by agencies that urban areas attract IDPs with resources, whereas rural areas attract IDPs without resources. However, in some ways, this idea was challenged by the present findings. As the leader of a local NGO explained while giving details about the population increase in some vicinities of Bukavu, such as the Mushununu area in Panzi, 'Some IDPs do not want to go back to their villages because they are still insecure'.[39]

2.6.3. The time spent in a specific area

A final important criterion was the time spent in a specific area after IDPs fled from their places of origin. Although this criterion was very much related to displacement, it precluded any displacement of longer than three months' duration in a specific area. Unlike IDPs in camps, who keep their IDP identity regardless of the amount time spent in the camp, those living outside of camps tend to lose their IDP identity after a certain amount of time. A Foundation Rama Levina staff worker insisted that 'the end of displacement occurs when IDPs have been

[35] NGO workers who are very close to gatekeepers in poor neighbourhoods and are known for their subtle skill at keeping secrets or avoiding the embarrassment or distress of beneficiaries.
[36] Interview with an AFBD staff worker in Bukavu.
[37] Interview in Kahalhe area in Bukavu.
[38] Interview with an AVSI fieldworker in Bukavu.
[39] Interview with a Centre Ekabana staff worker in Bukavu.

able to adapt in an environment through some activities such as petty trade, carrying goods or cultivating'.[40] Similarly, non-IDPs mentioned 'integration'[41] through processes such as marrying in Bukavu, buying a plot of land or making a decent living as important in determining the end of being labelled an IDP.

Overall, these three criteria depicted a process in the identification of IDPs to receive assistance that was in accordance with the organisations' expertise and principles. However, the criteria were very broad and might apply to many more people than could actually be assisted by the organisations. When recounting stories during assistance distribution activities, some people reported that local gatekeepers, such as church members, local authorities or local NGOs, sometimes identified people they knew as beneficiaries, rather than the most urgent cases. During a field trip to Bunyakiri, I met a woman who explained possibilities for getting on the list of beneficiaries: 'Sometimes it is people with bad intentions who write lists of beneficiaries and, in that case, they write their children's names instead of victims … and other people buy tokens to receive aid although they are not on the list of beneficiaries.'

The main consequence of displacement being dropped from the selection criteria was that assistance could also be given to non-IDP members of host communities, which may not be the intended purpose of assistance for IDPs outside of camps. Although this may go against the objectives of the programmes, many agencies did not see it as a problem because they feared that insisting on displacement as a criterion would lead to social tension with the host population. In this way, non-IDPs remained part of the humanitarian process. Another reason why agencies considered this acceptable is that they acknowledged that the urban poor carry the same burden as 'real' IDPs in their area and hence should also be assisted.

2.7. Discussion on the findings

In a context with a significant number of IDPs and humanitarian actors responsible for assisting them, some contradictions remain regarding the IDP label in Bukavu. This section analyses findings based on the discourse on assisting IDP in their host communities and asking whether the assistance provided confirms to the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*.

[40] Interview with a fieldwork staff worker of Foundation RamaLevina in Buakvu.
[41] Focus group in Bilala neighbourhood of Bukavu.

2.7.1 Consequences of assisting IDPs outside of camps while using the IDP label

The discussion about the IDP label and its effects must include the work of researchers such as Horst, Malkki and Zetter, who described the link between labelling and the type of discourse in the field of forced migration (Horst 2006; Malkki 1995; Zetter 1991). Their work on labels reveals that it is essential to analyse the negative side of the label. However, labelling can also have great importance for the people who are assisted. Labels can also be an asset, as people need labels for claim making and to secure entitlements. For many people, their status as vulnerable or IDP may be the only asset they have to survive (Hilhorst et al. 2017).

Humanitarian actors are increasingly in favour of assisting IDPs in host communities, and these actors work to change how assistance is provided to reflect this approach (Culbertson et al. 2016; Furst Nichols and Jacobsen 2012). However, some issues have been raised regarding such assistance. Three of these issues, related to the number of IDPs, the identification process and the scope of assistance, will be analysed. These issues correspond to critiques on the use of the IDP label in the forced migration field, namely regarding the image conveyed, classification for policy purposes and the expertise required to identify IDPs' problems (De Voe 1981; Horst 2006).

2.7.1.1. The battle over the number of IDPs in eastern DRC

As noted above, there is a lack of clarity regarding the actual number of IDPs in South Kivu and in Bukavu because of how the IDP label is defined and applied. Ideally, the number of IDPs should be a starting point for planning different programmes to assist IDPs, such as the RRPM programme, ensuring the selection of the best mode of assistance.

There has, however, been complete disagreement regarding the number of IDPs in South Kivu. Indeed, some actors have openly referred to estimates of the number of IDPs as 'not accurate, numbers are overlapping'[42] or called for the 'control [of estimates of the] number of IDPs because of the lack of precision, as some data are out-of-date or returnees are not reported by some actors'.[43] Concerns regarding the number of IDPs in DRC have even been voiced in a report evaluating counts of IDPs worldwide (Borton et al. 2005, p 100). For DRC, the report mentioned that there was 'disagreement among international staff as to who should be counted as an IDP', stating that, 'in general, numbers are viewed with scepticism' and concluding that 'few organisations trust each other's number, or any number. Since funding and targeting are

[42] Interview with an AVSI staff member in Bukavu.
[43] Interview with a Caritas staff member in Bukavu.

based on numbers, this is unsettling.' The doubts about this number hasn't prevented humanitarian actors to use this number to mobilize funding (UN 2018).

Thus, humanitarian actors use different estimates of the numbers of IDPs, and the issue has become even more complex because the 'DRC government has declared that the crisis has been exaggerated, and for this reason boycotted an international pledging conference of the UN to assist millions of people displaced and hungry' (Mwanamilongo and Anna 2018). The disregard of Congolese authorities is not only a recent phenomenon, as is shown in how the South Kivu government dealt with a demonstration by displaced people in Bukavu in April 2009 (Reliefweb 2009): In response to 600 people, allegedly displaced from Mwenga and Shabunda territories, taking to the streets asking for assistance, the governor of the province said that aid agencies should harmonise their lists because the number of IDPs was exaggerated.

The battle over the number of IDPs in DRC takes place in an environment where it is important to maintain a certain image. Many researchers (Barnett and Weiss 2008; Hilhorst 2018; Malkki 1996; Slim 2003) see conveying messages as one of the main attributes of a label, serving to attract public opinion to a crisis and to advocate for funding on behalf of victims. Depending on the type of conflict, messages such as pictures and numbers are often used to create feeling in public opinion. DRC has been in conflict for more than 20 years, the country is among the poorest the world, and other conflicts such as those in Syria and Yemen also require donor funding. In this context, IDP numbers have been an important tool for raising awareness and funding among donors and for increasing effectiveness during conferences and fundraising events, and the aid community publicises high figures for the number of IDPs, which are contested by the national government. The two parties have different interests: the international community uses people's vulnerability to raise funds, and the DRC government seeks to show that the country is stable so as to attract for instance Foreign Direct Investment. This politicisation of the number of IDPs means that the actual number of IDPs and the assistance they receive remain unclear.

2.7.1.2. Categorisation for policy purposes: method of identification

The second issue is the identification process, which calls attention to IDPs' needs. The process of identifying IDPs is an important issue because different types of actors identify IDPs in different ways, which creates challenges in terms of tailoring programmes for IDPs' needs and ensuring that IDPs will benefit from assistance. Researchers have previously found that the label of 'IDP' is stigmatising (Borton et al. 2005, p 104; Gupte and Mehta 2013). I found that 'IDP' was a claim-making label, and being identified as an IDP provided a marginal advantage

because it made people eligible for a small gesture of aid. This calls into question the usefulness of the IDP label in a context where displaced people receive less consideration or are not associated with the vulnerability linked to conflict because humanitarian actors do not see displacement as a concern necessitating assistance.

The process of identification is used to justify and legitimate actions on the ground. As mentioned above, acknowledging the number of victims of the conflict in eastern DRC can give organisations a justification for their work, and the identification or categorisation of beneficiaries has one policy purpose: justifying humanitarian action on the ground and maintaining humanitarian assistance for IDPs. Humanitarian organisations must keep the identification process while assistance is ongoing to maintain their role of distributors of aid, of donors, givers or charitable workers.

2.7.1.3. The expertise to identify the problem: The scope of assistance

Defining the scope of humanitarian assistance required for displaced persons in South Kivu faces the challenge that it is now more problematic than ever to assert the existence of IDPs in the province. The main programme targeting population movement, RRPM, has deliberately abandoned the criterion of displacement, as stated in their description of IDPs. In practice, many organisations operate in a system that uses the number and needs of IDPs to mobilize funding, but select beneficiaries based on criteria that no longer include displacement. In other words, assistance mobilized for IDPs has been directed towards people based on their vulnerability, regardless of whether they are displaced or not. Some organisations, such as UNHCR, UNICEF, ICR and AVSI, use their funds mobilized with IDPs in mind to provide more generalised aid based on vulnerability.

In addition, it has been acknowledged that some people took advantage of the system and cheated to be entitled to assistance. To deal with this issue, some organisations have overlooked the situation of displacement, although donors have been funding humanitarian assistance on the basis of number of victims of the conflict. Vulnerability (in terms of the composition of the family, number of children and income) has become central in the criteria to identify beneficiaries, and it tends to be overlooked that some people have also taken advantage of this criterion by pretending to be vulnerable.

2.7.2 Is assistance to IDPs in South Kivu in line with the Guiding Principles?

Although it remains important to follow the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, current practice in terms of defining IDPs in DRC does not appear to adhere strongly to these

guidelines. The *Guiding Principles* address a number of rights of IDPs during and after their displacement, with the goal of providing them with better support (Deng 1999). This section of the paper focuses on challenging the different criteria used in relation to Principles 14.1, 15.d, 18.1, 18.2, 22.a and 22.b of the *Guiding Principles*, which are described below.

The criteria described by participants in the present study were in opposition to Principles 14.1, 15(a) and 18.2, which refer respectively to IDPs' (1) liberty of movement and freedom to choose their place of residence, (2) right to seek safety in another part of the country, and (3) access to essential food and potable water, basic shelter and housing, appropriate clothing, essential medical services and sanitation. Because the criterion of displacement no longer granted access to assistance during the identification process, IDPs could not fulfil these basic vital needs. Also, if IDPs would move to Bukavu, instead of staying in rural araes, they would risk losing support, restricting their freedom to move (14.1).

Furthermore, contrary to Principle 18.1, which refers to IDPs' right to an adequate standard of living, IDPs who were able to make a living in the area where they sought refuge lost their IDP status. The problem is that not that all IDPs should be assisted in the same way – it is true they differ in terms of both resources and vulnerabilities – but that there is no long-term strategy for how to assist the IDPs who are most in need. In an interview, a UNICEF worker commented, 'I've asked during a meeting with humanitarian actors [about] the need to study IDPs' need in Bukavu … because of our accountability commitment',[44] referring to a concern about work with vulnerable IDPs in the long term.

Finally, Principle 22.1 (a and b) refers to IDPs' rights to freedom of thought, conscience, religion/belief, opinion and expression, and rights to seek opportunities for employment and to participate in economic activities. The findings of the present study indicate that IDPs' capacity to act and make their own free choices were not sufficiently supported, as they were considered IDPs (and therefore eligible for assistance) only when they were in need and in a dependent situation.

Returning to the initial question asked in this section (Is assistance in Bukavu in line with the *Guiding Principles*?), there is a need to better address IDPs' needs while respecting their rights, choices and freedoms. Without blaming particular actors, the reality on the ground in South Kivu challenges the discourse on assisting IDPs outside of camps. Additionally, the *Guiding Principles'* definition of IDPs is difficult to incorporate in humanitarian regimes capable of

[44] Interview with a UNICEF staff worker in Bukavu.

addressing IDPs' needs because it is challenging to use the displacement criterion to convey a representation of the suffering, powerless and neediness that are often used by humanitarian organisations.

2.8. Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the relevance of the IDP label in Bukavu, South Kivu. The aim has been to increase understanding of the way in which actors identify IDPs in relation to the ongoing debate about whether IDPs should be assisted inside or outside of camps, at a time when the phenomenon of IDPs living outside of camps is becoming more widely recognised.

The identification of IDPs outside of camps has been a challenge to actors in South Kivu, where the phrase 'IDP' is socially constructed and used to mean different things by various humanitarian agencies. Importantly, there is no consensus on the methods for their identification among actors. Whereas some exclude IDPs from receiving assistance in urban areas (e.g. UNICEF and the IRC), others do not (Doctors Without Borders and the Red Cross). Despite these differences, I identified three main strategies used to identify IDPs: formulating objective criteria, relying on self-identification and local organisations, and paying less attention to the label.

Different agencies also have dissimilar tactics for identifying IDPs who merit aid for inclusion on their beneficiary lists during the identification process, revealing inconsistencies among the actors dealing with IDPs in South Kivu. In the various approaches applied, three criteria were repeatedly seen in how agencies select individuals or families for inclusion on their lists of recipients: severity of the need, housing situation and location, and time spent in the area. Unfortunately, the use of these three criteria has been detrimental to the overall process because the criterion of displacement has almost disappeared. Furthermore, these criteria apply to the majority of people living in urban areas of South Kivu, making the assistance process something of a lottery.

In view of the discourse on humanitarian assistance in the host community and given the three criteria commonly used on the ground, assisting IDPs outside of camps remains problematic. Because there are contradictions regarding the number of IDPs in South Kivu, the identification process and the scope of the assistance, it is necessary to reconsider the discourse on assistance to IDPs outside of camps. In this context, it is important to recognise that reports of the numbers of IDPs are not reliable, the identification process has become a claim-making tool and the scope of the assistance neglects IDPs in favour of non-IDPs.

Additionally, the three concerns - regarding the image conveyed, classification for policy purposes and the expertise required to identify IDPs' problems - have had two main consequences for the discourse on the humanitarian assistance of IDPs. The first consequence is related to the idea of the bureaucratic humanitarian regime being reinforced by the use of the IDP label. This regime is often criticised for justifying humanitarian work through the use of labels that convey an image of vulnerability, a categorisation process that suits policy purposes and a need for humanitarian actors' expertise in identifying and solving problems. The second consequence is that the assistance provided to IDPs in Bukavu may not be in accordance with the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. Taken together, these findings support the discourse on humanitarian aid arguing that there are differences in how actors deal with policies and translate them into practice and highlight that the criterion of displacement may not convey a strong message of suffering.

Responsibility for the current situation regarding IDPs in South Kivu ought to be shared among government, humanitarian and donor actors: the government should take more responsibility for meeting IDPs' needs, humanitarian actors should be more united regarding the operationalization of the definition of IDPs and the process for identifying them, and donors should be more persuasive in their promotion of the Guiding Principles.

Chapter 3 : Social networks and displacement: the importance of acquaintances in Bukavu, DRC

Abstract

While the previous chapter has focused on the process of identification of IDPs and their relation with aid-providers, the concept of social networks is increasingly important in understanding these dynamics. This chapter focuses on the role of social networks in the survival strategies of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in post-conflict Bukavu, the capital city of the province of South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo. The study differentiated between family ties and kinship; friendships and community ties at the destination; and ties with institutions (i.e. employers, government actors, and representatives of the church or aid agencies) at the destination.

The chapter traces how each of these types mattered during different stages of displacement trajectories. A surprising finding was the relative importance of acquaintances. It is often assumed that family and community ties are the most important for providing support to IDPs, but this study found the role of acquaintances to be crucial in finding a place, livelihood and services in Bukavu. Based on qualitative interviews, the study finds several explanations for why acquaintances are considered important.

Keyword: IDPs, social networks, urban areas, host communities, post-conflict

This chapter is currently being prepared to submit to an academic journal

3.1. Introduction

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 generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised border' (IDMC 1998), internally displaced persons (IDPs) have been on the international agenda for 25 years (Cohen 2004; Mooney 2003; HUMAN RIGHTS 1998).

It has been widely acknowledged that social networks are crucial in enabling IDPs to organise their daily lives, meet their basic needs and even survive. The social network approach to understanding migration usually focuses on how support is accessed and/or on links between the origin and destination. In terms of forced migration, studying social networks has shown the relevance of social relations in situations of vulnerability. Ties between family and friends have received significant attention in forced migration situations because of the strong support these ties provide for IDPs' livelihoods (Bowen and Steinberg 2003; Colson 2003; Evans 2007; O'Reilly 2015).

However, existing work on IDPs often does not clearly distinguish between different types of social contacts or changes in their importance at different points in the displacement. The present study explored which networks are most important throughout IDPs' trajectories, asking how IDPs support their needs at different phases of their displacement. The study's focus was on three types of social networks: 1) family ties and kinship; 2) acquaintance ties: new friends made at the destination; and 3) ties with institutions (i.e. employers, government actors, and representatives of the church or aid agencies) at the destination.

IDPs in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are usually referred to as 'internal refugees'. Past work on these people has focused on the conflict causing displacement (Mobekk 2009; Paddon and Lacaille 2011), the humanitarian response (Davies 2014; Hesse 2007; Pottier 2008) (Hesse 2007; Pottier 2008; Davies 2014), conflict over natural resources (Van Der Bracht et al. 2017), sexual violence (Rodriguez 2007), protection issues (Lauten and Kesmaecker-Wissing 2015; Tull 2009) and describing IDPs' plight during their displacement (NRC 2014; Raeymaekers 2014; White 2015).

In this past work, IDPs in eastern DRC are frequently portrayed by researchers as 'vulnerable' people in great need for humanitarian assistance to survive. These people, displaced by the conflict over the last 20 years, have often been reduced to only 'victims', impeding the

understanding of their agency and how they are able to survive in urban areas, despite their vulnerability and mechanisms of exclusion.

IDPs in eastern DRC have not received much scholarly attention. Little is known about this group beyond the gaze of aid agencies. This study aimed to examine the choices and challenges IDPs face during their displacement, as well as how they mobilise social networks to cope with these issues.

Livelihood strategies of IDPs have been covered extensively in countries such as Angola, South Sudan, Senegal and Uganda, and this chapter adds a view from Central Africa. Focusing on the IDP population in DRC, the chapter contributes to the literature in focusing on different types of social networks. To investigate the roles of networks at different stages of displacement, the chapter first describes social networks and their importance during key moments of IDPs' trajectories. We then explain the study methods, before drawing out findings about the importance of different types of networks for IDPs in Bukavu. The chapter explores different moments during the IDPs' trajectories: deciding to leave, proceeding along the route, finding shelter in Bukavu, meeting basic needs, and developing income and survival strategies.

3.2. Conceptual understanding of social networks

The social network approach stems from the idea that individual interaction is based on a set of relationships in a specific environment. The concept highlights relationships between people as important assets (Bott 2014; Granovetter 1973; Portes 1995). Social networks have been explored by many scholars (e.g. Bourdieu, Coleman, Putman and Granovetter) as an important source of support in a given context. Whether they are dense or sparse, formal or informal, social networks are vital assets. In poor contexts, networks are important for everyday survival. Through their ties, people are able to pursue their well-being and to gain access to resources such as employment, markets, financing and training (Bourdieu 1979; Burt 2009; Coleman 1988; Granovetter 1973; Portes 1987; Stack 1975).

In general, the characteristic of a relationship depends on its tie strength, specifically weak or strong. A strong tie is formed among those who share similar characteristics and lifestyles; this is known as the homophily principle or the like-me hypothesis (Homans 1950; Laumann 1966; Lin 1982). A weak tie tends to form bridges that link individuals to other social circles for information not likely to be available in their own circles (Lin 1999). According to Lin (1999, p. 472), a strength of a tie may be measured in terms of its perceived strength (e.g., intimacy of relationship) or a role category (e.g., kin, friends, acquaintances). Using frequency of recent

contact as the definition of tie strength (Granovetter 1973, p. 205), Lin et al. (1981) study on the relation between tie strength and occupational status. They identified weak ties as acquaintances or friends of friends whereas friends, relatives, or neighbours were considered strong ties. Later, Brüderl and Preisendörfer (1998, p. 217) study of networks in entrepreneurship identified weak tie as business partners, acquaintances, former employers, or former co-worker, and a strong tie as spouse/life-partner, parents, friends, or relatives.

Studies of migration have included analyses of information, opportunities and perspectives exchanged through friendship, kinship or community ties. Especially in a new environment, getting information about things such as job opportunities, accommodation or loan rates is vital (Massey et al. 1993; Thomas and Znaniecki 1958). Research on forced migration has also drawn upon the social network concept, especially in study sites characterised by limited resources or vulnerability (Brettell and Hollifield 2000; Castles et al. 2005). Social networks are especially important for the very poor, because their safety and daily survival are highly dependent on these ties (Wood 2003). Human agency under extreme force, as is seen with violence, persecution and flight, has demonstrated people's capability to survive and to rebuild their lives and livelihoods (Dick 2002; Gale 2006; Lund et al. 2003; Nilsson 2003; Stepputat and Nyberg Sørensen 2001; Vincent and Sorenson 2001).

Dick (2003) showed how Liberian refugees survived in Ghana thanks to remittances of relatives and friends. Additionally, Horst (2006) highlighted the case of refugees in Dadaab camp in Kenya, who relied on families and friendship ties and migrated to Europe or elsewhere to ensure their survival. Many other researchers have also stressed the role of social networks such as village and community membership that people rely on during situations of displacement (Akuei 2004; Jacobsen 2005a; Lindley 2010; Tiemoko 2004).

3.2.1. IDPs and social networks

Relatives are often the first in the social network to host IDPs, who often go where they have family members. Kamungi (2013) found that this was the case for displaced persons outside of camps in Kenya. Likewise, Kesmaecker-Wissing and Pagot (2015) found that IDPs often choose their place of refuge based on family links and ethnic ties, and the church also plays a role as a source of support, linking hosts and displaced families and mobilising the community to care for the displaced. (Jacobsen 2005a) described how urban refugees 'make their own way' by relying on social networks in the form of friends and family, and Long (2011, p. 36) concluded that 'it is clear that for many displaced, it is not formal citizenship but kin, clan and other affiliations which provide alternative structures of protection'. Further, Buscher (2013)

found that strong social networks and social capital were the most important assets for urban refugees. Crawford et al. (2015, p. 31) reported that social capital and social networks distinguished groups, 'irrespective of whether they are refugees or IDPs, rural or urban based'. Specifically, this included 'skills and connections, including education, language, ethnic, cultural and social ties and national and transnational economic links'.

Many explanations have been given to understand IDPs' motivations for relying on family, friends, associations and groups. Research on IDPs and refugees in Sri Lanka, Colombia, Ghana and Liberia has shown that reliance on family members and friends is related to the need for protection from dangers in new communities or from local hosts who might perceive outsiders or newcomers as a threat or a burden (Brun 2003; ICRC 2005; Jacobsen 2001). In terms of turning to associations such as churches or ethnic organisations for assistance, these groups have served as bridges between the IDP population and both the government and other ethnic groups, promoting social cohesion (Jacobsen et al. 2001). Migrants and the urban poor in developing countries in Africa have also used ethnic ties to disseminate information about things such as place of residence, emergency assistance and employment opportunities(Huntington and Nelson 1975) and to cope with the difficulties of life (Adetula 2005). Importantly, both Huntington and Nelson (1975) and Adetula (2005) demonstrated that being able to vertically mobilise resources (ties to people or groups further up the social ladder) could influence government actions and mitigate risks (Nelson 1979).

Previous research has shown that IDPs who align with associations and organisations are likely to be better off than those who do not: In their work in Burundi, Boutin and Nkurunziza (2001) found that IDPs who are alone tend to engage in illegal small business or trade in the informal activities, or prostitution in their attempt to become self-reliant.

However, meeting basic needs is not the only challenge faced during displacement; IDPs may rely on social ties to meet a variety of other needs. Emotional, social and spiritual needs arise, as displaced persons confront sadness, loneliness, homesickness and other consequences of their flight, including trauma, loss and antagonism (Jacobsen 2002). Studies on displacement have described the attempt to cope with distress (Miller and Rasco 2004) and explored the roles played by social support, community structure, spiritual support, material resources and constructive activities in coping during displacement, identifying social support as the primary and most effective support for displaced persons (Almedom 2004; Bikerland and Gomes 2001; Boothby et al. 2004; Eyber and Ager 2002). Further, maintaining traditional culture as part of the community structure has been found to be helpful to communities, because it facilitates the

provision of support, ensures continuity and gives meaning to difficult moments (Kostelny 2006; Kostelny and Wessells 2004). In the context of the loss of tradition that goes along with displacement, the spiritual support provided by faith and religion has been shown to strengthen the displaced population (Kassam and Nanji 2006) and to have positive effects on their mental and physical health (Copeland-Linder 2006; Wessells and Strang 2006).

However, little work has examined what types of relationship ties are important or the specific relevance of support groups or associations created by IDPs in their new environments. Many researchers have focused on kinship and community ties, without incorporating acquaintances or formal ties in their research. Previous work has also generally not distinguished between the different phases in the displacement trajectory, although the relative importance of different types of networks likely differs by phase. The idea is that family members, friends and community ties are helpful when IDPs first arrive in Bukavu, during a 'window of sympathy', but that they may not the most effective support in the later stages of the IDPs' trajectories. Rather, IDPs later in their trajectories in Bukavu may be better able to cope and sustain themselves if they align with acquaintances in their new environment and use individual strategies to become active members) of multiple associations (e.g. churches, ethnic associations neighbourhood associations).

Exploring different points in the displacement trajectory is important for understanding how IDPs differ from other poor people. Especially at the beginning, IDPs face challenges that may not be experienced by other poor people (i.e. where to go, where to live, knowledge about places, or understanding the what, who and how of a city). People's traumatic experiences are also still fresh at this time, and they need time to deal with these. In later phases, IDPs may increasingly blend in with other poor people in terms of their livelihood practices and ways of dealing with urban life.

In Bukavu, three relational ties are important for IDPs, who must develop networks in their new environments. These are 1) family; 2) friendship, including community, friends and acquaintances made in the city; and 3) formal, vertical ties.

This chapter addresses the question of how IDPs engage through networks in Bukavu, seeking to gain a better understanding of the network dimension, including important network patterns, beyond describing the type of relations important to different IDPs. It asks how IDPs use different types of social networks at key moments in their displacement trajectories. These key moments include the decision to leave, the route to take, finding shelter, meeting basic needs, and seeking livelihoods and institutions.

3.3. Methods

The study took a qualitative approach, which is necessary to gain access in areas where mistrust is high and in unknown contexts. Stories had an important role in the present study. Stories are part of everyday life and provide a site to examine the meanings people—individually or collectively—ascribe to lived experience. They are also a means actors use to express and negotiate their experiences. (Eastmond 2007). As is detailed below, data for this study were collected in 2014 and 2015. To understand the dynamics of IDPs' social networks, we began our research in Bukavu, the capital city of South Kivu.[45] Bukavu has experienced rapid population growth, expanding from 220,908 inhabitants in 1999 to 869,640 in 2013 (Bukavu 2012). According to civil servants in Bukavu, one reason for this growth is the insecurity in the countryside. We also gathered data in the Ninja and Buholo collectivities.[46] The Ninja collectivity is in Kabare territory. It is 85 km from Bukavu—a little more than a four-hour drive because of very bad road conditions. Buholo collectivity is in Kalehe territory, and its nearest large city, Bunyakiri, is 75 km from Bukavu. Except for Idjwi Island, all of the territories (Figure 1) are conflict-affected areas.

3.3.1. Participants

As explained in chapter 2, the identification of IDPs in South Kivu is challenging. The lack of official registration makes a clear delineation between IDPs and, for instance, economic migrants, difficult. Because IDPs constitute a hidden population, finding them requires collaboration with different local structures such as faith-based organisations, local NGOs and civil servants (district chiefs). Additionally, multiple instances of displacement make it problematic to identify the IDP population using geographic or chronologic criteria. The Bukavu town hall collects no data on IDPs: The population register lists only foreigners, refugees and residents of Bukavu. All of this complicated finding IDPs. As an additional challenge to the research, people often inaccurately identified themselves as IDPs because of a perceived link with receiving assistance.

The investigation for this study started by gathering the perspectives of international and local NGO staff, neighbourhood district chiefs, faith-based organisation leaders and ethnic

[45]South Kivu Province comprises the Kabare, Walungu, Kalehe, Shabunda, Mwenga, Uvira and Fizi territories and the island of Idjwi. (Figure 1)

[46]DRC is divided into provinces, which are subdivided into territories. Territories comprise *collectivities* that are either ruled by traditional chiefs or managed by designated administrative authorities (where there are numerous groups). *Collectivities* are further subdivided into groupings of villages called *groupements*, which are, in turn, subdivided into villages.

association representatives to better understand the social context and gain access to other organisations more involved in relevant domains. The district chiefs were very important, because they helped to reduce the geographical area of the research.

NGOs were reluctant to assist us in finding IDPs. Further, many international NGOs were unable to track IDPs because IDPs in Bukavu were not part of their work or because they worked exclusively through IDP community leaders. However, an international NGO worker established contact with a pastor who was also a leader of IDPs from his place of origin. Two local NGOs were also willing to help, introducing us to IDP families from conflict-affected areas. Further contacts were made through Small Christian Communities,[47] which are referred to as *cirikas* in South Kivu.

In total, 35 IDPs living in Bukavu were selected from different contacts. A person's IDP status is not immediately clear. We included people who came from conflict areas who recounted being directly or indirectly threatened by the conflict. Conflict could also be an indirect reason to leave when people lose their jobs because of a conflict. These two parameters (conflict as a direct and as an indirect cause) were considered. Some people refused to be identified as IDPs even though they came from conflict areas, considering themselves to be simply residents of Bukavu, but their stories were included to strengthen the overall picture.

Of the individuals selected as study participants, 18 were woman and 17 were men.[48] Most participants were in the 11–65 age range. Five participants were over the age of 65. Several of the participants came from the most vulnerable subgroups of IDPs: widows (two participants), traumatised people (having experienced sexual violence, suffering from panic attacks or having lost a limb; three participants), those without land in the countryside (three participants) and those who had lost both parents (one family in the sample). The inclusion of these individuals was important for understanding networks from the view of the most disadvantaged IDPs. Fifteen IDPs in the sample belonged to *cirikas*, 10 were members of Ninja ethnic association, five were reached through local NGOs in Bukavu, three were contacted through district chiefs and two met without gate keepers help.

In addition to the main study participants described above, 21 interviews were conducted in Ninja and Bunyakiri with individuals who had left Bukavu, to understand reasons for leaving

[47]Small Christian Communities are a communitarian model of church. They are vibrant, spontaneous groups with little hierarchical structure. (http://www.smallchristiancommunities.org/africa/africa-continent/240-small-christian-communities-as-a-new-way-of-evangelization-in-africa.html)

[48]There were more women than men in the sample because of the unavailability of some men, who could only be found at the family home very early in the morning.

or staying in Bukavu. Additional interviews with authorities and other non-IDPs were also useful for understanding displacement from different perspectives.

Table 3.1 Methods of data collection

Place	Number of IDPs in the sample	Number who had returned from Bukavu	Number who had not reached Bukavu	Number who settled in Bukavu but worked in their village	Methods of data collection
Bukavu	35	n/a	n/a	n/a	In-depth interviews Participant observation Focus groups
Bunyakiri	12	3	5	4	Focus group In-depth interviews Participant observation
Ninja	9	3	4	2	Focus groups in-depth interviews Participant observation
Total	56				

3.3.2. Data collection and analysis

The first round of data collection was from January to July 2014, the second round was from October to December 2014 and the last was in March 2015. Fieldwork in Bunyakiri and Ninja was conducted during a one-week stay in each city.

Every identified IDP in Bukavu was visited multiple times, based on their schedules and availability. Different IDPs were followed at places such as their homes, workplaces and churches. In-depth interviews (structured and semi-structured) were the main technique used to capture the dynamics of IDPs' daily lives and to build trust. Participant and non-participant observation was helpful for understanding places and experiencing realities such as hanging out or sharing a meal with a family. Participants' names have been changed in this chapter.

NVivo software was used for organising and helping to make sense of the data, creating codes and identifying patterns in the data.

3.3.3. Limitations

As noted above, many of the participants were found through their involvement in church groups. This may have led to an overemphasis on institutional ties. However, it was possible to avoid participants belonging to the same network by selecting participants from different groups and in different neighbourhoods.

While conducting the interviews, I was sometimes seen as a risk by some IDPs, who suspected that I might be a spy. I explained that I was writing a thesis, but this was difficult to translate into Swahili. Identifying myself simply as a student allowed her to gain acceptance. Many IDPs in the province speak Swahili. Others speak Mashi, Kilega or other languages. I am fluent in French and a beginner in Swahili. Both of these languages were helpful in Bukavu, but not in Ninja or Bunyakiri, where mixed dialects are spoken. Because of the language barrier, in these cases, it was necessary to hire a research assistant, which may have led to a loss of meaning in some responses.

3.4. From surviving to residing in Bukavu: key moments in IDPs' trajectories

This section discusses how social ties play a role during the IDP trajectory. Important steps discussed in this section are whether, how and when to leave; how to travel; where to stop; and how to get access to housing, basic services and employment at the destination.

3.4.1. Deciding to leave

Among the participants in this study, violence was a very important motivation for leaving the home area. Experiences of violence differ by individual and by the level of loss during the period. Memories of violence are difficult to study. In general, participants were first asked about where they came from and their motivation for coming to Bukavu. More sensitive parts of participants' stories, including experiences of violence, usually surfaced after multiple visits. During a visit to the Karhale neighbourhood of Bukavu, the first author met a young girl named Fazi, who was selling sugar cane. She discussed with her family and was willing to be interviewed. Fazi lived in Bunyakiri before her family moved to Bukavu. Her father came to Bukavu on Tuesdays and Fridays, because he had a job in Bunyakiri. When Fazi's mother came back from her selling, she explained that she did not want to return to Bunyakiri, citing her experience with violence there: 'I had 10 children, and four have been killed. This family's story is one of many describing scenes of horror. Another such story was recounted by a man

interviewed in Bunyakiri, who had been the victim of looting on more than one occasion. He expressed fear that the violence in the area would endanger his family. Therefore, he decided to leave with his family.

Not everybody who fled went to Bukavu. For instance, Papa Lebon[49] and his family initially moved to a neighbouring village, where they waited until it was safe to return. They moved from one village to another when there were attacks. A teacher in Bunyakiri told the story of how he and his family did not reach Bukavu but 'stopped in different villages around his village and settled in Bunyakiri after the conflict'.

Beyond violence, the decision to leave an area was often influenced by different kinds of networks. In some cases, people chose to follow other migrants. People sometimes decided to leave an area when there was an opportunity, such as somebody from the community who could assist them during the journey to the destination point.

Baba Neema,[50] who was a pastor, commented, 'As a pastor, you might be followed by four households. You cannot chase them away'. Economic motivations can also play a role in the decision to leave an area. When the conflict has ended but life is harsher than before, people may leave to seek better livelihood opportunities. A young woman[51] from the Izege grouping in Walungu territory told this kind of story: 'I followed my husband to Bukavu, because he did not find a job in our village'. After the conflict, her husband could not find a job. He then came to Bukavu, initially alone, and she followed later along with their children. For those who stayed behind, networks could be similarly important. Baba Nsimire,[52] for example, moved from Lwizi grouping to the nearby Ihembe grouping: 'I stayed with Christians who stayed as well. It was my own will'.

3.4.2. The route of flight

IDPs face the important question of where they should go. The IDPs in this study often started their flight as a group, leaving their village and going to a secure place. For instance, Baba Tembo, a male IDP, travelled from Chulwe village (in the Iregabarhony grouping in Ninja collectivity), crossing the territory of Walungu to reach Mugogo village. From there, he continued to Ciriri centre in the Mudusa grouping, before proceeding to the final destination of Bukavu. As the group passed through cities on the way, individuals could choose to stop if they had a relation in the area.

[49] Papa Lebon is an IDP who lives in Bukavu and works in Bunyakiri. The interview occurred in Bunyakiri.
[50] Baba Neema is a pastor of a Protestant church in Bukavu. He came from Ninja.
[51] IDP woman interviewed in Bukavu
[52] IDP man interviewed in Ihembe grouping

Baba Irenge[53] and his children fled to Bukavu separately, using different routes. He described how his personal relationship with another pastor helped them on their journey: 'My children stopped at the home of a pastor who is my friend in the Kalonge grouping. They stayed there for some days before joining me in Bukavu…' Networks based on ethnicity were also important for decisions about where to go. During his flight, Baba Anghe,[54] a male IDP, left his village in the Mubugu grouping in Bulo'o collectivity and moved to Bunyakiri city. He explained that the man who hosted him there was not a friend or a family member, but an acquaintance with whom he shared the same ethnic identity. An IDP's ethnicity also determined whether they could be accepted in certain cities. The husband of Maman Fazi, introduced above, explained that, in contrast to Bukavu or Uvira, '…places like Miti or Mudaka are mono-ethic cities… Even buying flour, they verify people's origin'.

For many IDPs, acquaintances through churches, including both pastors and church members, were helpful along their journey. Those who did not know where to go sometimes followed pastors and stopped where the pastors stopped. These groups also included children without their parents, elderly people and young adults who did not know where to find relatives in cities.

Some IDPs left without knowing where they would stop, and they would have to rely on people for assistance during their journey and at their final destination. Maman Elliah[55] came from a village in Bulo'o with her children: 'The driver took pity on me because of one of my sons and… brought me close to a church…'. Maman Elliah even stayed some days at the driver's brother's home in Bukavu. This experience should be understood as exceptional, as Maman Elliah's son was disabled; people did not frequently trust unknown IDPs or their stories.

Churches were often a first port of call in an area, because they would provide some assistance. IDPs who had been members of a *cirika* in their home towns sometimes arrived in town with a letter from the *cirika* head at their place of origin'.[56] This letter proves membership in a *cirika* and gives information about the person and their reason for leaving the area. *Cirikas* and other faith-based organisations could thus verify that an IDP's story was accurate and facilitate them in obtaining assistance.

Whereas church authorities thus played a major role in many of the participants' stories, only one participant reported that she was assisted on her journey by a neighbourhood chief (*chef de*

[53] IDP man interviewed in Bukavu
[54] IDP man interviewed in Bulambika, a village on the way to Bunyakiri
[55] IDP woman interviewed in Bukavu
[56] Interview with a man in charge of a cirika in Bukavu

quartier). She also made the office of the Panzi *chef de quartier* her first port of call when she arrived.

3.4.3. Surviving in Bukavu: Shelter, basic services and survival strategies

In the rural areas of South Kivu, IDPs could rely on people from the community to help find shelter, meet basic needs and find a survival strategy because households in rural areas were able to provide enough space for a big family; to share resources with guests such as food, a plot of land to cultivate or clothes. In Bukavu, the situation was different, as some IDPs were in an unknown place or staying with a poor relative, and they had to think about a longer-term location to survive in Bukavu.

3.4.3.1. Finding shelter in Bukavu

Maman Shiria fled from Musenyi village in Iregabarhoni grouping with her husband and six children to Bukavu, where she had a relative. However, the relative's house was small: 'Me, my husband and children were sleeping on the floor in the kitchen'. For many study participants, the place where they stayed on arrival was a nightmare. Lack of space where IDPs were initially housed resulted in a lack of privacy and, for some families, separation, as some IDPs arrived with extended families too large to be accommodated together.

Family members were initially willing to host their kin, but they expected them to stay only for a short time. When they became a burden (because of the size of the IDP family, for example), IDPs and their families looked for other solutions. The host family usually helped them to find a place in a cheaper neighbourhood of Bukavu. After spending two months living with her brother's sister, Maman Shiria noted, 'My husband's relatives paid the rent guarantee. They paid a nine-month guarantee'. Other IDPs stayed with the host family until they were able to pay rent by themselves. For instance, Baba Olame came from Bunyakiri with his wife and eight children. They initially went to his friend's house. After several days, he moved to his brother's home, where he stayed for five years, until he got a job and could pay rent.

IDPs who do not have relatives to host them may rely on friends or institutions. Maman Fazi lived temporarily in a house with two rooms. Her family was hosted by her husband's friend's family. They were acquainted from being neighbours in Bunyakiri, and the friend had arrived earlier in Bukavu.

In terms of institutions, churches were active in providing shelter for IDPs. Churches generally asked their members if they could temporarily host an IDP family or recommend someone else who could. Two pastors in this study also received help through religious institutions, which

provided shelter for six months in one case even two years in the other, because of the pastors' function in the CELPA community.

Only one IDP family in this study had no difficulty finding shelter after arriving in Bukavu, because they had already built a house in the city with the intention to eventually settle in the city: 'When the conflict broke out, we came straight here'.

3.4.3.2. Meeting basic needs

Some IDPs received support from their hosts beyond shelter, including access to food, water and sometimes medical care. Others relied on other sources for this support.

- *Food*

Life in Bukavu, and in South Kivu generally, is a daily struggle for many residents living in poverty. Assisting a large family can be a burden, especially in cities, where the cost of living is high. Maman Espoir came from Miranda village in the Luizi grouping in Ninja collectivity. She spent two years in Bukavu. She, her husband and their six children stayed with her husband's sister for two months. Initially, her sister-in-law was willing to feed them, but soon '…she started to complain'.

Another IDP, Maman Jojo, said a relative she lived with in Bukavu knew where they could receive assistance. Although Maman Jojo did not know which organisations had provided food, she explained that the relative got them registered everywhere so they could get assistance. Humanitarian and faith-based organisations provided IDPs with food assistance through programmes with specific criteria. Such support was difficult to predict for IDPs: Some *cirikas* assisted vulnerable IDPs during certain periods, such as Christmas or Easter, and humanitarian assistance would only occasionally be available. Baba Nestor,[57] for example, told us that his family had received assistance from the International Committee of the Red Cross. After several months of working through this organisation's required processes, 'we received rice, beans, salt, soap and non-food items… They did it only one time'.

- *Water*

As in many large Congolese cities, water is a significant expense for poor families in Bukavu. A 20-litre jug of water costs 50–100 Congolese francs at community water fountains and 100 Congolese francs at the tap of the National Water Supply Company. In many Bukavu

[57] IDP man interviewed in Bukavu

neighbourhoods, residents rely on unsafe streams because of frequent water shortages, low water pressure and long queues to get water.

Maman Cubaka's family often used an unsafe stream in the Igoki neighbourhood, although an NGO had built a subscription-operated fountain near the stream. They used stream water mainly for cleaning and personal hygiene and got their drinking water from the fountain. Many IDPs in Bukavu sent their children to look for water in neighbourhood streams or to buy it when they had money.

- *Health care*

Getting adequate health care is particularly challenging for IDPs in cities, where health care is often unaffordable. Maman Katindi[58] was a female IDP who came from Lulingu grouping in Bamunguba collectivity in Shabunda territory and lived at her daughter's home in Bukavu. During a research visit, she displayed an infectious wound that made walking difficult. She explained that she was recovering because a neighbourhood *cirika* had paid for her subscription to a community-based health insurance (*mutuelle de sante*) scheme. This story was not unique; many *cirikas* in Bukavu assisted the most vulnerable IDPs with subscriptions to these schemes. Papa Alain[59] found a way to help other IDPs to get health care at a reduced cost or for free. He used to be a nurse and owned a pharmacy in Bukavu, where he also provided consultations, gave injections and prescribed drugs. He provided care for people from Ninja, but also for other neighbourhood residents.

Unfortunately, not all IDPs' stories are so optimistic, and it is not always possible to get enough money for needed health care services. Happily returning home at the end of the school year, Cynthia announced that she was first in her class. Her mother[60], hugged her proudly but looked sad. Later, Cynthia's mother explained that her daughter was struggling with an infectious wound on her leg: 'We went to a see a doctor, but he asked for $100, and we could not afford that. We are attending prayer sessions, and she is already better'. It is not uncommon to turn to prayers and faith as a solution when there are no other options. In South Kivu, traditional (herbal) medicine is also commonly used alongside modern health care. People may turn to traditional medicine because of both treatment costs and their beliefs.

[58] IDP woman interviewed in Bukavu
[59] IDP man interviewed in Bukavu
[60] IDP woman interviewed in Bukavu

- *Education*

Education is another challenge in DRC, especially for IDPs. For many interviewed IDPs, both the documentation and the costs required for education presented obstacles; as a result, many IDP children did not attend school. Baba Irenge, a pastor, explained how his children were able to go to school: 'IDP children do not get access to school… I was lucky because I am a pastor recognised by the CELPA and they took care of my children's school fees for six years'. Tresor's story is another example of educational assistance, in his case through a local NGO. As a young boy, Tresor came to Bukavu from Walungu, and his family stayed with his uncle. He did not study for two years. When he finally started to attend school, his uncle was unable to pay for the entire year. 'Thanks to a teacher in the school, I was able to meet a representative of Ekabana[61] NGO, which helped me to get my state diploma.[62] During the interview, he explained that he was planning to return to the NGO to get assistance to attend university.

Unfortunately, accounts of IDPs unable to afford school were common. Maman Espoir[63] was a female IDP who came from Basimakulu grouping in Mwenga territory, whose children did not attend school during her family's stay in Bukavu, because '…education is expensive in Bukavu'. She cited the difficulty getting an education for her children as one reason for leaving Bukavu. She spent two years in Bukavu before returning to Basimakulu grouping.

- *Survival strategies*

IDPs in Bukavu did not survive exclusively through community solidarity; they also actively engaged in livelihood strategies. Baba Irenge described the challenge of surviving in a city such as Bukavu: 'We came with our wives, and they suffered a lot because they did know how to read or to write'. For many IDPs, getting information about a job corresponding to their specific skills is the most difficult part.

IDPs' survival strategies in Bukavu generally involved engaging in activities '…such as mopping floors at people's houses [or] carrying goods at the markets… when there are no options'[64]. Papa Joseph, an IDP primary school teacher who was interviewed in Ninja, spends his holidays with his family, who live in Bukavu. When he first arrived in Bukavu, he tried to find a job as a teacher. When he did not succeed, he gave up the idea of looking for a teaching job. A neighbour agreed to take Papa Joseph to his place of work. He then started to transport goods at Kadutu market. He still transports goods when he is on leave or holiday in Bukavu.

[61] Local NGO involved in assisting vulnerable children in Bukavu
[62] This refers to a diploma validating the six years of secondary school. It is required before attending university.
[63] IDP woman interviewed in Bukavu
[64] Interview with a man in charge of a *cirika* in Bagira, Bukavu

Both acquaintances and family members were mentioned as sources of support for creating an income strategy. After moving to Bukavu, Maman Espoir and her husband received some money from their relatives to start an economic activity: 'I was selling avocados at home, and my two children were selling some on the road'. In Maman Cubaka's case, her aunt, who was also her family's host in Bukavu, taught her to sell second-hand clothes.

Some tribal and ethnic *mutualitiés*[65] also played an important role in survival activities. For instance, the *Syndicat Initiative et Développement de Ninja* supported many IDPs from Ninja. These associations had relevant information and connections in Bukavu. They could, for example, introduce IDPs to work as maids or show them where they could get work as a carpenter or bricklayer.

Although informal income strategies may be the most widespread, some IDPs worked in formal environments as teachers, nurses, cooperative workers or pastors. These people had different pathways after arriving in Bukavu. Baba Cubaka had been a teacher in his hometown in Walungu territory. He found a job teaching in Bukavu as well, but the process took two years. In the interim, he worked as a carpenter. According to his wife, Catholic priests helped him to get the teaching job. However, this sort of situation was rare and required very good contacts in Bukavu.

In addition to formal and informal income-generating activities, begging from acquaintances and strangers was another source of income for IDPs in the study. Maman Elliah described this situation: 'We are surviving thanks to God. People who know my son will give him 500 Congolese francs. We could buy flour for 300 francs and have something to eat'. In contrast, Pastor Celestin had to beg from strangers such as church members and fellow pastors: 'I was doing nothing. As a pastor, I was going to churches, and members would help me with clothes, food… I lived that way for three years'.

Only one interviewed IDP said that NGOs played an important role in her survival strategy. Importantly, she had been a victim of sexual violence. She was assisted in developing an income-generating activity by a local NGO. The NGO had formed a group of 30 young IDP women who took turns selling goods from a small container close to a university in Bukavu. At the end of each month of her shift, she received $20 from the NGO.

Most IDPs described their lives in a way that suggests a 'vicious circle of poverty', trapped in an uncertain environment. First, regardless of the chosen income strategy, they often need to

[65] These are associations based on ethnic cultural ties formed to protect certain interests.

borrow money to pay debts. Second, IDPs' families tend to be large, and they rarely practice family planning. Finally, loss and persistent insecurity contribute strongly to IDPs constantly selling their belongings and land in cases of necessity.

However, the lives of the interviewed IDPs in Bukavu show that living in a poor neighbourhood also has certain advantages. First, 20 of the 35 IDPs interviewed lived in their own (rented or owned) homes, indicating a slow improvement in their situation and their increased integration in Bukavu. Second, living in a poor neighbourhood allows IDPs to meet people who also lack things such as education or employment and to learn how they make a living under those conditions. Finally, poor neighbourhoods offer the possibility of 'blending in' as a Bukavu resident. This is important, especially because the IDPs interviewed often did not want people to know that they came from conflict-affected areas, because people are often jealous of IDPs thought to receive assistance.

3.5. Relevance of IDPs' ties in their lives in Bukavu

Life in Bukavu is difficult for IDPs, and they rely on several important types of relationships. Through different key moments of IDPs' trajectories, ties based on family, friendship and formal ties are important.

3.5.1 Family/kinship ties: basic support

Family ties provide IDPs with the most important support during their displacement, especially in terms of accommodations. When IDPs arrive, family members are willing to assist them despite having limited living space, and, as described in the previous sections, IDPs rely on their hosts for many things. Family members are often willing to share limited resources even in a situation of poverty. As has been found in past work, the interaction between IDPs and their host also offers important emotional support (Wellman and Wortley 1990). Indeed, most IDPs have experienced extreme trauma during the conflict, and their relatives help them to cope with this.

The depth of the support offered depends on the closeness of the family tie. For instance, most elderly IDPs in the study received significant support from their children in Bukavu. The immediate relationship between a parent and child enhances and encourages support.

IDPs initially rely mostly on their hosts for basic support such as food and accommodation, but the reality differs depending how close the relations are. In addition, the host's support is not endless even when they are immediate kin. Sometimes, the burden is too heavy, and the best option is to find accommodations for the IDPs in a cheaper neighbourhood. According to many

IDPs, the initial hosting could last up to one year because of the limited living space available. However, many IDPs spent more than a year living with their hosts when they did not have a large family or were saving up to reunite the entire family by renting a house.

3.5.2. Friendship in the new neighbourhood and community ties: sustaining support

Uncertainty about how long the conflict would last often led family members to seek a longer-term solution for IDPs. When IDP families remained dependent on the host family for food or others resources to the point that this became a great burden, one solution was to find the IDP family a place to live in another neighbourhood. Relatives would usually then pay the rent in advance and leave the IDP family to take care of themselves.

Removed from their relatives, these IDPs had to find support though the neighbourhood. Instrumental support (Tardy 1985) is important for IDPs, because it enables them to survive in Bukavu. Coming from rural conflict-affected areas, IDPs often have limitations such as lacking familiarity with new technology, knowledge of how to access information and a network of friends to support their job applications.

Good relations with neighbours open doors for accessing valuable informational support, such as what products are competitive to sell, where to sell items when the market is not easily accessible, where to get high-quality products or where it is safe to sell. Good relations with neighbours may also give IDPs access to rotating credit, which is an important source of financial support. Neighbourhood friends or colleagues will often introduce a new member to their credit group.

The new neighbourhood friends may also be IDPs themselves. This similarity can provide emotional and social support through the opportunity to speak with someone with a shared experience or being advised on how to get along well with neighbours . IDPs can also share information about programmes benefitting IDPs, such as training opportunities. It is very difficult to inform IDPs in Bukavu about these kinds of opportunities because of the previously mentioned obstacles to identifying and targeting this group. Certain neighbourhoods in Bukavu currently have high populations of IDPs. Some rent, and others own their homes. One of the explanations for the emergence of IDP neighbourhoods is that two IDPs sometimes buy a plot together and split it.

Being part of a community association (*mutualité ethnique*) or an IDP association or associating with IDPs from the same community also provides informational support. Some *mutualité ethnique* assist IDPs in finding work. The idea is to get valuable information about a means of

survival or a job that fits an IDP's profile. Additionally, these organisations are able to mobilise people and to assist their 'brothers' from the same community during emergency displacement, for example. However, these organisations are difficult to find in Bukavu because of the lack of organisational administration, and they require active participation in terms of contributing to the association. Still, some IDPs have been able to find support through these groups.

Once established, friendship, neighbourhood and community ties also require investment from the IDPs. We observed that IDPs tend to share what they have with neighbours as a sign of neighbourliness. At an IDP's house in Cirri neighbourhood in Bukavu, neighbours came to ask for oil, charcoal and body lotion.

3.5.3. Formal/institutional ties: planning support

In some cases, support for IDPs may come with employment (whether they maintain their former jobs or find a job in the new place). Ties through employment are important. Eight IDPs participating in this study engaged in paid employment, and seven of these participants had bought a plot of land in Bukavu. When IDPs experienced difficulty paying their children's education fees, some were able to get support from their employers, regardless of the type of job they had. IDPs in the study who worked as a maid, a nurse and a pastor, were able to get a loan to pay school fees for their children. This kind of support was also available for health care expenses.

Some IDPs with knowledge about saving income were able to access loans through savings and credit cooperatives. As formal institutions, these structures facilitate access to credit, helping IDPs and vulnerable people to avoid poverty (OKAPI 2015b). Very active in eastern DRC, these institutions allow people unable to use banks to access small amounts of money (OKAPI 2015a).

As mentioned above, only one IDP in this study was assisted by local authorities upon arrival in the city. Authorities, however, played a larger role at the stage of seeking a livelihood, such as accessing a market with the support of the *chef de quartier*.

Churches were more present in the stories of IDPs, especially during the voyage to the city and in the first period after they arrived in Bukavu. Churches provided emotional support, food assistance and general help getting along in their neighbourhoods. Additionally, faith-based organisations such as *cirikas* enable IDPs to access health care through insurance schemes. This support is especially relevant, as health insurance is not widespread among people in Bukavu.

Connections to NGOs provide important support only for some IDPs. They were able to access resources through NGOs, such as vocational training, help with school or health care fees, or work as a day labourer.

3.6. Family, friendship and formal ties in Bukavu

This study aimed to improve understanding of IDPs' social networks in Bukavu. The findings highlight the different types of network ties important for IDPs' survival after displacement. The study also revealed the kinds of support IDPs are able to get through their networks in Bukavu. Social networks are crucial throughout the IDP trajectory, but the types of networks differ for different stages of this trajectory.

During the first phase (decision to leave, finding shelter in Bukavu, meeting basics needs), family and kinship ties play a strong role in the decision to leave the conflict area and when IDPs first arrive in Bukavu. At these points in IDPs' trajectories, they are in need of basic support such as food and clothing. Their arrival in Bukavu represents a 'window of sympathy' during which many actors (e.g. churches, local authorities, NGOs, old friends settled in Bukavu, relatives and ethnic associations) engage in assisting victims. These actors provide support for meeting basic needs and material assistance such as shelter, which is effective social support for newly arrived IDPs.

Churches, ethnic associations and IDP associations play a large role in IDPs' stories about the first phase of their arrival in Bukavu. Support from these sources is often brief but may be crucial for mobilising resources and calling to local authorities, churches leaders, ethnic associations, local NGOs, host communities while the assistance is being provided. Pastors in the IDP community play an important role in building bridges between IDPs and church leaders. However, support from churches, ethnic associations and IDP associations does not last, because there is a lack of funding, leading to IDP associations' continued appeals for support for IDPs in Bukavu in the later stages of the IDP trajectory.

The initial 'window of sympathy' cannot last forever, because people in Bukavu are relatively poor. According to some previous research, South Kivu is among the poorest provinces in DRC. Overall, six of every seven inhabitants of South Kivu live below the poverty line, and this number is higher in big cities such as Uvira and Bukavu (Ansoms and Marivoet 2010). The results of the present study show the limits of the resource of families, friends and kinship. The study also reflects on IDPs' everyday lives in Bukavu and the scarcity of assistance in later stages of the IDP trajectory.

In these later phases, when IDP families usually move to a new environment because they have become a burden to their relatives, acquaintances in the neighbourhood and community become increasingly important. At this stage, support for sustaining their lives, such as help finding a job, is vital, because many IDPs do not return to their villages and remain in Bukavu after the less permanent support from relatives has ceased. All of the IDPs in this study were relocated in peripheral poor neighbourhoods situated far from their relatives. Therefore, acquaintances offered an entry point for obtaining community and social support.

Also important are the formal and institutional ties formed through IDPs' individual strategies. These ties emerge when IDPs reach the point in their trajectories where they seek to establish their livelihoods or consider investments, such as buying a plot of land or securing a loan. These formal and institutional ties are individual, depending on a particular IDP's strategies for maintaining ties and access to resources, because most IDP associations and ethnic associations are active at the arrival of IDPs in Bukavu.

In the higher-poverty context of South Kivu, IDPs' experiences were largely determined by three factors—namely, dependence on outside support, individual strategies regarding formal and institutional ties, and profit from cultivable land. The dependence on outside support has previously been recognised as a crucial point of differentiation among poor people in Bukavu (Petemoya 2006). Petemoya's research identified two types of poor people in Bukavu: the *maskini* poor and the *mkosefu* poor. The former group was the poorest because of their dependence, whereas the latter group was poor because of the economic situation in South Kivu. Combining the three factors mentioned above, an IDP could be considered *mkosefu* poor just like another member of the urban poor or an economic migrant, because IDPs have been able to shift their relations from sympathy to trust and to gain access to resources.

Although the present study has provided useful information about the types of support that are important for IDPs at different stages in their trajectories, it did not systematically distinguish between the support received by male and IDP women in Bukavu. Future work should include an analysis of the link between gender and social networks to understand how gender dynamics play out as IDPs seek support through various social ties.

Much work remains to be done to improve the living conditions of IDPs in Bukavu. The present study opens a window to reflect on future policies affecting this group, although some IDPs were reluctant to identify as part of this category. Identifying IDPs is an important step in providing them with better assistance. To find the best way to identify IDPs and newcomers in neighbourhoods, this step needs to be carried out in dialogue with all actors involved in assisting

vulnerable people in South Kivu. Creating an IDP organisation or an organisation dedicated to newcomers (e.g. economic migrants, IDPs and other new residents in an area) could be a first step to reach reluctant IDPs and to identify misunderstandings and misperceptions about receiving assistance.

The reality is that IDPs' lives often include carrying the physical and psychological burdens of their experiences with conflict, living in poor neighbourhoods, lacking access to basic services and information adapted to their displacement, and generally having insufficient resources in the new environment. It would be best to offer support in an integrated way, rather than only through forming groups of IDPs. Many groups in Bukavu are in need, and special treatment for IDPs may jeopardise their existence by creating jealousy or conflict in the neighbourhood.

Despite their vulnerable situation, IDPs are able to cope through seeking and obtaining support in Bukavu. Importantly, IDPs' needs should be considered both during and after their displacement. To date, many researchers have explored what happens at the beginning of the displacement trajectory, but fewer studies have examined IDPs' lives in the later stage in their new environments. Forming bonds with acquaintances and individual approaches to formal and institutional ties are effective means of obtaining support in the later stages of IDPs' existence in Bukavu.

Launching projects and programmes targeting IDPs and vulnerable non-IDPs in urban settings are vital. It is also possible as the next chapter suggests by exploring IDP women navigation in different market in Bukavu. The particularity of the chapter is the depiction of scenes where IDP women are not so vulnerable as they are able to get involved in markets using new connections and strategies to avoid taxes.

Chapter 4 : The Economic life of IDP women in Bukavu, eastern DRC

Abstract

Arriving in a new environment, internally displaced persons (IDPs) have to rebuild their lives and find a way to make a living and the chapter on social network has showed the importance of acquaintances to make a living. In this situation, IDP women have shown their role in sustaining their families through engaging in different activities, particularly petty trade in markets. This research context offers an interesting environment to better understand how IDP women engage in and navigate urban markets. Conducted in Bukavu city in South Kivu, this

research analyses in depth how IDP women get access to markets and how social relations and networks play a role in this process. Although IDP women are often seen as vulnerable and exploited, this research demonstrates that they make use of opportunities in an effective way to create new livelihoods for themselves, in particular as petty traders in markets. The literature often highlights that newcomers can only enter the informal markets, and if they are successful there, they can join the formal markets afterwards. However, the present research shows that IDP women were more successful in integrating in the formal markets than in the informal markets, and explains why this is the case.

Keywords: economic life, female IDP, urban area, recognised market, non-recognised market, social relation, network

This chapter is based on an article currently under review by Refugee Survey Quartely as: The Economic life of IDP women in Bukavu, eastern DRC Gloria Nguya Binda, Dorothea Hilhorst and Dirk Jan Koch

4.1. Introduction

For nearly two decades, interethnic tensions, control of natural resources and land, and the proliferation of armed groups and militias have been the main cause of displacement. As a result, millions of people have been displaced because of killings, rape, kidnapping, pillaging and forced recruitment of children by armed groups. The DRC has been said to have 4.49 million internally displaced persons (IDPs), of which 647,000 are located in South Kivu province (OCHA 2017b). Although South Kivu has the second largest number of IDPs and is among the poorest provinces in Congo (Ansoms and Marivoet 2009), the province does not have IDP camps through which humanitarian assistance can reach these people.

In terms of IDP assistance, humanitarian actors and host communities have provided material and non-material support, mostly in rural areas. The invisibility of IDPs in urban areas makes it difficult for them to be targeted by humanitarian actors or to be identified by their host communities (Davies 2012; Zetter and Deikun 2010). This situation has forced IDPs in urban areas to find their own way to survive, as there are ongoing conflicts in their places of origin. IDPs maintain their existence in a situation characterised by many challenges in meeting needs such as food, shelter, employment and access to basic services (i.e. water, education and health) (Gordon 2006). According to a World Bank report, 71 per cent of the Congolese population lives on less than the international poverty line of $1.25 per day (accounting for purchasing power parity) (WorldBank 2013, p ix).

IDP women in the eastern DRC are often associated with jobs like mopping floors or washing clothes at other people's homes, carrying goods from one place to another, begging and exploring market environments. The precarious situation of women in combination with the conflict dynamics and the population displacement in the province create an opportunity to analyse the economic lives of IDP women in urban areas. Once a better understanding has been reached regarding the livelihood strategies of IDP women in urban areas, better solutions to support them can be established. It has been decided to focus on IDP women.

IDP women face many livelihood challenges in urban areas and have few options for how to face these challenges; they are largely limited to petty trade activities. Examining these market environments sheds light on questions regarding IDPs' involvement in different types of markets, both formal (recognised) and informal (unrecognised); the requirements for traders in those markets; the processes of navigating the markets; the problems faced by IDP women there; the differences between markets in terms of getting a place and paying taxes; the role of social relations and networks support in the markets; and the need for assistance to IDP women in the future.

In terms of market environments, markets differ from one place to another within Bukavu. First, markets differ substantially in their management: Some are recognised by the local authorities, whereas others are not. For the purpose of this article, the words "recognised" and "unrecognised" will be used throughout to differentiate the two markets. Second, market accessibility is very important, because it strongly impacts women's income; the idea that formal arrangements are only for advantaged people, or those who are in well-established positions or have resources, is revised. Most importantly, this chapter highlights a form of moral economy instead of a predator economy, in which social factors and distribution are considered.

After this introduction, the first part of the chapter describes differences between recognised and unrecognised markets in terms of their governance. Then the second part describes how IDP women negotiate their place in both types of markets. The assumption has been that women first enter the informal market (unrecognised) and then gradually step up to the formal market. However, in the present study, women were often more active in formal (recognised) markets, and the chapter explores the reasons behind this. The third part of the article describes how IDP women deal with tax payments in both types of markets. Although they are often seen as vulnerable and exploited, the present study shows that they make use of this vulnerability and other opportunities in an effective way to create new livelihoods for themselves, especially as petty traders in markets. The fourth part of the chapter analyses the economic life of IDP women through supporting networks, opportunities in both types of markets, and threats and risks to those who are not part of a network. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary of the key points made in the chapter and some of policy implications of the findings.

4.2. Background literature

Through the lens of embeddedness or the role of relations and network in any process, (Granovetter and Swedberg 1992, p 60), it is possible to explain market processes and structure-building in terms of social relations and social mechanisms. Understanding these social factors is necessary to achieve an adequate understanding of economic choices, which are shaped by institutions (Burt 2009; Granovetter 1985). Building on empirical research in fragile contexts such as Pakistan, Afghanistan and Uganda, the significance of social relations and networks has been demonstrated in the analysis of market relations and institutions, particularly when focusing on struggles for power and control, constraints to access, and the uncertainty around engaging in some activities (Mallett and Atim 2014; Minoia et al. 2014; Pain and Mallett 2014).

The embeddedness approach also enables the understanding of how different ties are important for gaining access to markets for people in vulnerable situations—a key point for forced migrants (Granovetter 1973). From this view, a great deal of research on IDPs has demonstrated the importance of existing structures, such as IDPs' family members, villages, communities or other social networks, for sustaining IDPs' existence during displacement (Van Hear 2003; Vincent and Sorenson 2001).

What is generally known about forced migration survival strategies, petty trade and small-scale business activities often play a central role in the revival of post-war economies. Among the reasons for the relative prominence of these activities is the fact that they are, in principle, open to everyone: Large investments are not required, they do not require access to scarce land

resources (unlike agriculture), they can be carried out at any time and for any duration, and the time between investment and income is considerably shorter than in agriculture. Women in most post-war societies rely heavily on the petty trade sector, and they demonstrate a remarkable entrepreneurial spirit and perseverance, even in dire circumstances (Chingono 1996b; Sørensen 1998, p 20). Engaging in the trade of items such as livestock, vegetables and fruits, cooked food, and beer, women have taken risks by crossing national borders and enemy territories to fed their families (Bascom 1996; Chingono 1996a; Jama 1996; Sørensen 1998; Warsame 1996).

In the eastern DRC, as in the rest of the country, most of the population engage in informal activities: 90 per cent of people in the DRC work in this sector (Plan 2006; Raeymaekers 2014, p 237). Existing research has shown that informal environment is generally a large source of employment for women than men in developing world (Chen 2007, p 6), and IDP women are more likely to take part in small-scale trade in the informal market than in the formal market (Amirthalingam and Lakshman 2012, p 33; Bello et al. 2014, p 170; Bøås and Bjørkhaug 2014, p 171; Cain 2004, p 91; Ghimire et al. 2010, p 231; Majidi and Hennion 2014, p 82). One reason for this is that the existing structures and relationships allow newcomers better access to informal markets, so most IDP women end up in petty trade in informal environment as a consequence of having less access to education and higher rates of illiteracy compared with men (Buscher 2009, p 17; Puechguirbal 2003).

The informal market is hence a good starting point to look at the navigation of different markets by IDP women in Bukavu. However, the assumption that the informal market is greatly preferred to the formal market will be shown to be problematic in this chapter, as IDP women' access to the latter is as good—or better—than their access to the former.

Reflecting on the manoeuvres IDP women carry out in markets in Bukavu raises several key questions:

- How do recognised and unrecognised markets differ in terms of governance?
- How do IDP women secure a place in both types of markets?
- How do IDP women deal with tax payments in both types of markets?
- How do networks impact IDP women' activities in both types of markets?

4.3. Study background and methods

Bukavu city is subdivided into three communes, as presented in figure 4.1: Bagira, Ibanda and Kadutu. In terms of the management of the markets, each commune has an office related to the organisation of the markets, including tax collection, designation of places in the market and coordination of the market with the market committee. In this context, Bagira commune has one recognised market, Bagira Market; Kadutu commune has two, Beach Muhanzi Market and Kadutu Market; and Ibanda commune has four, Nguba Market, Nyawera Market, Feux Rouge Market and Kamagema Market. In practice, recognised markets are often associated with the physical structure of the marketplace, the collection of taxes and the organisation of a structure that manages the market. Unrecognised markets—commonly called “pirate markets”—do not have those characteristics, except for the daily tax, which is charged at the same rate found in the recognised markets. In unrecognised markets, however, this tax is collected by the chief of the market instead of by tax collectors.

For this research, interviews were carried out in two recognised markets (Beach Muhanzi Market and Kadutu Market) and in two non-recognised markets (Bilala Market and Kafundwe Market). The first two markets are located in Kadutu commune, while Bilala Market is in Ibanda commune and Kafundwe Market in Bagira commune. Beach Muhanzi Market and Kadutu Market, the recognised markets, are larger in terms of both size and the number of sellers. Each of these markets was designed to hold approximately 5,000 sellers, but more sellers are actually active at those markets.

Some markets have a market committee consisting of a manager of the market and the market committee members. The manager is appointed by the commune in which the market is located, and the committee is elected by the sellers who are *chefs de rayon*[66] in the market. Other markets, like Bilala Market and Kafundwe Market, have a different kind of management. Because of their small size, the number of sellers, and the location of the market (in open spaces on the road and without infrastructure), the chief of the neighbourhood is in charge.

4.3.1. IDP women in South Kivu

Being an IDP in Bukavu means being unseen, particularly by those from aid agencies, the government and civil society. This is the case for two reasons. First, because of the IDP population's lack of registration, they cannot be traced when they have to move from one place to another. Second, most IDPs are settled in urban or peri-urban areas such as Bukavu, Bunyakiri and Uvira, where they can get access to basic services and will not be forced to flee continuously.

The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) counted 378,000 IDPs among the 6.4 million inhabitants of South Kivu in September 2016, without considering the IDPs in Bukavu.[67] In many OCHA reports, IDPs are counted in terms of characteristics such as the location where they are currently living, waves of new IDPs, the receipt of assistance and the type of assistance. However, these reports do not record the numbers of IDPs in some urban areas, such as Bukavu, although reports on these areas could be helpful in terms of future assistance.

One reason for this limitation is the concern about a rural exodus (to Bukavu, in particular) and the related calls made in 2010 for the humanitarian community to stop humanitarian

[66] A *chef de rayon* is a person in charge of an area where a certain type of product is sold in the market.
[67] https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/fr/system/files/documents/files/rdc_personnes_deplacees_internes_et_retournees_au_30092016_en.pdf/ OCHA, CMP, Clusters, December 2015.

assistance.[68] In addition, assistance to IDPs before 2010 was largely limited to health assistance following sexual violence; livelihood assistance was not provided.

In the present study, significant numbers of IDPs were found through referrals by churches, non-governmental organisations and civil servants, as well as through my own initiative. As explained in chapter 1, after interviewing these people in one-on-one settings, it was possible to determine whether they were in fact IDPs, based on relevance of stories they were able to tell. Visits were also made to these IDPs at their homes or work places, and interviews were conducted with their children, partners or co-workers to gain a more accurate picture of the broader story.

4.3.2. Data collection

Some of the IDP women involved in the research for this chapter were part of the research from the beginning. This helped to show, through observations, different parts of their lives. More became known about the work, homes and families of different IDP women by following them from home to the market and within the market. This was complemented by focus groups with them in the market and interviewing them (structured and semi-structured interviews), as well as by buying their products.

Moreover, the data for this chapter also included interviews with sellers involved in the same market who were not IDPs. In addition, the market committee (market manager), *chefs de rayon*, tax collectors, district chief, market manager in charge of tax collection at each commune, and civil servants at the town hall of Bukavu were interviewed.

The goal of the data collection, as described in Table 4.1, was to get insight from multiple perspectives to enable a deeper reflection on IDPs' struggles or obstacles in engaging in different markets. Most of discussions of the analysis was based on observations of women's tasks in the markets and on structured and semi-structured interviews conducted at offices of civil servants and tax collectors.

[68] Declaration made by a UNICEF staff member during an interview in Bukavu.

Table 4.1 Data collection

Market	Status of market	IDP sellers	Non-IDP sellers	Women	Men	Techniques
Beach Muhanzi	Recognised	3	10	12	1	Interviews, Observation
Kadutu	Recognised	1	14	5	10	Interviews, Observation
Bilala	Unrecognised	9[69]	7	14	2	Interviews, Participant observation, Focus group
Kafundwe	Unrecognised	1	6	7	0	Interviews, Participant observation
Selling in front of one's house		2	0	2	0	Interviews, Observation
Total		16	37	40	13	

The first round of data collection occurred from January to June 2014, and the second round from January to March 2015. The time spent in each market depended on the number of IDP women involved in the market because the research focused on this particular group. For ethical reasons, the names of the research participants were changed in this chapter to preserve their privacy.

4.3.3. Data analysis

NVivo qualitative data analysis software was used to differentiate patterns among IDP women and to perform some triangulation with other sellers' responses, to differentiate market characteristics, and to differentiate treatment of sellers and ways of engaging in petty trade. In addition, the software was used to identify important ideas in the analysis of the findings, such as the reasons for selling in a recognised market when being in a position of vulnerability.

4.3.4. Limitations

There were some limitations to the quality of the interviews. Noisy environments can impact people's answers to interview questions by interrupting their responses. For instance, if a customer asks the interviewee about the price of an item or a discussion is going on at the next table, this hampers the interview. Situations like this in some instances prevented research participants from answering or caused them to be distracted.

[69] Actually those IDP women first went to the formal markets and later only joined the informal markets.

4.4. Recognised vs unrecognised markets in Bukavu

Petty trade in recognised and unrecognised markets is very important, as it plays a vital role in the DRC economy. The DRC government has implemented regulation of the informal economy in some unrecognised markets by imposing taxes there. As a civil servant said in his Ibanda commune office, "The daily tax, called *taxe a l'etalage*, is imposed in recognised and non-recognised markets".

Many sellers in the DRC make their living through petty trade. A civil servant in the Bukavu town hall remarked that "life in Congo is about selling; everybody is a seller".[70] This opinion was widely shared in Congo, as a civil servant and bar owner in Kadutu commune also explained. Knowing the importance of petty trade, taxes were sometimes imposed on sellers according to profit received. For instance, some sellers were thought to be reliable taxpayers because they always have money at the end of the day to pay their daily tax ("Butchers are good taxpayers"[71]). On the other hand, some female sellers in the same markets would call their activity *depanage*, which means to provide help at home in case of a shortage of food, and which were often not taxable because such activity did not make a large profit.

Table 4.2 describes some differences in the details of recognised and unrecognised markets and also introduces some ideas that are discussed in more depth below. The table is chiefly intended to present characteristics of markets.

[70] Female civil servant at the Bukavu town hall.
[71] Male civil servant in Bagira commune.

Table 4.2 Recognised vs unrecognised markets in Bukavu

	Recognised market	Unrecognised market (pirate market)
Legal status of sellers	• Sellers are always introduced at the market committee • Sellers are known by the *chef de rayon* • Sellers are active and visible	• Sellers are known by sight
Types of sellers	• Wholesaler and retailer dealers	• Retailer dealers
Status of taxes	• Not very clear among the sellers • Sellers always have an agreement with the tax collectors	• Known by all sellers
Existence of tax collectors	• Not well known among the sellers	• Already known by sellers
Harassment or natural obstacles	• Harassment by the police • Harassment by militaries • Harassment by *volontaires* (organisation appointed by the market committee to enforce the rules) • Eviction • Theft	• Sometimes harassment by the police • Eviction • Weather
Regulation	• Market committee • *Chef de rayon* • Sellers' association	• Chief of the district • Chief of the market
Sellers' rights	• Seller network • High pressure related to payments such as protection and membership • Protection by the sellers' network	• Protection from the chief of the district or market
Opportunities/difficulties	• Possibility of engaging in the market through a relationship, without paying to get a place • Not possible to juggle with another activity (like taking care of kids) • High profits • Not possible to take another seller's customer	• Almost impossible to engage in without a payment • Children can assist with the selling • Strong solidarity among sellers: possibility to juggle raising children, doing housework and market selling • No competition among sellers • Exchanging commodities between sellers

4.4.1. Getting and keeping a place in a market

Before engaging in markets, it is necessary to know the rules that govern them. The first set of rules is related to how a place is attained in a market, and there are differences between recognised and unrecognised markets in this process. The key areas here pertain to a seller negotiating a place in a market, making a payment for the place and proving that she owns it.

4.4.1.1. Negotiating a place in the market: Recognised vs unrecognised markets

How IDPs gain access to markets differs sharply between recognised and unrecognised markets. In an unrecognised market, when the market is already established, the process is typically accomplished through the interaction between the seller and the person responsible for the market. If it is not yet established, sellers have to respect the principle of first come, first served and to keep the same place.

In a focus group with three IDP women at Bilala Market (an unrecognised market), the women said that they did not ask anyone to get their places in the market: "It was by chance. We started to sell small goods such as fruits. Then the number of sellers increased". These three IDP women were among the first to sell at the market in 2007, and they explained that it was not necessary to ask for a place there, just as it is not necessary to ask anyone for permission to sell on a street corner. However, another woman who sold in the same market noted during an interview that she "brought her table after asking permission from the chief of the vicinity". This woman started to sell in the market later than the three IDP women.

On the other side, at Kafundwe Market in Bagira (an unrecognised market), Maman Espoir, a female IDP, said, "I went first to see the women in charge of the market, and they allowed [me] to start selling". She had begun engaging in petty trade in 2005 and had been the secretary of the market committee since 2012. The administration of Bilala Market differs from Kafundwe Market in many ways, such as getting a place after a market is established. Instead of having a chief of the vicinity like at Bilala Market, in Kafundwe Market a committee of sellers with a chief is responsible for this. They had to fight for the location of the market, as it was not authorised. The chief of Kafundwe Market, a seller, explained that she was among the first to sell at the market where it was not authorised to sell, adding that "we were six women selling here in 1998 […] and we were often chased away".

Recognised markets have different rules regarding getting a place in the market. In general, new sellers must get a place through the market committee, but this rule is often bypassed. Maman Faradja, an IDP who sold flour at Beach Muhanzi Market (a recognised market),

explained that the market committee allowed her to conduct her business and gave her a place in the market. In contrast, Maman Leonie explained that she first got a membership to become a member of "the *Association des Vendeurs des Braises*" (association of charcoal vendors) in order to get a place in the market. She was then introduced to the market committee. A third variation in this market was seen in the case of Maman Augustine, who explained that she "is renting a container that belongs to someone else". In this case, the agreement was between the owner of the place in the market and Maman Augustine, the new seller. In many markets, some sellers use containers to sell their goods to prevent from theft, fire and places management.

Another type of arrangement similar to that of Maman Augustine was using another seller's place in the market when he or she was not using it without payment. Maman Leontine sold dried fish at Beach Muhanzi Market, although she did not have her own place there. She explained that "this table belongs to another seller, and she allows me to use it when she is not around".

The last option for gaining access to Beach Muhanzi Market was to negotiate with a seller for permission to sell on the ground in front of his or her place in the market. Maman Junior, who sold palm oil, described such an arrangement: "I asked the owner of this public phone to allow me to sell in front of his business".

At Kadutu Market (a recognised market), Maman Nelly, a female IDP, sold salt, sugar and matches. She did not have a table in the market, but she stood at a specific place managed by a seller: "If someone occupies my place, I manage to find another place next to the specific area where we are allowed to sell".

Finally, some sellers at Kadutu Market shared places with their relatives. In these cases, they did not ask anyone to use a table, but they did have to be introduced to the *chef de rayon*. The *chef de rayon* for cloth at Kadutu Market showed me a table whose owner "is a relative of the seller".

In both recognised and unrecognised markets, it was possible to get a place through a relative, someone in a position of authority, an association or an acquaintance; many sellers started their trade or found a place in the market through a relationship with someone already in the market. Some sellers were able to bypass rules through a connection in the market. Many IDP women were able to participate, especially in recognised markets, where they could sell their products through an arrangement with someone who had a table in the market.

Partly because of the possibility for the kinds of arrangements described above, many female IDP sellers worked at the lower rungs of the recognised markets such as *rodage* (in which sellers have to walk around the market to sell their products, rather than sitting down) on the market streets, where they could sell other women products in the market. Most importantly, IDP women lacking money tied their activities to their connections in the markets. Several IDPs participating in this research, including Maman Asifiwe, Maman Atonguwe and Maman Rachel, encountered negative effects of this situation. As Maman Asifiwe explained, "my supplier does not provide me sugar cane because of the bad weather". For these women, it is very difficult to engage in selling because their activities were hindered by many factors, such as the weather, a supplier's mood or bankruptcy, health conditions (carrying goods on their head), and eviction from some places.

4.4.1.2. Paying for a place at the market

At Kafundwe Market in Bagira (an unrecognised market), the practice of "*conversation*", or making an agreement between the seller and the person responsible for the market, was part of the strategy to reduce the price of a place in the market. In fact, getting a place in the market (recognised or unrecognised) was not free and everyone had to pay for it. For certain reasons, some sellers used the practice of the *conversation* to reduce the price.

Maman Espoir got her place after paying "2 US dollars" to the chief of the market. In contrast, an elderly woman, Maman Tabita, explained that she was given a place there for free: "I paid nothing. They just told us to keep our products well organised". This woman was unsure about the identity of the person who gave her the place, although she used the word "state" to emphasise that the place belonged to someone in a position of authority. In the same market, another woman added that "it is not difficult to get a place, and it depends on the mood of the chief of the market. A new seller can give a bottle of soda or nothing, and the chief will give her a place".

At Bilala Market (an unrecognised market), such agreements were also common between sellers and the chief of the district, who was in charge of the market. Maman Antoinette said, "All you have to do is to give something to the chief. I gave a beer". Maman Romain, a female IDP, reported that she gave "10 US dollars" to get a place at the same market.

However, not everyone reported paying for their place at this market. Maman Noella, a female IDP, explained that she was among the first sellers at Bilala Market, and she did not have to pay to get a place there: "It has been 10 years since we started this market. It was mainly IDP women from Nindja". Maman Funzi, who had just started her business in the market, also stated

that she “did not pay to get a place”, because she knew the chief of the district before she began selling at the market.

Maman Henriette, a seller at Beach Muhanzi (a recognised market), explained that the price of a table depended on “the *conversation*” with the market committee. She had been the *chef de rayon* for the charcoal section of Beach Muhanzi Market for 15 years at the time of the research. Her description of the price of a table suggests that new sellers had to bargain somehow with the market committee.

Maman Mugoli explained the process of getting a place in the market as follows: “You have to first be member of our association by getting in touch with the *chef de rayon*, who can ask you for something, like a soda. After that, she will take you to the market committee to introduce you. There, you can also give something to the chief of the committee, and he will allow you to be part of the market as a seller”.

Maman Faradja reported that she paid 50 US dollars to the market committee to get a place in Beach Muhanzi Market. In contrast, Maman Augustine did not give any money to the market committee because “I’m renting this place from the owner of the container. We had an agreement. It is the owner who pays 100 US dollars per year”. This form of arrangement was also possible among sellers.

Maman Nelly at Kadutu Market (a recognised market), refused to pay “five US dollars” to get a place where it was not even possible to sit. She added, “We all refuse to pay because the place is not safe”. These women sold their products along the main road of Kadutu Market. In addition, a young seller at Kadutu Market did not pay for her place in this market because “the place belonged to my aunt who stopped her business and paid 400 US dollars to get the place”.

For some women, paying for a place in the market in order to survive was more about their personal interaction with the chief of the market than the money given. In both recognised and unrecognised markets, “*arrangements*” were part of the agreement with the person responsible for the market or a *chef de rayon*. These arrangements generally allowed IDP women to adjust the necessary payments to fit their resources.

4.4.1.3. Proving ownership of a place in the market

How do sellers know that a particular space is theirs, considering the large number of sellers and the lack of space in the market? In unrecognised markets, sellers have to rely on limitations decided by the chief of the market. Papa Donna sells vegetables at Bilala Market. He gave an

example of such a limitation: “I can only sell here on Monday and Friday, and that is the agreement”.

In some cases, being allotted a place in the market is not enough to ensure the right to space there. During an interview in Kafundwe Market in Bagira, a container next to a table belonging to Maman Espoir, the secretary of the market committee, was observed. She told me that the container was not hers and that “it may belong to someone who knows an influential person in the Bagira commune”.

In recognised markets, sellers who did not have a specific place to conduct their business, such as *rodage* sellers, tended to be very understanding. Maman Nelly, a seller in Kadutu Market, said, “When someone takes my place, I have to find another place close to him or her”.

In some cases, the *chefs de rayon* played the role of moderators in the market. In Beach Muhanzi Market, a female seller clarified why it is important to know the *chef de rayon*. She explained that this person is the one who can assist a seller “in case of problems in the market with your neighbour or another seller, or to identify someone’s place”. In addition to the physical face, there is another proof of payment in Beach Muhanzi, as a female seller at the market reported: “the committee writes your name on the list of sellers” as proof of payment, showing that you are part of the market.

The process of proving ownership of a particular place in the market differed across the markets studied. In recognised markets, sellers had many ways to prove ownership of their places. In contrast, in unrecognised markets, sellers did not have any options, but some sellers could use influential persons to prove ownership of a place.

4.4.1.4. Motives and processes for removing a seller from a market

Sellers can be kicked out of a market for several reasons, and the decision can be taken by the chief of the market, the *chef de rayon* or the sellers themselves. Recognised markets have police officers to enforce rules inside and to kick sellers out of unauthorised places.

According to Maman David, the owner of a charcoal depot at Bilala Market, “In many cases, sellers take goods on credit. A women seller was kicked out of the market because she was not honest”. Maman David further clarified that it was other sellers who chased this woman out of Bilala Market.

In some markets, police officers threatened to eject sellers from the market. In Kafundwe Market, one seller described the situation as follows: “Every time police officers or the town

hall want to chase us, we remind them that Murunguti[72] signed our market status to make it legal". Kafundwe Market was located at an unauthorised place and sellers decided to contact the governor's office to have access to the place in order to establish a market.

Motives for being kicked out of a market differed by sellers' associations in each type of market. At Beach Muhanzi Market, charcoal sellers could be expelled if one of them took another's client. According to Maman Henriette, the *chef de rayon*, in cases like this, "you will be expelled for some days […] and you will have to pay a fine". In Kadutu Market, Maman Louise, a female IDP, explained that the *chef de rayon* has the right to expel sellers in some cases when they fight, argue or quarrel, but that "some women sellers know the chief of the market and [then] it happens that the decision is not respected".

Finally, selling on a main road could be another motive for being kicked out of a recognised market, but sellers do not comply because most of them do not have places inside the market. Maman Nelly (Kadutu Market) explained her experience with this as follows: "When police officers come to chase us, we leave the place for a while and then come back later".

The reasons for being evicted from a market differ from one market to another and especially between recognised and unrecognised markets. Depending on the internal regulations and the respect given to the market's authorities and regulations, recognised markets presented an environment of formal and informal rules to avoid tensions among sellers in the market. In contrast, participants in unrecognised markets were often subject to harassment from state or city authorities because these marketplaces did not follow state regulations.

Overall, many IDP women had different possibilities for selling in markets. Both recognised and unrecognised markets offered opportunities to pursue a livelihood. Depending on the interaction between the owner of a place in the market and someone needing a place, recognised markets offered more opportunities, such as the possibility of negotiating with a seller to use or share his/her place. In contrast, in unrecognised markets, sellers had to meet with the chief of the market before selling there, with opportunities such as paying less to get a place.

In addition, recognised markets were more attractive in terms of negotiating because female IDP could get a place for free although it meant sitting on the floor or walking around the market to sell their products. This aspect of recognised markets indicates that there were some moral aspects to them, as disadvantaged people could enter the market without many obstacles.

[72] Governor of South Kivu province in the 1990s.

In both recognised and unrecognised markets, proving ownership of a place and determining reasons for being evicted out of a market were a duty of the person or group in charge of the market and sellers. Sellers had little influence to sanction another seller in recognised markets because of the hierarchy of authority; however, sellers could be chased away by another seller in an unrecognised market.

4.4.2. Paying taxes

Sellers are generally required to pay taxes in the markets. This section presents evidence from the research related to the amount of the taxes, tax collectors, tax receipts and the cost of selling in a market. The payment of taxes constitutes a key structuring element of the markets and by its analysis, insight is gained into how IDP women navigate the payment of these taxes.

Some sellers are not required to pay taxes. In the recognised markets in this study, certain positions or circumstances allowed some sellers to avoid paying them. *Chefs de rayon*, market committee members and *volontaires* (volunteer sellers) generally did not pay daily taxes or environment taxes. Sellers who were ill or in mourning were also exempted from paying these taxes, with the authorisation of the *chef de rayon*. Furthermore, taxes and other types of charges were not entirely fixed. Rather, some people were able to circumvent these charges, also through informal exemptions for people who were in trouble or in a disadvantaged social situation. Considering the situation of IDPs, this kind of informal exemption from taxes and other charges can provide a certain window of opportunity for these people to begin to make a living from the start.

In the unrecognised markets in the study, in contrast, sellers had to pay taxes no matter what their situation was. In fact, if a seller did not pay on one day, he or she would have to pay twice the fee on another day. This aspect could be a problem in the unrecognised markets because sellers did not always make a profit at the end of the day.

4.4.2.1. Amount of taxes

In unrecognised markets, the daily tax was clearly specified by the person in charge of the market (chief of the market and market committee), and there was no need for agreement or discussion on this matter. However, at Kafundwe Market (an unrecognised market), some sellers were exempted from this tax because the market was organised by a market committee.

In an interview, two Bagira commune civil servants in charge of the taxes at Kafundwe Market explained that, in some cases, the daily tax was not collected or was reduced by half for certain types of people, including those who were poor, old and disabled. They represent a group called

social welfare cases, and the exemption of the tax lasts for one or two years. Moreover, sellers with less than 5,000 Congolese francs of capital can be exempted. To get this exemption, sellers had to "make a request and write to the commune in order to get an 'indigence certificate'".

Other sellers interviewed at Kafundwe Market reported that they did not a pay daily tax for other reasons. For example, sellers who were part of the market committee did not pay the daily tax. Maman Jojo, who sold cauliflower in Kafundwe Market in the Bagira neighbourhood, noted, "I do not pay tax because I only come here to arrange my goods". Maman Jojo often stopped by Kafundwe Market in the morning before walking around in the neighbourhood to sell her vegetables. However, most sellers in the market had to pay a daily tax. As Maman Angel explained, "If you do not pay the daily tax, they will take your goods, which will cost more than the tax price".

At the other unrecognised markets, all the sellers had to pay the daily tax. In Bilala Market, for instance, a seller explained, "Everybody pays the daily tax. The example is the niece of the chief of the area,[73] who sells in this market. She pays like other sellers". Even sellers who did not officially have a place in Kadutu Market had to pay these taxes. Maman Nelly said, "I pay 200 Congolese francs per day and nothing else. […] Whether you have a table or not like me, once the tax collector notices you, he will ask you to pay and you have to pay".

In recognised markets, some sellers were exempt from the daily tax. For example, those who were part of the market committee, *chefs de rayon* and sellers in charge of the market security did not pay daily taxes. Papa Medar, a *chef de rayon* for the trousers section at Kadutu Market, stated, "We are exempted from the daily tax", referring to all 74 *chefs de rayon* in Kadutu Market.

4.4.2.2. Tax collectors

Tax collectors were present in all markets, but they were differently represented from one market to another.

In unrecognised markets, tax collectors were sellers or a chief of the neighbourhood. At Bilala Market, Maman Nono explained as follows: "There are two [tax] collectors. The chief of the neighbourhood comes in the morning, and [later] his assistant comes to collect from those who did not pay in the morning".

[73] As mentioned above, the chief of the Bilala neighbourhood was also the chief of Bilala Market.

At Kafundwe Market, the system was different. The collectors were sellers on the market committee. Maman Espoir revealed the relevance of being a tax collector: "The point is—I have to be honest with you—at the end of the day, we receive 25 per cent of the total amount of the daily tax every day".

In recognised markets, tax collectors were civil servants from the commune in charge of the market and sellers knew the tax collector because the *chef de rayon* often assisted the sellers in matters related to paying taxes. After being sick for two weeks, Maman Louise, a seller at Kadutu Market, explained that she did not pay the daily tax for several days "because it is the same tax collector [same civil servant in charge of their section in the market], [and] the *chef de rayon* explained my case to him". The *chef de rayon* not only explains the case to the tax collector when the seller is sick, but for any other matter of absenteeism such as a being in mourning or pregnancy leave.

Unfortunately, taxes were sometimes collected in a disturbing way at the other recognised market in this study. While heading towards his office, the chief of Beach Muhanzi Market was stopped by several sellers complaining about a tax collector who forced them to pay taxes without presenting a notification letter from the market committee. According to one of these sellers, the tax collector had already collected some money when another seller asked him for the letter from his office. After the incident, the chief of the market explained this part of the tax collection process: "When tax collectors arrive, they have to come to our office to make sure that they have a formal letter from their office before collecting money and to reach an 'agreement on the amount of the tax'".[74]

On another day in the same market, a man was trying to grab a woman's bag of goods. As the scene played out, no one tried to interfere or to protect the woman. Instead, people were watching it as if it were a normal occurrence. After asking a seller next to her what was going on, she replied, "The man is in charge of a tax, and the woman does not want to pay".

4.4.2.3. Tax receipts

After paying a tax, sellers should receive a ticket as proof of payment in case tax service civil servants request evidence of payment.

[74] According to the chief of the market, some tax collectors are aware that some sellers did not know the type and price of taxes they should pay, and they often take advantage of sellers by increasing the amount of the tax or by asking for a tax payment which is no longer

According to an employee in charge of taxes in the commune of Ibanda, 'small markets such as Bilala, Edap or Major Vangu are unrecognised markets but are to be formalised'. Therefore, sellers pay a daily tax in both type of markets, except taxes specific to recognised markets. At the market, the district chief of Bilala showed me some blank receipts and explained that they received them from the commune.

The sellers participating in the present study disagreed about how systematically receipts were given by the tax collectors. Maman Nelly (Kadutu Market) reported the process to be quite consistent: "They give us a receipt. It is always the same person every day […] it is the same type, same colour […] for all sellers in the market". However, another seller in the same market did not share this view, saying that she received receipts, but "not every day".

4.4.2.4. The cost of selling in a market

For multiple reasons, selling in a market could be very difficult. Sellers often complained about the costs of engaging in this activity. However, the sellers in the unrecognised markets had less to complain about compared with those in the recognised markets. Two important elements affect seller profits at both types of markets: (1) multiple payments required per day to sell some types of goods and (2) the cost of storage. Rules were different from one market to another depending on whether they were recognised or unrecognised markets

At Bilala market, selling some types of goods could increase sellers' costs. Because Maman Aminia sold vegetables, for example, she had to pay more than someone who sold sugar. She explained the situation as follows: "I pay 100 Congolese francs for the environment, meaning the cleaning of the market. On the whole, I pay 300 Congolese francs per day".

The lack of infrastructure in unrecognised markets was another problem for sellers who did not live near the market and therefore could not keep their goods at home. Maman Romain had to pay for storage because she sold charcoal at Bilala Market but lived in Panzi, which was one hour away, not counting traffic: "I pay five US dollars per month to keep my goods in that storage place".

Elsewhere, the sellers were concerned about multiple payments. At Kafundwe Market (an unrecognised market), sellers noted that they had to pay 100 Congolese francs twice a week for the cleaning of the market, explaining that this was part of the *Salongo* (cleaning of the market). However, in Bilala Market (an unrecognised market), sellers had to participate in the cleaning of the market themselves each week, and they were fined 500 Congolese francs if they missed the cleaning service on Saturday.

In recognised markets, sellers often complained about the number of paid services, both formal and informal, linked to the organisation of the market. Maman Linda, who sold next to Maman Nelly at Kadutu Market, used the expression '*Kila mutu alisha kuwa chief*' (everyone is bossing) to explain the attitudes of some groups in the market, such as the v*olontaire*, who often asked for money in exchange for their protection services in the market.

Another point raised by sellers in the recognised markets was that some services were not working properly. For example, Papa Medard explained why he had to pay an environmental tax although the market was not clean: "[L]ast time, they told us if someone cleans their own place, he or she has to find their own rubbish dump." This implies that sellers would not be allowed to use the public rubbish dump of the market if they did not pay the environment tax.

At Beach Muhanzi Market, Maman Faradja sold flour. She described a type of contribution made to the chief of the market and the market committee: "On the 15th and 30th of each month, we give a portion of flour or 500 Congolese francs to the market committee. Every Monday and Friday, each flour seller contributes a portion of flour to assist sellers in case of a mourning, a birth or a wedding".

In sum, paying taxes in the markets varied by the type of market. In unrecognised markets, sellers dealt with a limited number of services, payments and taxes that were strictly and consistently applied, as no seller could escape a payment.

In recognised markets, in contrast, there was a variety of payments, services and taxes. Sellers could avoid the daily tax or a service payment, as it was possible to discuss these issues with the person in charge of the tax, payment or service to obtain a temporary exemption. Nevertheless, recognised markets were especially characterised by harassment, with some sellers describing it like a place that was "full of chiefs".

4.5. Network support in the markets

In this section, the economic life of IDPs is socially situated and it is shown that the economic activities are a form of social action (Granovetter and Swedberg 1992, p 17-19).

The actions of IDP women were socially situated because most of them relied on network support to make a living in both type of markets. Whether an association, a market committee or a group of sellers selling the same product, networks played an important role in the process of getting a place and paying taxes in the markets. Further, being outside of a network was a threat and risk because sanctions were directed towards those who did not follow rules and were

unprotected. Last, most IDP women established connection with acquaintances at their arrival in the markets and who became friends later on as illustrated in the previous chapter.

The first section presents the network support available in both types of markets, followed by an analysis of the opportunities offered in certain markets and the rationale for being part of these markets. The last section, dealing with threats and risk, highlights some issues that arise when sellers do not follow the rules in the market.

4.5.1. Inside the network: Opportunities

Apart from the obvious advantage of being inside and hence being sheltered from bad weather, there are a number of social advantages to being part of a recognised market, particularly for disadvantaged people who are able to earn something without major investments. It is very important to be part of a rotating savings and credit group, and members of these groups must also be members of recognised markets. Rotating savings and credit groups are a common way to save money and to take out a loan. The relations among the members depend on personal associations such as friendship and acquaintanceship.

Maman Mugoli described her experience with a savings and credit group: “Last time, I got 54 US dollars, and it helped to pay the school fees of my children”. She added, “The good thing is, if someone is in urgent need of money, he or she changes their position so that they do not need to wait their turn. They receive [funds] before the others, and someone else waits in their place. Thanks to this system, I have been able to pay my children’s fees up to the diploma level and to build my house”.

Making cash and non-cash contributions through an organisation of sellers is also helpful. According to Maman Faradja, a flour seller at Beach Muhanzi Market, “It can happen that you have a problem and you do not have means or money. And your colleagues can assist in reinforcing your business. Or it is not possible to predict in which way you are going to give birth; maybe [you have to] undergo an operation, which requires a lot of money and maybe you may not be able to afford it, but your husband pays for it. But when you are back at home, it may be difficult to survive. And then your colleague can assist you with 50 kg of flour, and it can help for some days”.

Another opportunity is for sellers to support each other. Maman Bea highlighted a practice among some sellers in Bilala Market: “It happens that I give flour in exchange for charcoal. We do it in order to support each other, and we do it between charcoal sellers and flour sellers”.

This exchange of commodities was the only one of its kind observed, although financial loans were frequent among sellers.

Commonly called *Kikundi*, sellers' networks had a marked impact on sellers who are members, and these networks have a strong presence in recognised markets. Through making payments, sellers are granted trust, protection, solidarity and recognition of their rights vis-à-vis other sellers who are members of the network as well as the market committee. These rights are precious and include getting a place in the market, securing one's client base, buying goods on credit, being exempted from a tax and not being evicted; they are a guarantee of the chance to pursue a livelihood in the market. The most important role of sellers' networks in the market is when a member needs assistance in cases of bankruptcy, illness, mourning, birth or an agreement with a tax collector.

The sellers' networks found in recognised markets were particularly advantageous for people running small-scale businesses. In case of an accident, for instance, the sellers' network in a recognised market would support the affected seller by providing things like money and food. Having network members who were willing to assist them was advantageous for sellers who had little small start-up capital, such as retailers. This assistance did not extend to wholesalers, however, who could only rely on contribution assistance (from fellow sellers) that was often insufficient to fund their businesses.

In contrast, in unrecognised markets, sellers are dependent on the chief of the market or the chief of the district if they are threatened with eviction, for example. Paying for a place in the market grants sellers in unrecognised markets protection and a secured place. Even if these places are often not respected, sellers are willing to cooperate for the good of the environment in the market. Other contributions are also made regarding the welfare of individual sellers, mostly in cases of mourning.

According to female IDP sellers, being in a recognised market had many advantages, the most important of which was the ability to acquire goods on credit. Although money is generally necessary to start a business, some networks in recognised markets offered the possibility of engaging in selling with nothing aside from a membership payment to the network. Importantly, this possibility offered a newcomer the chance to make a living. Another advantage is the guarantee of a daily wage labour, which is not always the case for maids or cleaners because they have to wait for a weekly or monthly payment. And for many IDP women, daily wage labour helps to face obligations such as responsibilities at home such as debts, transport fare, evening meal and so on. The last advantage is that IDP women can make use of vulnerability

to bypass rules, such as accessing a network, paying for a place, or paying taxes, to survive in markets environment.

4.5.2. Outside of the network: Risk and threats

Sellers are sometimes in a disadvantaged position in recognised markets as a result of the actions of the sellers' networks. Maman Leontine was a seller at Beach Muhanzi Market, but she was only allowed to sell in a specific part of the recognised market because she did not get her supplies in Beach Muhanzi Market: "Our stock comes from Rwanda, and Rwandese products cannot cross to the other side of the market". The limitations this woman faced came from a rule the sellers' network created to support sellers by guaranteeing their interests and the interests of their suppliers to compete with imported products. This practice is common in recognised markets, where there is a need to protect one's market share.

In recognised markets, sellers also frequently complained of theft and sometimes said that the insecurity was related to the presence of police officers in the markets. Papa Edouard, a seller at Kadutu market, explained this situation: "Theft and police harassment—police officers create a reason for themselves to be paid. […] If you catch a robber and you beat him, it is often them (the thieves) who goes to complain. If the police notice and see that you have money, they condemn you for having beaten the thief to make you pay a fine".

Being a member of a network is not a guarantee of support, as Maman Faradja confirmed: "It happens that if they do not know your face they'll forget you". In these cases, the other sellers would not know about a particular seller's problem and would not offer their support. In recognised markets, sellers need to be as visible as possible if they want to receive some kind of support. In others words, newcomers have to work hard to be considered deserving of support. They must demonstrate that they are not working there temporarily, because some newcomers are only active in the market for a few days before getting a better opportunity and giving up their selling.

Despite the benefits described above, the network dynamics in recognised markets do not guarantee a future in the market for IDP women, but the existence of sellers' networks does allow IDP women to have a means to survive. First, IDP women' relationships with these networks enable them to acquire products on credit, but the networks do not expand their access to other sellers in the market because of these women's limited ties within the network. Second, IDP women' relationships with sellers' networks do not ensure protection from harassment in the entire markets because these women are not recognised by the market committee and groups

such as volontaire, police officers and soldiers are worries in the pursuit of their survival. Finally, sellers' networks are so strong in recognised markets that they can restrict IDP women' mobility in and around the market when these women wish to bypass the rules of the network.

4.6. Conclusions

This chapter has explored IDP women's navigation of different markets in Bukavu and has challenged some assumptions related to informal markets and the vulnerability of IDPs. The chapter has introduced several main arguments.

First, most IDP women engaging in the markets work as small-scale sellers and retailers in recognised markets. This is because of the flexibility these positions provide in terms of opportunities. Most importantly, being a small-scale seller in a recognised market allows women to get assistance, such as protection, good on credit and reliable network support in the face of harsh circumstances. Second, the assumption that IDP women are more involved in unrecognised markets than in recognised markets does not hold in the context of Bukavu, as the recognised markets allow IDP women access to livelihoods strategies. IDP women sometimes use their vulnerability as a resource to bypass certain rules in recognised markets. Finally, recognised markets offer newcomers possibilities for navigating in and integrating with the market as a part of their daily means of survival.

However, despite these opportunities, being a seller in recognised markets requires to get along well with organisations protecting sellers and enforcing market rules, and small traders often complain of being oppressed as they do not make much profit of their activities. Groups such as *volontaires, police officers and soldiers in the market* are often a concern in the recognised markets.

The government should consider offering more protection to IDP women, to other vulnerable groups and to urban poor in recognised markets to ensure their livelihoods. Recognised markets are a niche for IDP women, and it is important to consider this group of sellers, specifically when it comes to market regulations and policies. Action such as increasing awareness of IDPs, vulnerable and urban poor presence and treatments could be a starting point to recognise small traders involvement and to prevent them from harassments.

Very little support has been directed towards protecting and assisting IDP women beyond the emergency phase or beyond targeting beneficiaries based on sexual and gender-based violence. It is very important to consider the local contexts in which these women are involved and to work towards strengthening their livelihoods. The present research has shown that some IDP

women are able to cope by entering recognised markets and building livelihoods there. Interventions could build on these local economic coping strategies of IDP women to strengthen financially self-sustaining livelihood strategies in the future. More importantly, many IDP women started their activities in recognised market before moving to unrecognised. Depending on the period of time they spent in the recognised market and resources (money, good network to get goods on credit), recognised markets are often the entry point for IDP women and not unrecognised markets.

The next chapter on IDP differentiation of vulnerability in Mugunga 3 camp will give another glance of the use of vulnerability as an asset. As in some markets in Bukavu, vulnerability could be used to gain access to markets and to bypass rules. For some residents of Mugunga 3 camp, finding a way to be labelled vulnerable was an important strategy to survive in the camp.

Chapter 5 : 'We are all IDPs': Differentiation of IDPs vulnerability in Mugunga 3 camp in Goma, Democratic Republic of Congo

Abstract

Despite the limits of humanitarian assistance delivery, the interruption of some forms of aid, the government's threat to shut down certain camps, and the on-going conflict in some areas and its consequences, thousands of internally displaced persons remain in many camps in North Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo. The setting of Mugunga 3 camp in Goma offers an opportunity to explore, analyse and verify that IDP camps are places where the truly vulnerable and disadvantaged seek assistance. Combining life stories, in-depth interviews and field visits, this study finds that IDPs differ in terms of vulnerability and uses the livelihoods approach to identify different groups and analyse their vulnerability. This article reflects on 1) IDPs' organisation of their livelihoods in the camp; 2) the differentiation of vulnerability among IDPs ; 3) their future plans when faced with the threat of camp closure; and 4) the meaning of Mugunga camp for different types of IDPs. The article argues that IDP camps are not only places of assistance; some IDPs use the camp space to rebuild, reshape and take back their lives.

Keywords: internally displaced persons, livelihoods approach, camp closure, urban areas, power relation, social relation, organisation

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5.1. Introduction

Since the introduction and the recognition of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (Cohen 2004; Kalin 1998), research has provided insight regarding the identification of different types of internally displaced persons (IDPs) depending on the type of environment where they live. Considering the camp environment, many scholars have described camps as sites with limited security and poor living conditions (Brookings-LSE and Displacement 2013; Schuller 2012), as well as the general notion that IDPs in camp settlements lack resources, such as the means for self-settlement and social ties to provide support (Brookings-LSE and Displacement 2013; Bilak et al. 2016; Borton et al. 2005; Mertus 2003).

General knowledge about IDP camps is mostly limited to negative perceptions such as insecurity in neighbourhoods where camps are located or unfavourable ideas about camp residents (Ferguson 2010). A great deal of research has described the dependency of IDPs in camps on long-term assistance (Bailey and Harragin 2009, p 2-3). Further, some studies have found camps to undermine IDPs' coping strategies (Harrell-Bond 1998) and to create (Horn 2009) and or encourage dependency (Kassam and Nanji 2006). Research has linked the camp environment to a specific group of IDPs—those who are the most at risk or who will be exposed to vulnerability after leaving the camp (Mertus 2003). Similarly research on IDP camps has shown that vulnerable groups remain in the camps, whereas those who have wider networks or more resources move out of the camps to rent houses, to have a job and to rebuild their lives. This representation of IDP camp populations has affected assistance to IDPs and caused a lack of recognition of diversity among them.

Nonetheless, other work has pointed to advantages of the camps and considered IDPs as agents, exploring camp residents' perceptions of their situation (Schuller 2012) and their capabilities to cope with insecurity and displacement (Adam 2008). In various places (Turner 2010) and in difficult locations, IDPs have shown the capacity for resilience, even when they had little room for manoeuvre (Bøås and Bjørkhaug 2014). However, there is limited knowledge regarding the ability of IDPs to acquire and use various types of capital, including resources such as social relations, organisations or power relations (De Haan and Zoomers 2005).

About fifty IDPs camps[75] are located in North Kivu of which Mugunga 3 was near Goma. On 31st July 2017, Mugunga 3 camp was finally closed (Okapi 2017) after many threats as this research study occurred during a camp closure threat. Mugunga 3 was an IDP camp with a porous boundary located close to Goma, North Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Although some studies are much more nuanced, humanitarian agencies often depict Mugunga 3 camp and other IDPs camp as—a place for the most vulnerable people, who cannot sustain themselves outside of a camp (MSF 2014). In reality, as this article argues, a variety of people live in the camp. While the camp is the only base of existence for some IDPs, many IDPs use the camp as part of a broader livelihood strategy that is partly outside of the camp.

Within this context, it is relevant to examine the differences among categories of IDPs, as the camp may have different meanings for each. Therefore, this study aimed to contribute to the discussion on the diversity of IDP populations in camps by presenting research findings about the livelihood strategies of IDP camp dwellers. The study focused on IDPs in Mugunga camp, which was under threat of closure through much of the research period (July 2014 – February 2015) . By examining the various strategies and differences in access to resources among the IDP residents of Mugunga 3 camp, this study distinguished camp dwellers by livelihood strategy, making visible the heterogeneity of IDPs in terms of non-assistance sources of income; addressed the knowledge gap regarding IDPs who are able to move out of the camp; and differentiated IDPs with different levels of vulnerability.

The study focused on IDPs in Mugunga 3camp, seeking to understand the differences among them in terms of activities, vulnerability, possible future destinations in case of camp closure, and camp meaning. This exploration of livelihoods paths deepens the understanding of how poor people not only access resources through material assets, but also draw upon immaterial assets, in line with past work showing that poor people secure their existence in different ways that extend beyond their human capital (Wood 2001)

5.2. Theoretical background

The introduction of the actor-oriented perspective in the early 1990s signalled a shift in scholarly attention to how people construct their life histories and experience their lives. This perspective provided a new understanding of issues such as poverty, marginalisation and

[75] Since 2013, the term IDP camps was no longer used in DRC and replaced by “IDPs sites” as the word was used to distinguish “official camps” coordinated by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and “spontaneous sites” by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM)

vulnerability by linking the microeconomic view of individual behaviour to the structural view of the political economy of development (Booth 1994; Bourdieu 1976; Giddens 1979; Long 1984; Nelson and Wright 1995; Pottier 1993; Preston 1996; Schuurman 1993).

In contrast to structural, institutional and political economy approaches, the actor-oriented perspective facilitates understanding the choices made by disadvantaged people through engagement in their daily lives. The actor-oriented approach reopened the debate around people's choices in the organisation of their lives and about opportunities in uncertain environments, whereas other approaches, such as the household approach, are limited to analysing impoverishment. Translated into more applied ideas and tools, the actor-oriented approach spawned the livelihood studies promoted by the Department for International Development in the late 1990s (De Haan 2012, p 346). Considering social, financial, natural, human and physical capital, the livelihoods approach offers a lens through which to reflect on poor people's possessions and expand knowledge on how people act to gain access to resources (Chambers and Conway 1992; Chambers and Thrupp 1994; Ellis 1993; Lewis 1969; Schmink 1984; Zoomers 1999).

In contexts where people are forced to migrate and settle in camps, the livelihoods approach has allowed for the highlighting of positive aspects of humanitarian aid. The livelihoods approach recognises people's coping strategies (Bøås and Bjørkhaug 2014; Horn 2009; Jacobsen 2002) and differentiates between population groups (Agier 2002; Jansen 2011). This is in sharp contrast to the 'dependency syndrome' theory, which describes a situation where refugees live on handouts for a long period and lose their will and ability to work, earn an income and fend for themselves (Bakewell 2003; Harvey and Lind 2005; Kaiser 2001; Kibreab 1993). First used by Harrell-Bond (1986) in her work on refugees in Uganda, dependency syndrome refers to 'the real or apparent lack of support for each other, the refusal to cooperate under conditions where cooperation appears advantageous, and the prevalence of destructive and anti-social behaviour […]' (Bishop and Hilhorst 2010, p 187-188).

Still, the dependency syndrome idea has been challenged, for example by Utas (2005) who pointed out that vulnerability, as one of the criteria used to identify camp residents in need of assistance, was displayed strategically by some people for the purpose of obtaining entitlement to aid. Seeking to show the limits of dependency syndrome, many other authors have described how the use of resources explains the success stories of some refugees during their stays in camps. Social networks and solidarity most often cited as the resources refugees in camps draw on for support (Jacobsen 2002). Indeed, remittances sent by relatives and friends allow refugee

households to accomplish things such as achieving security, investing in businesses and paying their children's school fees. Among researchers studying camp life, Horst and Lindley stressed the importance of remittances in camps, as these allowed families and friends abroad to assist their relatives (Horst 2005; Lindley 2005). In addition to social networks, agricultural and non-agricultural activities have been cited as valuable resources for survival in camps (Pain 2005). Previously acquired skills and experience are also valuable resources for people living in camps, as these allow refugees to obtain day jobs or steady employment, to work for aid organisations, to access market, to set up businesses, to engage in self-employment, or to supply educational and vocational training (Al-Sharmani 2004; Macchiavelo 2003; Sperl 2001). Refugees also have the opportunity to use their skills, expertise or training by engaging in petty trade through activities such as buying or selling (e.g. household goods, firewood, charcoal, vegetables, prepared foods, cigarettes, clothing and clean water) or providing services (e.g. hair dressing, mechanic services, money transfer, language tutoring or interpretation, tailoring, clothing or shoe repair, and carpentry) (De Vries and Stone 2004; Dick 2002).

However, instead of focusing on resources and resourcefulness among IDPs in camps in eastern DRC, researches have often focused on these IDPs' needs for protection and assistance to survive because of their vulnerability and malnutrition, security issues, the lack of integration in a neighbourhood or the threat of sexual violence (Keralis 2010; Mosely et al. 2010; Teff and Campisi 2010). Likewise, in North Kivu, work on IDPs has posed questions related to their victimhood, accepting the depiction of the IDP population in camps as needy, vulnerable and waiting for assistance (Büscher 2016; Guha-Sapir et al. 2005; McDowell 2008; Rudolph 2014; Ryan and Keyzer 2013).

An important distinction among IDPs in camps can be made between those who remain in the camps for extended periods of time and those who definitely leave the camps. Internationally, research has shown that IDPs who belong to the lower classes tend to stay in the camps, whereas those with more resources and/or wider social networks tend to move out of the camps (Horn 2009; Mertus 2003; Schrijvers 1999). Implicitly, staying in camps is considered a consequence of lacking the resources necessary to meet the basic needs in daily life, such as renting a house, educating children, getting a paid job or buying a plot of land—actions that can be achieved only by self-settled IDPs outside of camps.

The theory expressed by Horn, Mertus, Schrijvers and other researchers that the most disadvantaged groups remain in IDP camps while those with more resources leave has not yet been investigated in Central Africa, especially with the highest IDPs number in DRC. The

situation of IDPs in DRC represents a new research area, and there is need for exploration of differences in the vulnerability of IDPs in camps in this context, the meanings of camp life to these individuals, and differences in these factors for different subgroups of IDPs. Focusing on IDPs in Mugunga 3 camp, the largest urban IDP camp in DRC, this study explored four questions regarding the livelihood strategies, vulnerability and differentiation among different subgroups of IDPs in this population:

- How do IDPs organise their livelihoods in Mugunga camp?
- How does vulnerability differ among IDPs in Mugunga camp?
- How do IDPs imagine their future under the threat of camp closure?
- What is the meaning of the camp for different types of IDPs?

5.3. Methods

5.3.1. The research setting

Mugunga 3 camp was a displacement camp located 15 kilometres north-west of Goma, the capital city of the province of North Kivu as illustrated in figure 5.1. The camp was situated in the Mugunga neighbourhood of Karisimbi[76] commune. The neighbourhood is managed by a neighbourhood chief and his assistant, who represent the Congolese authorities and are appointed by the commune. As one of the first IDP camps in Goma, in 2007, Mugunga camp welcomed the first group of IDPs.

Administratively, the camp was coordinated by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), with the administrative and the management support of the government's *Commission Nationale pour les Réfugiés* (CNR). A number of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) are also part of the management, providing for different needs of the IDPs in the camp. Depending on the budget and scope of their interventions, these NGOs are part of different clusters, such as health care, water or protection, contributing to the assistance of IDPs.

At the end of December 2017, there were 110 ongoing humanitarian assistance projects in North Kivu, and 16 of these were located in Goma and active in Mugunga 3 camp before its closure mainly in the clusters on protection, health, and nutrition. Of the 60 institutional humanitarian actors present in North Kivu in this same year, 28 were international NGOs, 28 were national NGOs, two were United Nations (UN) agencies and two were Congolese governmental entities, and there were 15 humanitarian organisations in the city of Goma (OCHA 2017c).

Mugunga 3 camp was selected for this study for some characteristics. First, the camp is located in an urban area and has easy access to National Road 2, which connects the city of Goma to the countryside. Second, it is the largest camp in an urban setting in DRC in terms of both geographical size and the number of IDPs sheltered. Finally, the camp has arguably received more international attention, compared with other camps in DRC, in terms of humanitarian assistance and advocacy, including visits by United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in August 2009, Hollywood movie star Ben Affleck in December 2010 and UN Assistant Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Kyung-wha Kang in September 2015.

[76] Karisimbi is one of the communes of Goma city. It comprises the neighbourhoods of Kahembe, Murara, Bujovu, Majengo, Mabanga-Nord, Mabanga-Sud, Kasika, Katoyi, Ndosho, Mugunga and Virunga. Goma commune is the other commune of Goma city, comprising seven neighbourhoods: Mikeno, Mapendo, Les Volcans, Katindo, Keshero, Himbi and Lac-Vert.

The initial research plan was to investigate the motives for being in a camp, such as the presence of humanitarian assistance and the pull–push effect around it. However, the announcement that the camps around Goma would be closed, made while the fieldwork was underway, presented a unique window for examining other aspects of IDPs' livelihoods. Although this threat only materialised two years later, it opened possibilities for observing IDPs' organisation, decision making and strategies regarding a future outside of the camp. Following the announcement, the study focus shifted to differentiating between types of IDPs in the camp. Mugunga 3 camp was named a *camp de consolidation* in 2009, meaning that the camp especially targeted vulnerable groups of IDPs such as elderly people, people with handicaps, breastfeeding women and victims of sexual violence.[77] According to the camp manager, there were 1667 families and more or less 4756 individuals. This feature made Mugunga 3 camp a particularly useful location for exploring the differentiation between subgroups because the camp was an IDP camp with no discrimination when new arrivals arrived in the camp, but much attention was towards vulnerable.

5.3.2. Data gathering and scope

Before the research in Mugunga 3 camp could commence, the camp authorities requested a signed authorisation letter from UNHCR and CNR. During the first round of fieldwork (July–September 2014), hanging out in the camp and talking with residents were important activities to reduce suspicions, build trust and to disclose the research's identity. Some agencies, such as the World Food Programme (WFP) and UNHCR, often hired students to survey the vulnerability of IDPs in the camp, and it was crucial to convey the clear message that this research was not part of such work for any of these agencies. Because of the lack of a visible border between the camp and the neighbourhood, non-IDPs could easily be mistaken for IDPs, which could adversely influence the results of the work. Therefore, it was necessary to spend time talking with different people in the camp to find out who the real camp dwellers were, based on their stories such as the place of origin, their address in or outside the camp, the reason of being in the camp, the duration of their stay since they were in the camp and so on. In total, 75 people were interviewed to select real IDPs and to pick the group of IDPs who were willing to share their real stories.

After a one-month break, during the second round of fieldwork (October 2014–February 2015), a group of 40 IDPs (18 women and 22 men who were also part of the first round) were selected

[77] This information comes from an interview with the Mugunga camp administrator in Mugunga camp.

because of their willingness to share their stories and their current residence in the camp. It was important to select research participants who could be traced both in the camp and outside of the camp as some residents had two residencies. The sample isn't necessarily representative of the total population of the camp. This was difficult because some potential informants felt uneasy about telling their real stories and being honest about their lives while they were in the camp. Because of this difficulty, the sample was necessarily small to stay within time and budget constraints, also considering the number of in-depth interviews (conducted with each respondent), the multiple visits made to each location and the necessity of triangulation to verify some of the stories. The most important data for this study were gathered during visits to the research participants' new residences after the camp closure threat. These visits gave more insight into their future destinations and their means of survival. Being visible in the camps every day and engaging with the same group of people were useful strategies for getting accurate information from the interviews and direct observation. Maintaining a presence in the camp was also key to becoming familiar with the context, justifying my presence and gaining the trust of the research participants, who were initially apprehensive.

In addition to the camp, interviews were also conducted in the Goma neighbourhood; the Rusayo, Kibati and Kibumba groupings[78] in Nyiragongo territory; and the Kitchanga grouping in Masisi territory. Crowded places such as markets, shoe repair stalls, restaurants, bars, shaded areas under trees and around fountains were interesting places to talk to people and to start conversations, as some IDPs seemed comfortable talking with strangers outside of the camp.

5.3.3. Data analysis

Making sense of the data collected through qualitative research can be very challenging, especially when the data are gathered over a long period in the field. NVivo software was very helpful for organising and structuring the interview transcripts, categorising respondents' answers according to each part of the study, and analysing respondents' views and perceptions

5.3.4. Limitations

The researcher's position vis-à-vis the camp management workers and the research participants themselves was quite complex, which presented several methodological obstacles. First, the camp was well known for having been visited by many humanitarian aid workers, which shaped the camp's expectations of newcomers. For instance, IDPs often mistook the researcher for an NGO worker tasked with registering IDPs so that they could get assistance. Therefore, IDPs

[78] In DRC state administration, provinces are subdivided in territories, then in collectivities, after that in groupings and lastly in villages.

sometimes offered to submit to questioning, asked to be registered or recounted a sad story to get attention. Similarly, some NGO and camp management workers offered to join my research or asked for jobs. The researcher's attitude was to remain friendly and open minded to avoid suspicious which could affect the results of discussions. Also, allowing interaction with people within the camp helped to triangulate stories for a better understanding.

Moreover, interviewees frequently had certain expectations during the first round of fieldwork, particularly in terms of compensation for their time or the possibility of gaining access to services inside or outside the camp. In dealing with these expectations, it was important to avoid attracting too much attention, jeopardising the researcher's identity or influencing the research participants' attitudes. The results could be affected as research participants could make up stories and to overcome it, interviews could start by an observation of a situation leading people from talking freely about a small event to more important information.

To minimise some effects of the results, it was possible to take advantage of the environment of the camp, for example by buying products being sold by IDPs working as merchants, bringing a piece of cloth or a pair of shoes to IDPs working as tailors or shoe menders, paying IDPs working as drivers for transport to Goma or a journey in the countryside, or offering to have photos of the research participants printed when they wanted in exchange for an interview. This last tactic was the most productive, as many respondents were happy to have a memento of their lives in the camp.

5.4. Organisation of Mugunga camp and categories of IDPs

As described above, the daily management of Mugunga 3 camp was under the responsibility of CNR, with the support of UNHCR. In addition to these two organisations, other organisations are also involved in assisting IDPs in Mugunga 3 camp.

Assistance in Mugunga camp is provided entirely by organisations working under the cluster approach. Clusters are groups of humanitarian organisations—both UN and non-UN—involved in the main sectors of humanitarian assistance in DRC. In North Kivu, there are clusters corresponding to six sectors: nutrition; protection; education; food security; logistics; and water, sanitation and hygiene. The idea is to involve all humanitarian actors active in each sector to provide more efficient assistance in the camp although some actors who are not part of a cluster also provide assistance to Mugunga 3 residents; these organisations provide assistance

only during special periods (e.g. at Christmas) or to a specific group of residents (e.g. the elderly or orphans).

5.4.1. Types of assistance

The types of assistance available to Mugunga 3 camp residents are determined by the organisations providing the assistance. The type of assistance, the duration of the programme in the camp and the group of residents targeted differ for the various humanitarian actors active in the camp. Assistance is available through the clusters to all residents of the camp in three main sectors: access to water, first aid medical care in the camp hospital and shelter (in the form of a tarpaulin bearing a UNHCR logo). In addition, further assistance such as food, cooking oil and soap are given to the most vulnerable camp residents—for example, the elderly, breastfeeding women, victims of sexual violence, orphans, HIV-positive individuals and people who are disabled. The definition of vulnerability is not set; the criteria number for being considered vulnerable can be reduced or increased according to the humanitarian actors involved and the assistance available. Camp residents can also be part of IDP projects to face issues related to unemployment or to empower young people. These projects are often limited to vulnerable people or their relatives. For instance, children can attend primary school for free at certain schools designated by donors, and elderly people who are able to work can join associations that provide land to cultivate near the camp.

5.4.2. Frequency of assistance in the camp

According to camp residents, a bag containing soap, cooking oil, rice and flour was formerly given to all IDPs in the camp each month by WFP. After some years, the bag was given when a new wave of IDPs arrived at the camp and when there was a movement of population from one camp to another. Additionally, some humanitarian projects operating in the camp previously offered food rations, such as sack lunches, to their beneficiaries.

During the course of the research, this frequency of aid distribution was not observed. Instead of a monthly bag of provisions, camp residents received a bag every two or three months, and the date of the food distribution was not announced in advance to ensure that assistance only went to actual camp residents. According to several CNR staff members, some IDPs were no longer camp residents because they had a residence outside of the camp in the surrounding neighbourhood. This influenced humanitarian actors to change the criteria for receiving food aid. For instance, the WFP surveyed residents during the day and then returned in the evening to determine which families actually lived in the camp. During a visit to the camp, a CNR staff

worker explained that another approach was to place new residents in a big shelter for three months before they were eligible to receive kits for newcomers (containing a tarpaulin, food, etc.). During the quarantine period, new residents did not receive aid and they were not entitled to leave the camp but they could move within the camp. According to the same CNR staff worker, the strategy was meant to dissuade non-IDPs because they could not resist during that period knowing they could have better conditions somewhere else.

The difficulties identifying actual camp residents were partly caused by the lack of biometric registration of residents. Before biometric registration was introduced in Mugunga 3 camp in 2015, handwritten records were kept (by the camp management) of the number of IDPs living in the camp. Some humanitarian actors had their own record systems in place to count camp residents. For example, the WFP had a system called *le fixing*, which aimed to assess the vulnerability of residents and to count the vulnerable camp residents. In practice, WFP staff members surveyed families in the camp and then returned later in the week or the month, without notifying the families in advance, to verify the number of families and their members under each tarpaulin and to check the numbers of specific types of residents, such as the elderly, breastfeeding women and their babies, and children. This information allowed the WFP to quantify how much aid (such as flour, cooking oil, salt, etc.) would be made available for each family.

5.4.3. Categories of IDPs

It was possible to establish two categories of vulnerability among the camp residents, taking into consideration their livelihoods, future plans during the threat of camp closure and differences in vulnerability, as well as the meaning of the camp to them during their stay. The first group were labelled according to humanitarian actors and the two last group were based on my own understanding of residents population.

5.4.3.1. The vulnerable

The vulnerable group consisted of people labelled as vulnerable and targeted by organisations as explained by staff workers of the camp. These individuals included the elderly, people who were disabled, victims of sexual violence, those who were HIV-positive, breastfeeding women, the war wounded, the chronically ill, children without parents, child soldiers and other such groups. The list could vary for different agencies. Notably, this group represented more than half of the population of Mugunga 3 camp residents because the camp was named camp de consolidation in 2009 especially targeting vulnerable.

5.4.3.2. The less vulnerable

The less vulnerable group, containing camp residents who were not classified as vulnerable as they did not fit a particular group of vulnerable or they were vulnerable when they arrived in the camp then were no longer vulnerable. The group consisted of two categories: camp/organisation workers and opportunities seekers.

5.4.3.2.1. Camp and organisation workers

This group was made up of residents working for the camp organisation or for aid agencies. Their jobs involved tasks such as the supervision of food distribution; providing security in the camp; cleaning toilets; serving as members of IDP committees, focal points, chiefs of blocs in the camp as illustrated in figure 2 ; and leading IDP associations. They might be paid for their work or they might receive in-kind payments, such as certain privileges in the camp.

5.4.3.2.2. Opportunity seekers

Camp residents in this group were directly or indirectly linked to a vulnerable person in the camp. This group included the relatives of a vulnerable person in the camp; people seeking opportunities, such as IDPs who moved to the camp from a city; civil servants; entrepreneurs (owners of bars, charcoal depots, restaurants, grocery shops, etc. in the camp); and those who worked outside of the camp. Depending on their backgrounds and the types of job available, they could have a variety of occupations, including working as teachers, washerwomen, police officers, waiters at a neighbourhood restaurant, or carriers of goods at markets.

The boundaries of the two groups were permeable; some residents were both vulnerable and opportunity seekers. In some sense, residents had to move between the two groups to ensure that they continued to earn money and to benefit from the system. The categorisation of IDPs in Mugunga 3 meant to bring out the heterogeneity of residents and to see how IDPs groups are affected during their stay in the camp.

5.5. Making a living in the camp and in Goma

Focusing on IDP groups who wanted to stay in the city of Goma, this section analyses different patterns regarding their means of survival. Three main patterns were observed: manual labour, petty trade, and employment and entrepreneurship. This section also presents IDPs' attitudes towards making a living while they were in the camp and differentiates between different types of IDPs in terms of survival strategies.

5.5.1. Manual labor

For many IDPs living in Mugunga 3 camp, manual labour was very important because it offered the possibility to start fresh with agricultural activities and other secondary activities. Manual labour for camp residents involved activities such as farming, raising livestock, carpentry, sewing and fetching water in the neighbourhood. First, farming work was suitable and available in the areas surrounding the camp. Baba Shobole[79] was the first secretary of the IDP committee in the camp but also worked as a farmer at the same time and a tailor in the camp. Instead of being part of an IDP association in charge of farming in the area surrounding the camp, he rented land where he was allowed to farm in exchange for '5,000 Congolese francs at the end of each year'. He noted that he had 'three plots of land where I grow cassava, sweet potatoes and beans' with the help of his wife. He could also rely on his first son who was a teacher in Kinshasa support the family in the camp.

In contrast to Baba Shobole, Baba Shaba did not pay rent, as he explained that '[…] it is land we are borrowing. A Jesuit congregation bought elderly people some land to cultivate'. Because of his age, Baba Shaba was mostly involved in raising and selling small livestock, as he was unable to engage in farming. In his shelter, there were three ducks and five ducklings playing around, and Baba Shaba said, 'I bought one duck which bred the rest. Once, we received flour from an NGO, which I sold to buy one duck […] It cost seven United States dollars'. He arrived in Mugunga 3 in 2009 with 5 children and one child left behind to take care of the families properties.

Manual labour contributed to IDPs' survival and distinguished some camp residents as not only waiting for humanitarian assistance but seeking other sources of making a living. Additionally, it was mostly members of the vulnerable group who were involved in manual labour activities because most of these activities were created through projects of agencies and IDP associations to help vulnerable residents to remain active and autonomous. Additionally, manual labour activities played a significant role in organising the lives of camp residents, because they could link these activities to their previous lives in their villages of origin. Activities such farming, breeding cattle, carpentry, repairing shoes and fetching water provided a valuable means of survival to the camp residents and their families through the production of goods or services to sell to maintain their lives in the camp.

[79] IDP man interviewed in his house outside of Mugunga camp

Regarding the livelihood framework, the first respondent could be considered a less vulnerable resident because his position as a secretary in the IDP committee **(human capital)** gave him an opportunity to access information **(physical capital)** that many residents do not have. Besides, he started to network with non-IDP outside of camp **(social capital)** in order to access plot of lands **(natural capital)** to regularly have available stocks **(financial capital)**. Last, his son was an important support as the child was periodically sending money to support the family **(social and financial capital)**. More importantly, the activity meant to be a means of subsistence and a small commerce.

Contrary to the first respondent, the second one was more vulnerable as his situation was linked to access to a plot of land to cultivate **(natural capital)** through an IDP organisation based in the camp **(physical and social capital)**. He had some ducks which were his **financial capital** in time of shortage.

5.5.2. Petty trade

In some ways and for some IDPs, Mugunga 3 camp offered an opportunity to develop petty trade activities inside the camp, in the Mugunga neighbourhood and in Goma city. These activities included income-generating revenue activities, activities around Virunga Park and activities in the camp market.

In front of her table in the camp where she sold salt, soap, matches, cigarettes, sugar, milk and other items, Maman Dorcas[80] explained,

> Those items belong to me. There was an organisation that used to fund income-generating revenue in the camp. We got our name registered and we started to learn how to bake bread with the International Emergency and Development Aid[81] organisation. At the end of the training, participants received 30 United States dollars for starting up a small activity. Since then, the *chef* of the organisation often comes to check on the activities. That's why we keep it running.

She was frank in acknowledging the impact of other types of assistance (food rations) on her business capital later on.

Indeed, aid was described as a valuable resource, ensuring that residents were able to keep an activity on track when they were in need of cash. Items such as flour, cooking oil or tarpaulins were easy to sell because of high demand for these goods according to some residents, and

[80] IDP woman interviewed in the camp

[81] International Emergency and Development Aid is an international NGO whose mission is to alleviate the suffering of vulnerable people by combatting the underlying causes of poverty so that people can become self-sufficient and achieve their full potential.

selling these items provided cash rapidly to maintain a business. The high value of these resources explains why some residents always negotiated to be on the list of beneficiaries as long as assistance was coming into the camp and why they could play the role of victims, using victimcy Utas (2005) to be eligible for aid.

Other activities were carried out at the camp's large market. This included activities involving firewood from Virunga Park. When he was not working in the security division of the camp during food distributions or night monitoring, Imana[82] 'was carrying firewood from the park and would sell it in the market of the camp'. This was a very lucrative activity, as he explained: 'I can earn 20 United States dollars per day for one bag of firewood'. Other market activities were also an entry point for petty trade. Products such as produce (beans, potatoes and other vegetables), a local drink called *mandale*, clothing, cooked meals and shoes could be sold at the market. The market was particularly animated on the day people returned from Virunga Park carrying firewood and charcoal and loaded their *thsukudu*[83] to sell in Goma.

The main point of differentiation between different types of petty trade activities was the source of income used to start the business. Some residents relied on organisational programmes to assist them as beneficiaries, others relied on aid assistance that could be sold, and a third group received funding from their relatives, friends or other individuals who wanted to assist them. Being residents of the camp allowed opportunity seekers to be creative and to survive in the camp through various petty trade activities. Nevertheless, vulnerable people could also engage in these activities after receiving funding to create income-generating revenue.

Involvement in petty trade activities varied by IDPs' level of vulnerability: This group included more opportunity seekers than vulnerable people. Vulnerable people were more attached to the camp, its organisation and aid assistance to manoeuvre an activity in the camp. As the camp was an available space **(natural capital)** to sell aid assistance **(physical assistance)** and to get credit by organisations programmes **(financial capital)**. In contrast, less vulnerable maintained an attachment outside of the camp **(natural capital)** to start their business such as buying firewood in the park, crops from some villages and so on. Besides, they established network with their buyers **(social capital)** to maintain their activities when they were not financially able to pay. Last, access to information **(physical capital)** was another key to their activity as

[82] IDP man interviewed in Kanyararutchini/Nyiragongo territory
[83] Wooden chariot used to convey goods in Goma

Imana explained that the park was not always a safe area to get to as firewood buyers sometimes got robbed on the way.

5.5.3. Employment and entrepreneurship

The last group of activities is related to employment and entrepreneurship inside and outside of the camp. In terms of job opportunities, IDPs did not have a preference regarding the type of job because of their lack of skills and low availability of jobs. Nevertheless, residents found jobs as agency workers, teachers, bartenders, pastors and washerwomen, for example. Others engaged in entrepreneurship activities in the camp, such as owning a charcoal depot, a restaurant or a bar.

Papa Christian[84] used to be a farmer in his village in Kibati in Nyiragongo. He arrived at the camp in 2012, and, at the time of the research he owned a firewood depot in the camp market, where both IDPs and non-IDPs bought firewood from the park. 'Some days, I sleep in the depot and others days I sleep in my shelter. For each bag of firewood, the customer pays 200 Congolese francs each day'. This is how he made a living, as the depot could contain up to 30 bags at one time.

Papa Kasole's[85] story shows a different side of this category of activity. Before the conflict, he was a pastor with his own church in Mokoto in Masisi territory. Instead of starting a church on his own in the camp, he was assisted by his church community: 'The big church[86] helped pastors in many ways. For example, they build a church for you in order for you to keep doing your job. They did it for me and I have a church in the camp'.

Other residents worked for organisations in the camp, as three participants in this study did. Maman Sophie[87] was from Rutshuru and arrived at the camp in 2012. After being involved in various activities in Rucuru centre camp and Kanyarutshinya camp, she worked for an organisation in Mugunga camp: 'I have my own association and I'm the focal point for gender-based violence, president of the association and a worker on the hygiene committee in the camp'. Papa Sami[88] was a member of the IDP committee in Mugunga camp and explained that 'we are trying to set up an association in charge of returnees'. As workers for the camp, these

[84] IDP man interviewed in Mugunga camp
[85] IDP man interviewed near Keshero in Goma
[86] *Communauté des Eglises Baptistes du Congo-Est*
[87] IDP woman interviewed at her residence in the neighbourhood of Office neighbourhood in Goma
[88] IDP man interviewed at his residence in the Goma neighbourhood

residents had certain benefits, such as relying on a salary or other support from agencies to make a living.

Three respondents were able to find employment opportunities outside of the camp. Maman Gemima's[89] husband did not plan to be a bartender when he left his village in Kininga in Rucuru territory. He used to be a farmer and a motorcycle taxi driver. After they arrived in Goma in 2013, it was not easy to rely only on farming explained the husband: 'I found a job at Soleil[90] as a bartender in Goma'. Being a washerwoman could also be very helpful, providing a daily or a weekly payment, depending on the place of the work, such a house or a hospital. Maman Vianney 'was working three time per week in a hospital', and she spent the other days farming.

Finally, one resident practised a previous occupation. Papa Koko[91] came from the Itongo grouping in Rutshuru territory where he had previously worked as a physics teacher but had to give up this job because of illness and the conflict that erupted in 2010. After a short stay in Bulengo[92] camp, camp administrators moved him to Mugunga 3 camp, where he could receive better treatment for meningitis. He described his work after this move:

> I noticed a school near the camp and went to ask for a job. I got it, and it was a good start. Unfortunately, it was not well paid: I was receiving 20 United States dollars and there were not many pupils. Only 60 pupils for the entire school. Then I quit and went to *Institut Melita 8e Communauté des Églises de Pentecôte au Congo*, where I'm currently teaching.

This group was made up of less vulnerable camp residents who relied on resources such as previous skills related to the camp activity or another activity **(human capital)**, a network inside and outside of the camp **(social capital)**, access to information **(physical capital)**. Both those who worked for the camp or agencies and those who sought opportunities in the camp found ways to make a living and support their families' survival inside and outside of the camp. Employment and entrepreneurship were important ways for Mugunga camp residents to organise their lives, whether this was accomplished inside or outside of the camp. Most of the jobs obtained by camp residents were inside the camp and linked to NGO work.

Many residents organised their lives in the camp by adjusting their activities around the three sets of livelihood activities described in this section. With reference to the work of Agier (2002), Jansen (2011) and Peteet (2005), it was possible to consider Mugunga camp a space of

[89] IDP woman interviewed at her residence in the Mugunga neighborhood
[90] Name of a bar in Goma
[91] IDP man interviewed in Mugunga camp
[92] IDP camp in Goma that is now closed

opportunity where residents were able to use creativity to find ways to organise their lives. Among the participants in the present study, 18 were exclusively engaged in manual labour, 10 in petty trade, and nine in employment or entrepreneurship. Three respondents combined two types of activities to survive. Aid was an important resource for eligible beneficiaries because of its capacity to generate cash, which could be used for many purposes.

5.6. Differentiation between different types of IDPs

The concept of vulnerability has typically been associated with concepts such as weakness, powerlessness, lack of resources and poverty, and it has been used to understand and explain disadvantaged people's condition or situation in a given context. Considering the visible and non-visible aspects of vulnerability, however, the concept has been broadened to include the understanding of how people organise to face situations of scarcity and hardship (Delica-Willison and Willison 2004). In the context of Mugunga camp, this was not a place of resourceless residents, as IDPs were able to organise their livelihoods and to reflect on future destinations and plans when they were threatened by camp closure.

In Mugunga 3 camp, 'vulnerability' was often mentioned during interviews by the research participants to illustrate situations, to explain certain realities or to describe how to identify IDPs. One respondent, who was a civil servant in charge of market taxes in Nyragongo territory and kept his job while he was in the camp, explained that 'we are all IDPs',[93] including all camp residents, regardless of differences in their situations. Explicitly, vulnerability should not be entitled to a particular group of IDPs because all residents were vulnerable at some point resulting from the displacement. Being labelled 'vulnerable' by humanitarian actors was a valuable survival resource in the camp as some residents explained. Whether it was the long term humanitarian assistance or IDPs condition under conflict, some residents knew the benefit of being labelled vulnerable.

In view of the situation described above, three approaches were used to access resources in Mugunga 3 camp: power relations and mutual dependency, social relations and organisation. Each of these approaches was a different way to access resources, and the dividing lines between groups taking one approach or the other were continuously shifting inconstant and indistinct rather than fixed.

Therefore, a resident could move between approaches to maximise his or her interests (De Haan 2012; De Haan and Zoomers 2005)). Looking at these three ways of understanding and presenting vulnerability through the lens of the livelihoods approach enabled a deeper view of residents' organisation of their lives in Mugunga 3 camp.

5.6.1. Power relations: mutual dependency and vulnerability in the camp

Many authors have interpreted the concept of power between two individuals, where power never completely belongs to one actor but is instead variable and repeatedly negotiated (Bebbington 1999; Rowlands 1997; Villareal 1994). Even in situations of subordination, victims play an active role, using the room for manoeuvre available to them to try to improve their situation. In total, 25 research participants belonged to the vulnerable group as labelled by humanitarian actors; 12 were in the less vulnerable group, working in the camp; and three were in the less vulnerable group, seeking opportunities or working outside of the camp.

In Mugunga 3 camp, the vulnerable group, as labelled by humanitarian actors, was made up of survivors of sexual and gender-based violence; those who had been wounded in the conflict, including members of the military, civil servants, child soldiers; people with HIV or AIDS; traumatised victims; the elderly and other such categories of people. This group has three main distinguishing characteristics. First, these camp residents were already vulnerable as the camp was a 'camp de consolidation' since 2009 and belonged to certain groups with a protected status. This vulnerability justified their assistance during their stay in the camp and guaranteed their right to claim assistance as long as the camp was open and assistance was available. Baba Shaba, described earlier, arrived in 2009 in Mugunga 3 and had access to Jesuit land because he was an elderly person. As he explained, '...they only give access to land to elderly IDPs'. Second, these camp residents were in a situation of dependence. The fact that they were dependent on humanitarian assistance was not exceptional because some had already been dependent on their relatives, their friends, the government and other people's good will to survive in their communities. And in case the conflict was a result of their situation (wound, victims of SGBV and so on), some residents had relative, friends and acquaintances who assisted then when they lived in the camp as the next section highlighted more the plan during the camp closure.

Third, humanitarian actors and other structures helping this group of camp residents were in some ways dependent on the vulnerable group's existence because these actors sought to claim

money on behalf of the vulnerable, and the camp offered an appropriate place to legitimate their claims.

Being vulnerable thus facilitated access to resources and allowed camp residents to be well prepared to organise their lives during their stay in the camp.

5.6.2. Social relations: playing the vulnerability card

Within Mugunga 3 camp, the population included workers (woman and men) and young adults (in school and not). These people were not vulnerable, as they were not labelled so by humanitarian actors, but were in the camp waiting for the end of the conflict at their place of origin. However, they did not have much option but to present themselves as vulnerable so that they could access resources. Their survival depended on that strategy; otherwise, they would have to find opportunities elsewhere, because most of the agencies' programmes did not target people in their situation.

The case of maman Dorcas, described earlier, was interesting as her story was related to this group. As she explained: '...when my kid was malnourished, I had to go to Keshero to get food for malnourished kids. After my son recovered, I started to go to Nzulu where I was receiving food ratio two times per month. In Nzulu, I was doing *maciri (tricks,cheat).* I was doing it at three places including in the camp I was living. That's how I started my petty trade'.

This story told the way those who were not labelled vulnerable gained access to resources. Depending on their network, some residents made sure to be labelled vulnerable because the resources could help to maintain a family. Residents' resources differed by both individual and household characteristics and playing the 'victimcy' card (Utas 2005) was often necessary for residents of Mugunga 3 camp to gain access to resources.

5.6.3. Camp organisation: employment and aid as resources

An IDP economy operated in Mugunga 3 camp. The camp provided two types of economy, built around the resources of employment and aid. First, employment could be in the camp or outside of the camp. Employment in the camp took the form of a variety of jobs such as IDP association supervisors, workers involved in agency projects or programmes, roles related to the organisation and management of camp life, and IDP committee members. Camp residents with these kinds of jobs were often in touch with people outside of the camp, particularly NGO workers, local authorities, and other influential persons, allowing them to broaden their networks. The small number of camp residents working outside of the camp had positions as

teachers, washerwomen and maids. These positions were accessible to camp residents who had good networks (Social capital) and access to information in the camp (physical capital). The second type of economy was built around aid as a valuable resource. Camp residents with access to some form of assistance could convert that assistance into cash or small business ventures. This resource facilitated camp residents to face food insecurity during their stay and improved their living conditions.

Camp residents employed in the camp and those who used aid as a resource tended to be less vulnerable, compared with those working outside of the camp, because their paid jobs and receipt of assistance in the camp were highly dependent on the camp's existence. The example of Baba Shobole above could tell about a form of organisation as he was the secretary of the IDP committee. Access to information and strong network with NGOs, camp management staffs were the main components of his ability to navigate in the camp. These camp residents had many reasons to plead for the camp to remain open because their livelihoods were directly linked to the continuation of camp.

As is clear from the analysis of the differentiation of the vulnerability IDPs in Mugunga 3 camp, access to resources was different from different group and gave information the way they used their vulnerability as an asset. The separation between the group was not clear as some residents were vulnerable and worked in the organisation of the camp. Baba Kayonga came from Masisi in 2013 and was labelled vulnerable because of his sickness. In 2014, he was elected chief of bloc. His example described a possible situation to be labelled vulnerable and be part of the camp organisation. Importantly, the construction and differentiation of the most vulnerable group operated through power relations and the less vulnerable through social relations and the camp organisation.

5.7. Planning for the future under threat of camp closure

Three months into the fieldwork, authorities announced the closure of many camps to persuade residents to return home. This event shifted the flow of the interviews. Not knowing whether Mugunga 3 camp was on the list of camps to be closed, residents took the threat seriously. This made it possible to broaden the research and to visit respondents' planned destinations in case the camp was closed.

On 2 December 2014, IDPs living in Kiwanja IDP camp in Rutshuru had been suddenly forced to leave the site, and their makeshift shelters were burned to the ground (Spindler 2014). The

camp was shut down following a decision by the provincial cabinet, exposing some 2,300 residents to potential lawlessness, banditry and sexual violence against women perpetrated by militia groups operating in the area (NEWS CENTRE 2014). According to the governor of North Kivu province, 'We found several weapons […] It was a place where crime was developed […] We found 10 weapons in three months'. The mayor of Kiwanja added that there were 'cases of banditry reported in this camp', with residents 'caught after committing crimes', and that a man was even 'lynched by people in surrounding communities when he was caught looting' (IRINNEWS 2014).

Because it was believed that Mugunga camp was targeted for the next wave of closures during the second round of the fieldwork, it was possible to observe and track the attitudes of Mugunga 3 camp residents under this threat. In terms of their reactions, four distinct strategies emerged among the research participants: going back home, joining a camp in the countryside, undecided and staying in Goma.

5.7.1. Going back home

Despite the presence of armed conflict in some parts of North Kivu, facing the threat of camp closure, some IDPs considered returning to their hometowns. Nicole[94] arrived at Mugunga 3 camp during the violence between the *Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple*[95] and the Congolese army in 2008. During her displacement, she worked for an orphans' association funded by AVSI International in Kanyarutshina IDP camp and was later employed by the same organisation in Mugunga 3 camp when she arrived. After Kanyarutshina camp was attacked, its IDP residents were relocated to different camps in Goma. Nicole was relocated to Mugunga 3 camp, where she taught literacy courses to elderly people, funded by HelpAge International, until late 2013. At the time of her interview, she was waiting for a UNHCR returnee convoy to Rutshuru and said 'I want UNHCR to see me with those returnees, introducing myself like someone in charge of my association. Then I may get funding supporting returnees'. Besides this plan, Nicole's 'plan B' was a letter to work at the central prison in Rutshuru, where she used to work for an NGO. Nicole said that her two previous jobs were paid, and she planned to get another job involving returnees. Her experience highlighted opportunities to work for NGOs.

[94] IDP woman interviewed in Mugunga 3 camp
[95] The *Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple* (National Congress for the Defence of the People) is an armed political militia established by Laurent Nkunda in the Kivu regions of DRC in December 2006.

Maman Junior's[96] case was somewhat dissimilar. Before the conflict, she had worked at the Nyiragongo territory office. When I arrived in Kibumba, the main city in Nyiragongo territory, she provided an introduction to me as a guest in the city at the territory office of visitors. During the journey to Kibumba, she was interested in asking about the prices of vegetables destined for Goma markets. She explained she was planning to set up her business of selling their family crops at different markets in Goma in case she could not resume her previous job.

In contrast to Maman Junior, Papa Andre[97] continued his previous job at the *Division de l'Economie* in Nyiragongo territory, where he was in charge of market taxes, throughout his displacement. After arriving at Mugunga 3 camp in 2008, Papa Andre was a member of the elderly council board. Nevertheless, he said he continued to do his earlier job while he was in the camp. To support this story, he produced a list of pirate markets where he was supposed to collect some taxes in the coming days.

The group of IDPs intending to return home consisted of less vulnerable people—agency workers or civil servants waiting for the opportunity to return to their previous jobs. Agency workers, in particular, had acquired skills related to camp life, such as working for agencies to come up with ideas for setting up IDP associations.

5.7.2. Joining a camp in the countryside

For some IDPs, relocating to a camps in the countryside was another alternative. In 2009, Papa Paul[98] came to Mugunga 3 camp from Bulengo camp in Goma. In September 2008, camp management asked IDPs to leave Bulengo camp and to return home, but Papa Paul was relocated to Mugunga 3 camp because he needed to receive tuberculosis treatment. Though he had relatives in Kitshanga in Masisi territory, he wanted to stay in a camp because the visibility this allowed: '[…] It is easy for me when I'm in a camp. It is my physical address. Also, issues are easy to solve when you are an IDP staying in a camp'.

Elderly people without relatives were one group who saw another camp as an option if Mugunga 3 camp were to close. Tate[99] Dieudonne was an example of an IDP who was extremely reliant on camp assistance. He was a very elderly man from Walikale. Once, the vice president[100] of the IDP committee in Mugunga 3 camp described Tate Dieudonne as 'one of

[96] IDP woman interviewed on the way at her new residence in Kibumba
[97] IDP man interviewed in Mugunga 3 camp
[98] IDP man interviewed in Mugunga 3 camp
[99] *Tate* is a Swahili word meaning grandfather or grandmother.
[100] IDP woman interviewed in Mugunga 3 camp

those who does not have relatives who visit him. Very often, we see other elderly persons being visited by their relatives, but Tate Dieudonne has no one'.

Most of the residents planning to join a camp in the countryside were vulnerable IDPs, as described above. Two respondents wanted to remain in a camp because they did not have relatives to rely on or they did not want to burden their relatives, and one respondent wanted to make use of the visibility and opportunities provided by the camp.

5.7.3. Undecided

For several reasons, four respondents had not yet made up their minds about what to do following the camp closure. The IDPs in this group already had a means of survival in the camp and were still considering their future plans.

Baba Jean[101] came to the camp in 2009. With another IDP, he set up an income-generating activities association linked to agriculture and livestock in the areas surrounding Mugunga 3 camp. After seeking support, 'an NGO assisted us and we received cabbage, leek and bean seed'. This association was still running at the time of the interview. Baba Jean also still hoped to return to the job he previously held in Masisi before the conflict, but he explained that this was problematic: 'I was a senior civil servant at Bufamando post office in charge of the Mutonge grouping. When I went back there, someone had already replaced me. When the personnel manager is a Hutu, Nande or Hunde, he will hire his brothers'.[102]

The group of IDPs who were undecided about their future plans was made up of less vulnerable people, including several working for NGOs. Another characteristic of this group was that they had held jobs in their places of origin before the violence, and some of them hoped to return to these jobs.

5.7.4. Staying in Goma

Interestingly, the majority of the research participants (29 IDPs) planned to stay in Goma, which addressed questions to their future residences and their vulnerability. Four types of IDPs emerged among those planning to remain in Goma: those planning to join a relative, those planning to look after someone else's house, those planning to rent a house and those planning to buy a plot of land.

[101] IDP man interviewed at Mugunga 3 camp
[102] Here, 'brothers' refers to people from the same ethnic group.

5.7.4.1. Joining a relative

Joining a relative could be a delicate situation, considering the limited means of these families. During an interview with Tate Jeanne[103] in her small shelter, she received a visit from another woman. The woman visitor handed Tate Jeanne a pair of Crocs shoes and said, 'I am her daughter, and my brother sent her a pair of shoes and some money'. The interview then ended to give Tate Jeanne privacy with her guest. In another interview, she was asked about her relative and about her future if the camp were to close. Tate Jeanne had relatives in Goma, and they were assisting her while she was in the camp. If necessary, she would move in with her children and depend on them to survive.

Those planning to join family members shared the characteristics of vulnerability and having relatives in Goma. Indeed, IDPs in this group were dependent on anyone willing to assist them, and the same type of relationships were built in the camp, with elderly people relying on assistance from agencies and from other residents.

5.7.4.2. Looking after someone else's house

Despite having relatives in Goma, six respondents did not plan to join them, as they had received another kind of assistance. Maman Gisho[104] was a widow who fled Shabunda territory in South Kivu and found refuge in Bukavu. Her adult children were living in Goma. In 2013, she decided to join them because life was difficult for her. When she arrived in Goma, she learned that her son was dead and her daughter was married to a soldier. After living with her daughter through a period of illness, a friend of her daughter helped her to find shelter in Mugunga camp in September 2013. She was interviewed at her new residence outside of the camp, where she explained that the house belonged to 'one of my son-in law's friends, who took me here and asked me to watch after his house until I get money to go back to South Kivu'. When asked why she was not staying with her daughter, she responded, '[…] I cannot stay at my son-in-law's house; he is a soldier', maybe her daughter was not really married to the man or the house did not have enough rooms.

Looking after someone's house was not an easy arrangement to find, and some residents explained that they had to pay to look after someone else's house near the camp. Some people from Goma city owned plots of land near the camp that they had not yet settled because of insecurity, lack of water and power, or other reasons. Some of these land owners made arrangements with camp residents instead of hiring a guard for the land. This option was

[103] IDP woman interviewed in Mugunga 3 camp
[104] IDP woman interviewed at her residence outside of the camp

feasible for vulnerable people who could get sympathy from the owner of a house or a plot of land. However, some land owners were reluctant or suspicious of people looking for such an arrangement, particularly towards men, as a research participant explained in an interview at her new residence. She reported that women are considered more trustworthy than men because women have children and will not jeopardise the children's safety.

5.7.4.3. Renting a house

Renting a house in the Mugunga neighbourhood or elsewhere was an option for research participants who had sufficient resources to pay rent. Of the 40 research participants, four were able to rent a house outside of the camp in the event of camp closure, and different patterns were observed among these individuals.

Maman Abigael[105] chose to rent a house in the Mugunga area. Mamam Abigael came from Rucuru and arrived at Mugunga camp in 2013, along with her children and husband. The inside of her rented house was almost empty, and the property seemed to be recently acquired. She had to lock her two goats inside the house when she was at the camp. Sitting in the living room with her during an interview, facing a corridor, two other rooms without doors could be observed. She said that she was renting the house because their plan was to go back to Rucuru, but '[…] I don't want to interrupt my children's schooling […] and one is in their last class before going to university'.

Renting a house as a camp resident was not a common option because it required the ability to pay a monthly rent. All four of the research participants who did this were less vulnerable IDPs working for agencies in the camp. Additionally, they also had second jobs in the city, for example as a motorbike taxi driver, to cover their families' costs.

5.7.4.4. Buying a plot of land with or without a house

The final group was made up of IDPs who bought a plot of land in Goma, usually near the camp. There were 15 research participants in this group. The first of these was Tate Marc,[106] whose situation illustrated the lack of information regarding the land registry, title and certificate. In the shade under a tree on his plot of land, the elderly Tate Marc told his story of land conflict with another man who claimed to be the owner of the same plot. Tate Marc had purchased the land and obtained a 'token' from the *chef de groupement*[107] as proof that he was the owner but he still awaited a document signed by this same person. According to his story,

[105]IDP woman interviewed at her new residence in the Munganga areas.
[106] Elderly IDP man interviewed at his new residence in the Rusayo neighbourhood
[107] Chief of a grouping

'the other man[108] said that he bought this house from the owner and received a token, while the native (a third person) confirmed that this token arrangement did not occur in this area during the period stated by the man'. The 80-year-old Tate Marc looked determined to keep his plot and his house. He had two lawyers, but he repeatedly said that it was difficult because his adversary was bribing everyone.

Baba Kasole was the only research participant who bought a plot of land (in the Keshero area) and had a real document of ownership for this plot. During an interview, he explained the situation:

> Yes, nowadays there are cheaper plots, but that is not buying, as it is said. It is the *chef* who offers plots for free. The 200 United States dollars you give is a recognition, and the plot does not have legal papers except a letter given by the chief […] It is not enough because you can be evicted any time.

On the whole, most camp residents who bought a plot of land in Goma were labelled vulnerable people—the elderly, victims of sexual violence, the disabled and the war wounded. Given the fact that many humanitarian actors targeted vulnerable residents in Mugunga, some local authorities of neighbourhoods started to sell plots of land to Mugunga 3 camp residents as part of assisting IDPs. Because the threat of camp closure was looming and camp residents needed to find a place to live, many ended up buying plots of land close to the camp. However, there were many complaints regarding the lack of information about land acquisition in Goma. Some camp residents had problems with the previous owners of the land they occupied, and the new owners did not receive appropriate documentation for their

properties.

The threat of camp closure was an interesting event in the sense of observing the responses of the camp's residents. The majority of the IDPs who participated in this study chose to remain in Goma; these people tended to be vulnerable residents of Mugunga camp, as shown in Table 5.1. Additionally, only one research participant had legal documentation giving him the right to occupy his land; the other 14 did not receive documentation of their property ownership even though they had paid for the land.

[108] The man who was in conflict with the elderly IDP

Table 5.1 Future plans and livelihood approach among Mugunga camp residents participating in this study

Group	Assets	Making a living	Livelihood framework	Destination in case of camp closure
Labelled vulnerable by Humanitarian actors	• Vulnerability	• Aid assistance • Selling aid assistance • Subsistence activities (farm, livestock,)	• Physical capital: camp • Social capital: strong horizontal network	• Joining a camp in the countryside • Joining a family member in Goma • Looking after someone else's house in Goma • Buying a plot of land in Goma
Less vulnerable: opportunities seekers	• Playing vulnerability card (Maciri) • Being part of an IDP association	• Petty trade • Entrepreneurship • Employment	• Social capital: strong horizontal network	• Going back home to the countryside • Looking after someone else's house in Goma
Less vulnerable: camp and organisation workers	• Being part of IDP committee • Being part of an IDP association • Being part of camp organisation	• Commercial activity • Firewood activity in the park • Working for a NGO • working for the camp organisation	• Physical capital: access to information • Social capital: strong vertical network • Human capital: skills and knowledge	• Going back home to the countryside • Undecided • Looking after someone else's house in Goma • Renting a house in Goma

As presented in table 5.1, less vulnerable group made of camp and organisation workers were the leaders of the camp as they were the only group having access to information as they had strong network with NGO staffs, camp managers staffs, police offices in the camp and so on and established strong network outside of the camp as well. Other groups had to rely on them to access resources and to get any information. The position allowed them to be the only group able to rent as they were able to diversify means of survive and to be well prepared in the future. Opportunities seekers, like vulnerable labelled by humanitarian actors had to establish strong network with camp and organisation workers as they did not have access to information such as the day of food distribution, the day of fixing, the name in the list of beneficiaries, the hospital in charge of IDPs in town, the name of a NGO staff who could help... Based on these differences in planned destinations and the livelihoods strategies described earlier, the next section explains the meaning of Mugunga 3 camp.

5.8. The meaning of Mugunga camp

Displacement camps have been strongly condemned or disparaged by some researchers, as they are often blamed for encouraging passivity and hopelessness (Schmidt 2003). However, without ignoring the potential negative effects of the camp, it is important to understand its significance to camp residents. The views of the participants in the present study on this topic largely fell under two main points: 1) providing shelter, with opportunities, privacy, a physical address and a place to keep families together and 2) granting time to recover, to organise and to rebuild lives.

5.8.1. Providing a shelter: opportunities, privacy, a physical address and keeping families together

Shelter in the camp was important for four main reasons. The first was the possibility for camp residents (whether they were newcomers or not) to find opportunities in the camp without fear of rejection. This was especially important for less vulnerable camp residents, who sought opportunities and support in activities linked to petty trade and entrepreneurship. The second reason this shelter was important involved the need for privacy and related appropriate assistance. This was particularly important for vulnerable people such as the elderly and victims of sexual violence. Third, having a physical address meant that it was possible for cases (appointment) to be followed up and for people to be easily found in Goma, and this was essential for camp residents. Finally, and most importantly, the camp provided a place to keep families together when it would not otherwise have been possible to do this without placing an undue burden on others. Keeping a whole family together, including four or more children,

parents, cousins and other relatives was not an easy task. Baba Shaba[109] described this difficult situation: 'I cannot stay at my brother's place with my family. Otherwise, I may bring troubles to his family. A brother or a friend cannot keep a family for two years'. This explanation highlighted the challenge of hosting a family for an extended period of time: The cohabitation would be stressful, cause conflict and lead to families splitting up.

Brief, the camp was an important physical capital for many residents as it offered an infrastructure to reside and a place to achieve their livelihood goals.

5.8.2. Time to ROR: recovering, organising and rebuilding

At the first round of the fieldwork, many residents often complained about hunger, the lack of new shelters or the lack of water, stressing things that were missing. On the way to her new residence in Rusayo, Trauma[110] remarked that 'you cannot spend more than two years with water, shelter, health care and food assistance for free and not being able to get a plot of land'. Explicitly, life in the camp was cheap because they did not pay for water, health care, food and more importantly they did not pay a rent. Therefore, residents could get a plot of land. Her explanation clarified three essential details of her life in the camp, precisely a place to stay, an access to basic services and an opportunity to get cash. In addition to the physical capital, Trauma could rely on a financial capital anytime she sold her aid assistance.

The following steps were not the same for all camp residents but were part of the process of dealing with their displacement in relation to their vulnerability in the camp. The first step was recovering from the conflict. The camp provided a physical place and a network where residents could process their loss, share their feelings with other IDPs and start sorting out their lives. This step was particularly important for vulnerable people because of their physical condition when they arrived at the camp. The second step was the organisation of a life in the camp, including making a living, finding schools for their children, visiting their villages to see what they still had, and thinking about going to another place in the future in case tensions erupt. The final step was the rebuilding of their lives, as residents decided to reshape their lives somewhere else and to keep moving forward based on what they had. At this stage, acquiring assets such as a plot of land in Goma was a sign of a particular type of solutions to their displacement (local integration) but this did not mean they gave up on their villages.

[109] IDP man interviewed in Mugunga camp
[110] IDP woman interviewed in Rusayo

By relying on their individual resilience and the available support outside of the camp, 15 respondents from the less vulnerable group explained that they could stand on their own for one year after leaving the camp. It first took these people more or less six years to rebuild their lives when they were camp residents, and many residents used the camp as a place of transit to reshape their lives before facing new environments outside of the camp which required approaches to conquering challenges.

5.9. Conclusion

In sum, this study has provided an insightful angle from which to consider the differentiation between types of IDPs. The article also reconsidered the assumption that IDP camps are places of passive vulnerability and reflected on the idea that camps are sites where IDPs are able to rebuild and reshape their lives according to the livelihood framework.

Based on fieldwork in Mugunga 3 IDP camp in Goma, North Kivu province, the research questioned whether camps are place of vulnerable people by reflecting on the livelihoods of residents, the analysis of the differentiation of vulnerability based on the livelihood approach, the organisation of their future plans when they were threatened with camp closure and the meaning of the camp to residents. Although Mugunga 3 camp remained open during the research study, which was beneficial to the camp residents, the threat made it possible to follow residents' preparations when it seemed that the camp would be closed, to better understand the significance of the camp, to highlight the differentiation among residents and to argue that camps could be considered solutions for assistance and protection.

Residents of Mugunga camp 3 were not passive or resourceless, because they were all engaged in various activities, inside or outside of the camp, to ensure their survival. Mainly inside the camp, residents developed livelihood strategies around three activities—namely, manual labour, petty trade and employment/entrepreneurship. Vulnerable camp residents labelled by humanitarian actors were able to make a living through participation in IDP associations, as well as programmes and projects set up by humanitarian agencies.

The differentiation of type of camp residents was possible through three approaches to survive in the camp. Vulnerable respondents had the advantage of being targeted by agencies, and they could use their status as victims as a means to survive. the physical capital (camp) and the social capital (strong network with camp and organisation workers) were their livelihood approach. Playing the vulnerability card was the second approach often used by less vulnerable camp residents seeking opportunities and their livelihood approach laid on a strong social capital

(strong network with camp and organisation workers) . The IDP economy built around the camp offering opportunities for employment, and around the use of aid as a valuable resource that allowed residents to work inside and outside of the camp and to convert aid into cash and business activities. This last resort was the third approach linked to a physical capital (access to information), a social capital (strong network with NGOs, camp management and so on staffs) and a human capital (skills and knowledge related to camp).

In terms of future destinations planned during the camp closure threat, most of the research participants decided to stay in Goma despite the high cost of living. Vulnerable residents labelled by humanitarian actors were more representative and had four options: joining their relatives, looking after someone else's house or buying a plot of land. The last option was not very secure; some camp residents were involved in land conflicts because of the lack of information regarding land ownership in Goma. Less vulnerable residents who worked for agencies or were involved in the camp organisation had the possibility to rent houses in Goma city because they could receive payment in exchange for their work in the camp.

Despite its disadvantages, Mugunga 3 camp allowed families to stay together, which was important for many respondents. In the camp, large families found a place to live together and to better face the future without burdening their relatives. This point is particularly important because, although many researchers have stressed the generosity of relatives and friends during displacement, this is actually a harsh moment for hosts as well as IDPs, particularly when families cannot live in the same place.

For many years, camps have been considered as a place of vulnerable people and for some reasons this assumption could have influenced assistance and protection of IDPs. Therefore, three reflections could be helpful regarding IDP camps. First, it is important to consider diversity of IDPs camps residents to better address questions such as needs or camp closure so that responses would not be towards one particular group. Second, whether a first or last resort, IDP camp could be useful for large families to stay together. This point reinforces the necessity to protect families to remain together during their displacement. Lastly, it is very relevant for donors and humanitarian actors to focus their assistance and protection of IDPs on the base of displacement and to further investigate needs according to IDPs diversity population. The attention of this point lays on the non-discrimination of IDPs clearly mentioned in the Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement.

Future researches could be focused on studying IDPs life in case the camp closure would happen with the same group of IDPs followed in this research. The research would bring more insights on the network, the livelihoods and quality of life camp residents have outside of the camp. More importantly, the study could help to learn more on IDPs responses mechanisms outside of camps.

Epilogue: Mugunga 3 camp was shut down on 31st July 2017

Chapter 6 Discussion and General conclusion

In this qualitative study, I have addressed the phenomenon of forced migration in urban settings in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), exploring the agency of internally displaced persons (IDPs). I wanted to gain an understanding of how IDPs make sense of their lives during their displacement. A substantial share of humanitarian assistance is provided in camps although a significant number of IDPs live outside of camps, and the setting of eastern DRC offered an interesting case to study IDPs' survival and lives in cities. Concretely, the research presented in this thesis has explored the problem of forced migration in eastern DRC from the point of view of IDPs, as well as that of actors who dealt with IDPs, to reflect on issues facing IDPs in urban areas and to gain more knowledge on their social lives.

For the last two decades, the phenomenon of IDPs in eastern DRC has been an elusive subject, and much of the attention given to this phenomenon has been related to questions on conflict and violence (InternationalCrisisGroup 2013) and assistance to IDPs (JointHumanitarianFinanceUnit 2015). The international community's response has been part of this phenomenon since the beginning of the violence, through various agencies providing assistance in camps. However, a large number of IDPs prefer to live outside of camps in host communities in urban areas (OCHA 2017a), making humanitarian interventions difficult despite the introduction of programmes addressing displacement outside of camps (Dupin and Martel 2011).

The relevance of studying forced migration in urban settings is twofold. First, the phenomenon of forced migration has evolved, and urban areas are currently sources and/or destinations of population flows (Harkey 2014). Second, the rapid expansion of urban populations has challenged both humanitarian and development actors to adjust their interventions to the urban context because of the blending of vulnerable populations (Patel et al. 2017). In eastern DRC, understanding the IDP phenomenon is important because a large number of IDPs are located in urban areas, where humanitarian actors have difficulty targeting the IDP population. Furthermore, little is known about this IDP population, and improved knowledge is necessary to prevent their future displacement, to ensure their protection and their assistance during their displacement, and to search for durable solutions.

Although there are many existing studies about IDPs in DRC, most of them have addressed issues such as protection, food security, sexual violence and assistance, often portraying IDPs as vulnerable, victimised and helpless; this limited focus has restricted knowledge about IDPs

(ACAPS 2015; IDMC December 2010; Harver 2008a). Describing IDPs' situation as one of victimhood limits the possibilities for learning about these populations and contributing to addressing their needs. Therefore, to understand how IDPs sustain their livelihoods outside and inside camp settings, this thesis has taken the approach of actor-oriented analysis, affirming the agency of IDPs to act, even in the face of very difficult circumstances.

From this starting point, the study aimed to gain knowledge about IDPs in terms of how they set up their means of support and survival in urban settings. Using the livelihoods approach to analyse IDPs' survival facilitated looking at IDPs as active agents in their own lives instead of passive bystanders or victims in need of assistance. The study took place in two provinces in eastern DRC: South Kivu and North Kivu were selected because of the ongoing conflict, the movement of population and the importance of the humanitarian presence. Importantly, most IDPs in the studied areas chose to stay with host families, and this strengthened the study's ability to understand how IDPs survive during their displacement.

As is the case for other types of migrants, IDPs often blend in with the rest of the population when they are not in camps. Because of this aspect of the IDP population, this research sought to enrich knowledge about these individuals by focusing mainly on IDPs living outside of camps. More specifically, the primary focus of my work was on IDPs living outside of camps in South Kivu, with some exploration of the lives of IDPs in camps on the outskirts of the capital of North Kivu. Further, the overpopulation currently seen in urban areas in eastern DRC made it particularly important to focus on cities in the region. In both South Kivu and North Kivu, the IDPs participating in the study were located in urban areas because of the importance of understanding the survival methods employed by IDPs in urban contexts.

The study began in South Kivu, where identifying IDPs turned out to be a major challenge. This led me to ask how different groups of actors deal with the question of how to identify IDPs and what criteria they use for this purpose. Conducting interviews with a wide range of actors, such as local leaders, members of ethnic associations, civil society actors, non-IDP citizens and humanitarian actors, made it possible to examine people's understandings of how the IDP label is attached to someone and the impact of the use of the IDP label on humanitarian assistance. In interviews with actors who dealt with IDPs, I regularly asked them to introduce me to IDPs they knew, to gain familiarity with IDPs in their neighbourhoods and elsewhere. This facilitated the next stage of the study.

The second part of the study involved collecting data from IDPs themselves. For this research, IDP participants had to have been in a situation of displacement since 2000. I selected this year to limit the period of my research because many conflicts in eastern DRC had already started since the year 1990 and the year 2003 was the starting point of the two first programmes providing assistance to IDPs, specifically the Rapid Response Mechanisms (RRM) and the Programme of Expanded Assistance to Returnees (PEAR). Both programmes targeted IDPs and returnees as many conflicts already erupted in the region. Including this temporal criterion allowed me to gather as much information as possible in relation to displacement. In the interviews, I asked about multiple conflict-affected aspects of life (physical and non-physical) to gain an understanding of the circumstances of internal displacement. Specifically, for the purpose of this research, I considered an IDP someone who had been displaced (in any area—urban or rural) since conflict erupted in 2000, provided that this violence was the cause of the displacement. In the interviews, I sought to confirm that the violence was actually the cause of the displacement of people labelled as IDPs, constructing the 'real story' from the pieces the participants shared. In this pursuit, the selected research methods allowed me to spend the time necessary to learn about the participants' life stories.

I followed several IDP informants and conducted many in-depth interviews with them to understand their network support. I reconstructed these IDPs' trajectories, from their decision to leave to their integration in Bukavu, and I analysed how different types of social networks were called on at the different stages of these trajectories. Here, I was interested in revealing IDPs' support from the moment they left their villages until they reached cities such as Bukavu or Uvira. In general, humanitarian assistance is provided in rural areas, but some IDPs do not hesitate to leave for cities, where they are often confronted with problems such as harassment and a lack of shelter or food. Outlining different types of support and ties linked to this support at different stages of IDPs' displacement provided additional insight regarding questions of the knowledge networks of IDPs in cities.

The third part of the study examined the economic lives of IDP women in Bukavu through interviews with the group of IDP informants describe above, as well as a new group of IDP women I met through the research. Focusing on IDP women involved in the market, I aimed to understand the organisation of different markets in Bukavu in terms of how IDP women, as newcomers to these markets, and other sellers, navigated these spaces. This part of the study comprised a description of practices before navigating a market; all aspects related to payment

such as taxes or fees to negotiate a place; and the understanding of markets where IDPs were more involved.

The fourth part of the study was conducted in Goma, the city capital of North Kivu. More precisely, this research took place in Mugunga 3 camp (on the outskirts of Goma). In contrast to the first three parts of the study, this part focused on understanding differences in IDPs' vulnerability according to their livelihoods in Mugunga 3 camp. Interviewing IDP camp residents about their livelihoods and how they responded to a camp-closure threat made it possible to understand differences among IDPs in vulnerability, as well as the meaning the camp offered these residents. Although the camp was closed two years after the study, this research remains relevant because it examined differences among IDPs residents, which could lead to better decisions regarding the types of assistance provided in IDP camps in the future.

This chapter provides an overall discussion and conclusion and is subdivided into three parts. The first part summarises the salient elements of the four empirical chapters of this thesis. The second part deals with two cross-cutting themes: (1) the survival strategies of IDPs in urban areas in eastern DRC and (2) the difference between camp and non-camp settings for IDPs. The third part of the chapter focuses on limitations of this research, areas that merit further research, the research uptake that has taken place in the framework of this project and relevant policy recommendations.

6.1. Overview of main findings and theoretical implications per chapter

The main research question was *How do IDPs cope with the challenge of displacement and sustain their livelihoods in cities?* This question was broken into four sub-questions:

- How does the IDP label impact the humanitarian assistance in South Kivu?
- How do IDPs engage through networks and use them at key moments in their displacement trajectories in Bukavu?
- What challenges do IDP women face when entering markets in Bukavu?
- How are IDPs differentiated in Mugunga 3 camp, and what is the meaning of the camp to IDPs?

6.1.1. Conflicting discourses related to the IDP label

The first empirical chapter (chapter 2) of this thesis is about the processes of identifying IDPs outside of camps in South Kivu. Based on interviews with actors dealing with IDPs, the chapter

explores the approaches actors use to define an IDP and to determine who is eligible for humanitarian assistance. Actors dealing with IDPs, such as churches, ethnic associations, local nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), international NGOs, civil society and private associations, all of whom contribute to providing humanitarian assistance during waves of population movement, were found to have various ways of identifying IDPs.

To understand how IDPs are identified, I had to find actors dealing with this population. I began by asking actors assisting IDPs and community members about their approaches to recognising IDPs. When IDPs arrive at a location, they are hosted by host communities where they receive support such as food, shelter and clothing. Differentiating between IDPs and non-IDPs is a challenge for those seeking to assist IDPs, because host families may have visitors who may try to mislead humanitarian actors for the purpose of receiving assistance. Because IDPs are not easily identifiable, practices and approaches that allow actors to determine whether someone is an IDP and to provide assistance are relevant to the IDP label. In trying to understand the meaning of 'IDP', I began by asking how actors dealing with IDPs understand the IDP label.

Literature on the use of labels often focuses on the consequences of categorising people, such as misrepresentation and misunderstanding of categories or the use of labels in developing convenient policies for assistance. As a way of thinking (Giddens 2009), labelling a category of people is a form of representation, used to frame the understanding of that category of people and to characterise their reality in a certain way (Long 2001). Previous researches have examined how labels are used in the way people are categorised and represented (Harrell-Bond 1986; Moncrieffe and Eyben 2014). Many scholars have recognised the importance of using labels and called for attention to the way labels are used to identify aid recipients (Bakewell 2008; Polzer 2008). Some authors view labels entirely as a political tool used by aid providers (Moncrieffe and Eyben 2014; Wood 1985). However, there is also another side to labels, where people successfully appropriate a label for claiming entitlements,

After gathering interview data on actors' explanations of their understandings of what an IDP is, I analysed the criteria these actors used to determine assistance eligibility, as being an IDP was not enough to be entitled to aid. The three criteria that were often part of the process of identifying IDPs eligible for assistance were severe vulnerability, location (urban or rural) and the time spent at a location. All three criteria were commonly understood to support IDPs; however, the description of vulnerability among IDPs could also fit other vulnerable groups in the community.

In terms of defining the concept of IDPs and identifying IDPs eligible to be beneficiaries of assistance, this study produced two main findings linked to the IDP label in South Kivu. The first finding was related to the idea of the bureaucratic humanitarian regime being reinforced by the use of the IDP label. This finding was in line with Horst's and Malkki's views on the use of labels (Horst 2006; Malkki 1995). Specifically, the findings highlighted **the battle over image, categorisation for the policy process** and **expertise to identify a problem**.

The battle over image is related to the lack of clarity regarding the number of IDPs among humanitarian actors and between humanitarian actors and the DRC government. Humanitarian actors often seek to convey a type of message that attracts public opinion and funding, and, in the case of eastern DRC, IDP numbers have been invoked as part of this message. At the same time, the DRC government often contests the number of IDPs to attract funding for other purposes.

Categorisation for the policy process is linked to the method of IDP identification in the field. Humanitarian actors needed to differentiate IDPs from the rest of the population. The process of IDP identification became a process of claim making because being assigned the IDP label provided access to a small gesture of aid for people identified as IDPs.

Expertise to identify a problem refers to the scope of assistance, which ignored the criterion of displacement in identifying IDPs so that assistance could be provided on the basis of the criterion of vulnerability. This approach increased the number of aid recipients, as many people could be identified as vulnerable. This finding, which indicates that assistance provided to IDPs in Bukavu may not be in accordance with the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, is in line with the ideas of Martin and Callaway (2009) highlighting that the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* are not legally binding, and hence consist of rather weak guidelines.

Over two decades of humanitarian assistance, there has been a lack of agreement regarding the **number of IDPs** in the South Kivu. This lack of agreement reinforced **the battle** over actual number of IDPs in the province. The battle has not taken place only among humanitarian actors; it has also been between humanitarian actors and the national government, with each side wanting funds to achieve their goals. The most important support for IDPs has been channelled through the Rapid Response to the Movement of Population programme, led by important actors such as UNICEF, UNHCR and OCHA. With USD 286.9 million allocated to the programme from 2006 to 2015, it has provided assistance such as water, sanitation and hygiene; non-food items and shelter; education; and health to IDPs and vulnerable people.

For many actors, **the identification process** is not only a way to identify 'real' IDPs, vulnerable IDPs or IDP assistance beneficiaries; rather, many humanitarian agencies have also used **the categorisation process for policy purposes** because it allows agencies to claim money for a purpose—in this case, money that was meant to assist IDPs. Unfortunately, displacement status was found not to be considered as a main criterion in the process of identifying IDPs who are entitled to receive assistance, resulting in the use of the IDP label as a claim-making political strategy to get funds—using IDP issues more than considering individuals' the displacement status at the end.

By including more characteristics linked to non-IDP residents, the identification process has widened **the scope of assistance.** Humanitarian agencies are designated as assistance providers or donors, whereas IDPs are depicted as needy victims who were helpless, vulnerable and waiting for assistance. This situation has been used to justify top-down or need-based interventions.

Unfortunately, the identification process observed in eastern DRC is not in line with the ***Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*** as some principles (14.1, 15.a, 18.1, 18.2, 22.a and 22.b) are not respected. Principle 14.1 refers to IDPs' liberty of movement; 15.d refers to their freedom to choose their place of residence and right to seek safety in another part of the country; 18.1 refers to IDPs' right to an adequate standard of living; 18.2 refers to access to essential food and potable water, basic shelter and housing, appropriate clothing, essential medical services and sanitation; and 22.1 and 22.2 refer to the freedoms of thought, conscience, religion/belief, opinion and expression, as well as the rights to seek opportunities for employment and to participate in economic activities.

Overall, the first empirical chapter of the thesis highlights how difficult it is to define someone as an IDP or as an IDP who is eligible for assistance. Dealing with IDPs has been especially challenging because humanitarian actors have disagreed about both the definition of an IDP and the identification of IDPs who are eligible for assistance. Furthermore, in making these determinations, these actors have sometimes ignored the criterion of being displaced because of conflict. This study found South Kivu to be a context of concern, where the bureaucratic humanitarian regime has been reinforced by the use of the IDP label and where the process of identifying and assisting IDPs is not systematically in line with the *Guiding Principles*.

6.1.2. Alignment with acquaintances to survive in Bukavu

The third chapter of the thesis concerns how IDPs make use of their networks during their displacement in South Kivu. Based on in-depth interviews with 56 IDPs followed in urban and rural areas, I studied the role of IDPs' networks at different stages of their trajectories, from the moment they decided to leave their places of origin to their arrival at a new place in the city.

Here, I started by identifying the kinds of support IDPs could rely on and the types of relationships they have with the providers of this support. IDPs could rely on a **window of sympathy** when they first arrive in the city, during which they are provided with support such as food, clothing and shelter. During that period, IDPs are welcomed by their friends, families or relatives, and they intend to return to their villages after a sense of safety returns.

Next, I explored the time IDPs spend with their hosts and examined the moment they leave their host families to become independent, focusing on the types of support they receive and the types of relationships they have with those providing this support. I was interested in how IDPs survive independently, without relying on their host families to feed them, provide shelter and so on. Moving out on their own is marked by shift in their networks that has a huge impact on IDPs' lives: They begin their new lives as 'normal' residents and have to fulfil their needs on their own.

Since its introduction, the concept of social networks has contributed to forced migration studies in many ways (Colson 2003, p 4). A main contribution of social network analysis involves understanding how two people may be linked: the nature of a tie, the type of support and its exchange value (Scott 1991). These three elements are among the fundamental characteristics of an individual's social network (Scott 1991). This is relevant for the present study, as IDPs rely on the existence of ties such as friends, kin, close relatives, and people from the same village or community to get support (e.g., money, food, housing or clothing) in the context of trust, sympathy or the understanding that they will reciprocate in the future (Lopes et al. 2011).

The study found that the significance of IDPs' networks changes as soon as they arrive in the city, where they rely on **family and friends they know from home, new friends they make in the city, and people they meet through formal institutions such as churches, NGOs or employers.** Two main findings emphasise the importance of knowledge in IDPs' networks—particularly through acquaintances in the city—and the support of local authorities. At different stages of their trajectories, IDPs' networks play an evolving role. New friends acquired in the city and people the IDPs meet through formal institutions are essential in their survival. The

importance of networking with authorities highlights the presence of the state, even in DRC, which is often considered a failed state.

The different types of networks fill different support needs in IDPs' lives. Existing structures or personal networks, such as friends, relatives, community and village members, offer what I call **basic support** at the beginning of an IDP's displacement. Typically, relatives share their home, food and clothes for as long as IDP families stay with them.

In their new neighbourhoods, IDPs meet new acquaintance in the city. These new ties of friendship and companionship provide a **sustaining support**, such as a sense of community, a place to share their feelings with other IDPs, a place to establish new ties with formal institutions, assistance in case of mourning or illness, and information related to attaining jobs or plots of land. For some IDPs, meeting other new IDPs provides access to ethnic associations that offer assistance such as information about jobs or places to find necessities for daily survival through the associations' networks in the city. All of this support is essential to sustaining IDPs' lives in their new neighbourhoods.

In addition to new acquaintances made through formal institutions such as churches and local authorities, ties with NGO workers and employers offer **planning support** for IDPs' future. These types of ties help IDPs to consider their future, seeking to buy a plot of land, get a place at a market from local authorities, acquire a health care assurance from a church, obtain a job from an NGO worker or procure a loan from an employer. Having relationships of this type allows IDPs to pursue their lives in Bukavu.

IDPs begin their displacement journeys through their personal networks, as has been recognised by researchers such as Lieber (1977) and Barnett (1953). Indeed, a great deal of literature on the role of social networks in forced migration relates to the importance of personal networks (i.e. friends, family and kin). However, my findings point to the importance of **associations with acquaintances** in IDPs' new neighbourhoods in the city and with **institutions**, above relying on existing structures or personal networks. As Lieber and Barnett acknowledged in earlier work, forced migration networks evolve. IDPs exhibit a sense of innovation to renegotiate their networks and to adapt to their new environments, assisted by new friends met in the city in gaining access to resources. Urban IDP networks evolve over time, as IDPs show that they are able to recreate new networks in cities, with new friends and individuals met through formal institutional contexts enabling their survival. This study has added to the broader

knowledge on the importance of network trajectories, beyond the more commonly described relevance of the personal network (friends and relatives).

6.1.3. Weak ties involved in recognised markets in Bukavu

The chapter 4 on the economic lives of IDP women presents the approaches IDP women use to become involved in markets in Bukavu. For this chapter, I interviewed 16 IDPs and 37 non-IDPs participating in markets, and I followed IDP women' navigation of some of the markets. I explored how IDP women approach entry into a market and the multiple challenges and advantages they encounter after they are part of a market.

The field of network studies has improved knowledge of economic life, creating the concentration of economic sociology (Dobbin), which seeks to understand how social relationships structure all forms of markets (Fligstein and Dauter 2007, p 122). The field is based on a foundational assumption that social networks built on kinship, friendship, trust or goodwill sustain economic relations and institutions (Lie 1997, p 349). Through this lens, IDP women would be expected to use their friends or acquaintances to gain access to markets in Bukavu.

After living in Bukavu for several months, IDPs usually start to explore survival strategies because most no longer live with host families at that point. Many IDP families living on their own are female-headed households, because a significant number IDP men remain in their villages to look after the family's belongings, continue working in the same job, or look for another job. IDP women' involvement in markets in Bukavu reflects an important shift because employment among IDP women has typically been linked to jobs such as housekeepers, maids or day labourers (e.g. washwomen, carrying materials in construction sites or carrying goods in the city).

I began this part of the study by investigating the organisation of both recognised (formal) and unrecognised (informal) markets in Bukavu, seeking to understand how IDP women navigated each type of market. The organisation and management in the two types of markets differ sharply. I interviewed the managers of the markets to better understand the differences between the two types of markets. In recognised markets, local authorities (represented by the town hall of Bukavu or the commune) and a market committee represent the authorities. Unrecognised markets, in contrast, are organised by a neighbourhood chief or a sellers' committee that is led by the commune and coordinated by both the local authorities and a seller-led market committee.

Next, for each type of market, I selected two markets and described how IDP women, non-IDP sellers, tax collectors and others involved in the market go about getting a place in the market and paying taxes, as well as how they may be removed from the market.

Although I expected to find that IDPs initially seek their livelihoods through informal markets, the recognised markets are actually more lenient in terms of providing access to IDPs. Three factors play a role in attracting women to recognised markets. First, a **strong relationship** among sellers is a stepping stone in recognised markets, providing basic support to IDP women. Most IDP women do not have much cash to buy goods, and recognised markets offer the possibility of getting goods on credit to sell in the same market—an attractive possibility for anyone lacking resources. As retailers, IDP women need to find survival activities that allow them to get cash at the end of the day, and recognised markets offer this.

Emotional and financial support is the second point attracting IDP women to recognised markets. Both forms of support are relevant to women dealing with situations such as mourning or struggling to pay their children's school fees. Groups of sellers arrange themselves in partnerships and always have a common fund intended to assist individual sellers when necessary (e.g. because of mourning, a birth, a wedding or a death). The assistance can be in kind or in cash.

Assistance in dealing with harassment or any kind of eviction is the last point attracting IDP women to recognised markets, because these markets offer **protection**. For many IDP women, selling in markets is challenging because of harassment from police officers, tax collectors or other sellers. In recognised markets, IDP women can get protection against these forms of harassment as long they are part of a group of sellers.

In the literature, the economic life of IDPs is often linked to access to the informal sector or informal activities. However, my findings indicate that recognised (formal) markets are more attractive to IDP women, compared with unrecognised markets, because of the support among sellers in recognised markets. IDP women preference for gaining access to formal markets rather than informal markets contrasts with the idea that IDP women have limited choices because of their low levels of education and training (Buscher 2013, p 95). The present finding that IDP women are able to engage in recognised markets adds to existing knowledge on IDP women in post-conflict situations, who are often described as having few skills and little education, resulting in them being involved only in informal activities.

6.1.4. The camp as a place of differentiation: IDPs' vulnerability by livelihood

Most IDPs worldwide do not live in camps, and there is a policy trend following the idea that staying outside of camps enables more resilience among displaced people. The final empirical chapter of the thesis explored this idea by asking what an IDP camp meant for IDPs experiencing different levels of vulnerability. Based on in-depth interviews with 40 IDPs living in Mugunga 3 camp, the chapter 5 explores the differentiation of vulnerability among residents, examining their livelihoods, their responses to a camp-closure threat and their perceptions of the meaning of the camp during their stay.

Little existing work has directed attention towards classifying separate groups of forced migrants in camps. Camps are often portrayed as places of assistance where residents are considered a vulnerable (Werker 2007, p 473) and homogeneous group (Buscher 2009, p 95). According to De Vries (2006, p 13), this idea is linked to the need-based framework of humanitarian interventions, where camp residents have to fit into the programmes or projects offered to them and present themselves as needy. Clearly, this idea limits the knowledge of camp residents in terms of their social lives and their capacity to process their experiences while living in these camps. When forced migrants' agency and ability to process their experiences during harsh times are recognised, it is possible to find evidence that camp residents comprise heterogeneous groups with a variety of interests, actively pursuing their livelihoods (Jacobsen 2005b). This kind of knowledge has challenged the general idea that camp residents who settle outside of camps necessarily enjoy better conditions in terms of their social networks, autonomy, livelihood conditions, shelter and access to food (Zetter and Boano 2009, p 214).

Reflecting on these ideas, I started by identifying groups of IDPs in the camp. Mugunga 3 camp in Goma city in North Kivu province was one of the oldest IDP camps, as it was established in 2007. It became a camp of *consolidation* in 2009, hosting vulnerable IDPs such as older people, breastfeeding women, victims of sexual violence, orphans, HIV-positive individuals and people with disabilities. In the camp, **three groups of residents** emerged: (1) IDPs targeted by humanitarian actors; (2) IDPs seeking opportunities in the camp; and (3) IDPs working inside or outside of the camp.

I explored the livelihood of each IDP I interviewed to identify differences in their means of survival. Three types of activities emerged. The first group (IDPs targeted by humanitarian actors) relied on activities linked to humanitarian interventions, such as agriculture, income-generation activities and food rations. The second group (IDPs seeking opportunities in the

camp) was the largest group observed; IDPs in this group often presented themselves as needy (De Vries 2006) or exhibited 'victimicy' (Utas 2005). Because of a lack of programmes tailored to their needs, playing the 'victimicy' card and appearing to be needy were assets for many residents, contributing to their access to resources such food rations, income-generation activities or training that targeted vulnerable people. The third group (IDPs working inside or outside of the camp) comprised residents who earned money through their links to the camp organisation, non-agricultural activities or some form of camp economy.

After examining types of livelihoods among camp residents, I linked each livelihood group to vulnerability. For example, the most vulnerable group relied on their social capital, through a horizontal network with ties to other IDP camp residents, in addition to physical capital (the camp). As a next step in the research, I identified different responses to a camp-closure threat, examining the role of livelihoods in camp residents' decisions in this context. Most IDP residents relied on their social capital, choosing to settle in Goma. Depending on their access to different types of information, many bought plots of land in the surrounding Mugunga neighbourhood, and some were already experiencing land conflict at the time of the research. In the final part of this research, I reflected on camp residents' motives for living in a camp. For many residents, living in Mugunga 3 camp was an important element in organising their lives.

In contrast to most literature on IDPs in camps, which describes camp residents as vulnerable and in need of assistance, my findings indicate that being in a camp can be a strategy for pursuing a livelihood. Diversification and the combination of livelihood strategies were stepping stones for survival in the camp, particularly through physical capital (access to information), social capital (vertical network) and human capital (skills and knowledge). Overall, this empirical chapter of the thesis has contributed to enriching knowledge about IDPs' strategies in camps, which are often depicted only in terms of their link to social capital.

6.2. Cross-cutting themes

In this section, I respond to the main research question of the overall thesis: *How do IDPs cope with the challenge of displacement and sustain their livelihoods in cities?* To answer this question, I present two sub-sections, exploring this question through lenses of survival outside of the camp and inside the camp. Here, I identify the main issue IDPs face in terms of survival in each environment and explore the resources they used to cope in both situations.

6.2.1. Surviving outside of the camp

After IDPs were in a situation of displacement, being considered an IDP was not simple or straightforward, and the main issue they faced was **displacement status** being backgrounded as a criterion for obtaining assistance. They had to fulfil other criteria to receive aid assistance because humanitarian interventions targeted only vulnerable IDPs, discounting the rest of the IDP population. This approach dismissed IDPs' needs, contributing to these needs remaining unaddressed, particularly in urban settings.

Given the circumstances, many IDPs had to rely on different ways of obtaining support because their places of origin were still being invaded or had been destroyed. Some IDPs returned to their places of origin, but many settled in urban or rural areas, waiting for the end of the conflict. These IDPs received support during a window of sympathy. However, this window was temporary, and many had to move out of their host families' homes. When facing this situation, IDPs had access to **two resources** that might allow them to survive.

As a newcomer, **the first resource** was forming a network of neighbours and acquaintances that could provide vital access to information, which was essential for survival and for maintaining a living. While living with host families, IDPs did not need to have access to information because their hosts served as bridges to the community, which ensured that IDPs were able to enjoy the community resources. However, the dynamic changed when IDPs were on their own in a new neighbourhood; they had to act on their own to access resources, which required their acceptance in the new community. Without this, daily life could be even more difficult, and some IDPs chose to move to another neighbourhood to be accepted. Clearly, acceptance in a neighbourhood and not being perceived as a threat are vital to IDPs.

The second resource was establishing a vertical network with people such as the *chef de quartier*, priests or pastors of neighbourhood churches, individuals who were influential in the neighbourhood and leaders of local associations who could help IDPs because of their awareness of issues facing newcomers (including IDPs) in the community. Depending on the context, knowing some gatekeepers helped IDPs to navigate life in the city at a lower cost. For instance, local authorities in some neighbourhoods were approached during waves of displacement because they could arrange shelter for IDPs or allow them to sell in markets. These examples and others presented in this thesis reflect the significance of vertical networks in this situation.

6.2.2. Surviving in the camp

Similarly, camp residents relied on humanitarian assistance when they arrived at the camp, but the nature of this assistance was not consistent because it was constantly being reduced and limited. Many camp residents had to **present themselves as needy or as victims** to get aid assistance, which was a downside of living in the camp. However, being in a camp offered valuable support for reflecting on loss during displacement, processing the transition and their new lives, and keeping families together.

Camp life was not easy, although IDPs had access to basic services, shelter and sometimes food rations. There were **two strategies** to get resources: being seen as a vulnerable person **targeted by agencies** and **being a camp\organisation worker**. The first of these strategies relied on aid assistance, and the second relied on receiving in-kind payments and certain privileges in the camp in exchange for their work. Because resources were limited to targeted residents and camp/organisation workers, many IDPs had to survive by presenting themselves as needy or developing a strong livelihood, combining physical capital (access to information), social capital (strong vertical networking) and human capital (skills).

6.3. Future research and policy recommendations

To contribute to drafting a new research agenda with respect to IDPs in urban areas, this section first describes some of the limitations of the present research and assesses whether other studies have faced similar difficulties, before sketching the contours of potentially fruitful directions for future research. The section closes with policy recommendations at three different levels.

6.3.1. Limitations of the current research

This study was the first to explore the livelihoods of IDPs outside and inside of camps. Whenever I explained the reasons for studying IDPs, people were often surprised or taken aback by my attention to this population. Many people thought I was wasting my time because they thought that there were no IDPs or they wondered why someone would choose to study a population that is just like other populations. In my view, very little was known about the IDP population, and it was relevant to tell a story that reflected their realities. I also sought to reveal any false ideas about IDPs.

Like any scientific work, this study had many limitations that can be grouped under two points: First, to understand IDPs' survival strategies and to depict IDPs' situations, the study took an ethnographic approach and relied on qualitative data, which had both advantages and

disadvantages. In my work with IDPs outside of camps, the qualitative approach enabled me to gather information about IDPs' lives and to develop related policy recommendations. As a case in point, Chapter 2 explores the use of the IDP label by humanitarian actors to understand how a definition is applied. However, some may question whether including quantitative analyses would also have been useful. As this work is a first multi-year academic study about IDPs in eastern DRC, I believe that it was essential to start with a qualitative study. Because there are no clear statistics on IDPs in this context and no official record of population movements in some areas (both urban and rural), a qualitative study such as this one can provide valuable background information enabling the launch of a quantitative study in the future.

Second, considering the question of gender, some may question the consideration of gender roles in the thesis. I recognise that the study generally did not explicitly bring out the gender positions of men and women, but it did directly explore IDP women's occupations in markets (Chapter 4), which represents an essential step in reflecting on policy aiming to protect IDP women in market environments and in other spheres where they could be involved. This examination of IDP women in the markets implied that gender is very important and should be systematically taken into account in future studies in this context. Further, it would be useful for future work to explore the specific experiences of IDP men as well. Nevertheless, the present research on IDPs in general is helpful in identifying the main issues faced by IDPs during their displacement, as well as for suggesting how these issues can be addressed.

6.3.2. Future IDPs in urban areas

Some interesting puzzles that emerged during this PhD research project have not yet been answered. In the research on the definition and identification of IDPs (Chapter 2), I observed a large gap between the numbers provided by the international community and those provided by national policy makers. Does this gap also exist in other countries, and how can it be explained? This might be a relevant question for reaching a more accurate understanding of the size of the IDP phenomenon. A second puzzle that emerged in the same chapter relates to the temporal definition of when someone can be labelled an IDP. More cross-country comparative research is needed to assess limitations regarding the time dimension of the IDP label. Once you are an IDP, do you always remain an IDP, or does the label expire after a certain amount time or after you have reached certain integration markers? A last question resonates with the next session on policy recommendations, where I argue that there is a need to strengthen the responsibility and capacity of the Commission National des Réfugiés (CNR). To that aim, it would be

interesting and relevant to ask where and with which methods international actors have been successful in strengthening the role of national commissions working on the plight of IDPs.

6.3.3. Engagement and research uptake

What use is research without a concrete discussion of its dissemination and practical implications? This research on the urban livelihoods of IDPs was part of a large consortium known as the Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium (SLRC), which included different thematic research studies related to post-conflict issues. The relevance of this consortium revolved around updating the way academic research can inform practice, using theories in a concrete manner.

From the beginning of my PhD journey, I was very aware of the advantages of being part of the SLRC. More specifically, I experienced three highpoints where the consortium was very helpful in my efforts to conduct research that was policy- and practice-oriented:
First, the dissemination of my research through research uptake was an essential part of my work, and this was ensured by my contributions to many events in which the SLRC took part. This research uptake included participating in events such as conferences and meetings of the United Kingdom's Department for International Development and other donors, as well as writing blog posts and working papers. Through these venues, I was able to talk about my research as it relates to engagement on the ground. Second, having these opportunities to share my work influenced my network by broadening my connections with other researchers with different backgrounds. Sharing thoughts, insights and fears with other researchers about the work or particular issues that arose helped me at each step and helped with the acceptance of failure. Finally, through my participation in the consortium, I was able to improve several skills that were necessary to complete my research—specifically, participating in the consortium has improved my confidence, patience and ability to learn a new language.

6.3.4. Policy recommendations

As a researcher, I have the obligation to be the enlightenment to raise the alarm, to allocate responsibilities, to assess damage and to propose solutions. My recommendations are directed to three levels of actors—namely national authorities, actors (national and international) dealing with IDPs in the field and policy makers.

At the national level, the Congolese government should reconsider their attitudes towards IDPs, as this population has been ignored in past years. Three points can support the actions of the government in the future. First, Local authorities have an important role to play in the first stage

of displacement of IDPs because these authorities are closest to the community and can serve as a bridge between newcomers and existing residents to have tolerance towards newcomers in some neighbourhoods, particularly when the newcomers are IDPs, who are often rejected. Therefore, local leaders can use their authority to facilitate integration and to contribute to allowing newcomer IDPs to gain access to information. In doing this, these authorities can help to provide insight regarding issues faced by newcomers and potentially useful projects for IDPs in the future. This recommendation is the most important in terms of protection. Second, the reinforcement of the tasks of the CNR involving IDPs, economic migrants and other groups would help international donors to refer to the CNR when there is a need for an intervention or a study. For instance, the name CNR could be replaced with Commission Nationale des Mouvements des Populations to indicate an inclusive role of the CNR to others populations. Changing the name would also add responsibilities and tasks towards others populations (such as migrants, refugees, IDPs, economic migrants, returnees). Finally the inclusion of the Kampala Convention as a legal text providing a support to actors dealing with IDPs. The text can be referred to as a first text towards IDPs protection and assistance and as an example of future national texts and laws strengthening IDPs protections and needs.

Regarding the other actors dealing with IDPs in the field (national and international), it is essential to recognise that these actors have a role in how IDPs are perceived in host communities, as they are responsible for the identification of IDP beneficiaries. Three points may be helpful for these actors to review their engagements. First, there is a need for a common set of criteria for IDP assistance to avoid selecting different beneficiaries through different identification processes. The involvement of all actors, including both IDPs and non-IDPs, during the identification process should serve to reduce tensions. The 'common criteria' recommendation should be applied by actors who currently use their own methods of identifying IDPs. Second, supporting the CNR (e.g. in terms of training and knowledge about population movements) is important so that the CNR will become more capable of working with IDPs. Finally, it is important to organise an institution that handles IDP identification for actors who do not have enough funding to identify IDP beneficiaries themselves, and this role could be played by the CNR, which is already in charge of identifying refugees.

The final recommendations offered here are addressed to policy makers dealing with IDPs. First, there is a need to strengthen the place of the criterion of displacement in claiming assistance for IDPs among donors and to assist IDPs on the ground in dealing with humanitarian aid actors. Displacement should be understood as the foundation of what allows someone to be

referred to as an IDP. Second, there is a need for actors in the field, donors and the national government to treat all IDPs equally, in light of the Guiding Principle indicating that, in general, IDPs should not be treated differently. This point recognises that there are differences in livelihoods among IDPs in all contexts (in both camp and non-camp settings) but that they should all be referred to as IDPs. Finally, humanitarian interventions still have a great deal to achieve in terms of providing protection and assistance to IDPs. Humanitarians are among the first actors to respond in situations of displacement, and they can use this position to take the lead in bringing all actors dealing with IDPs to the same table to discuss the future of IDPs. Whether there is a distinction between relief and development interventions or whether both are happening at the same time, humanitarian actors have the opportunity to act as bridges or leaders in the quest for a durable solution for IDPs.

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English Summary

Over the past few years, the number of people affected by forced displacement has risen sharply in crisis contexts throughout the world. The nature and complexity of these crises make studying forced displacement relevant for understanding how people who are uprooted in times of crisis make a life and a livelihood in urban areas, as well as for understanding the changing dynamics in urban areas as a result of population movements. In general, forcibly displaced populations consist of two main groups: refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). The shifting dynamics in urban populations resulting from conflicts and disasters triggered by natural hazards make it crucial to pay attention to IDPs.

IDPs have been largely overlooked by the international community, but the body of literature examining these populations is growing. Some scholars have considered IDPs to be victims, whereas others have acknowledged the ability of IDPs to rely on existing structures to survive as active agents. In my research, I adopted the approach of considering IDPs as active agents in my exploration of their experiences with displacement in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). I sought to revise some of the common assumptions related to IDPs' experiences. Through my research, I hope to provide a frame of reflection for understanding

IDPs' experiences in urban areas that will be used in both future research and policy orientations, to inform actors dealing with IDPs and non-IDPs regarding ways of addressing issues related to IDPs, to call for the consideration of the IDP population as part of the urban population when it comes to creating solutions and to bring attention to the IDP population at multiple levels of discussion.

Eastern DRC has experienced conflict for the last 20 years. For multiple reasons, conflicts involving different actors have erupted, placing the country in an ongoing crisis situation. Population movement, particularly of IDPs, has been a major consequence of these ongoing conflicts, placing DRC at the top of the list of countries where displacement is associated with conflict and violence. Providing assistance for IDPs has been a challenge because violence and working conditions have often hindered the delivery of aid.

The main question addressed in this thesis was 'How do IDPs cope with the challenges of displacement and sustain their livelihoods in cities?' Within this broad question, the following specific questions guided the research:

How has the 'IDP' label impacted humanitarian assistance in South Kivu? (Chapter 2)

How do IDPs engage through networks and use them at key moments in their displacement trajectories in Bukavu? (Chapter 3)

What challenges do IDP women face when entering markets in Bukavu? (Chapter 4)

How do IDPs in Mugunga 3 camp differ in terms of their vulnerability, and how does this affect the meanings of the camp for IDP residents? (Chapter 5)

Hence, with the goal of understanding the reality of IDPs' experiences in eastern DRC through an exploration of their lives, struggles and survivals, I adopted a qualitative approach to describe the details of IDPs' experiences and to bring light to the reality of IDPs in Bukavu and Goma. This approach was particularly useful given the lack of official records on IDPs from the Congolese authorities and the invisibility of the IDP population in some areas.

The fieldwork for the study was carried out from October 2013 to March 2015. For over 18 months, I examined IDPs' experiences in urban areas, with a particular focus on their livelihoods and on how the concept of 'IDPs' was conceived. The data collection for the study was mainly conducted in South Kivu in Bukavu, but I also directed some attention to IDPs in North Kivu in Goma and carried out field visits in rural areas in both of these provinces.

The empirical findings are organised in four chapters. After this introduction chapter, Chapter 2 is an attempt to deconstruct the IDP label, with a particular look at the definition of IDPs and the process of identifying IDP beneficiaries to receive assistance in urban settings. The chapter also discusses the consequences of the IDP label for providing humanitarian assistance to IDPs

outside of camps and examines how this relates to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. Chapter 3 deals with IDPs' social networks, with a specific focus on differences throughout the displacement trajectory. The chapter presents the role of networks at different points in the trajectories of IDPs, beginning with their flight from their place of origin. Chapter 4 describes the analysis of the economic life of IDP women in an urban setting and considers IDP women's level of engagement in different types of markets, testing the assumption that the informal sector is characterised by flexibility, opportunities and accessibility—allowing vulnerable people with network ties to gain access. Chapter 5 details the types of IDPs living in Muganga camp 3 in Goma during the fieldwork, with a particular focus on differentiating between them in terms of their livelihoods, planned destinations in case of a camp closure, vulnerability and perceptions regarding the meaning of the camp.

The main finding of this thesis are as follows:

(1) Different agencies have dissimilar tactics for identifying IDPs who merit inclusion on their beneficiary lists for aid, revealing inconsistencies among the actors dealing with IDPs in South Kivu. One striking finding is that many agencies background the displacement element, despite soliciting funds for IDPs. There is a high level of non-accordance with the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.

(2) Whereas most literature focuses on kinship and ethnic networks that support IDPs, this thesis found that acquaintances (new friends made in the city) and vertical connections with people involved in formal institutions or in the socio-political hierarchy were highly important ties that supported IDP during their displacement in Bukavu.

(3) Whereas the existing literature often builds on the assumption that IDPs have to rely on informal markets, the present research found that many IDP women started their activities in recognised (formal) markets before moving to unrecognised (informal) markets. Depending on the period of time they spent in the recognised market and their resources (i.e. money, a good network to get goods on credit), IDP women often used recognised markets—not unrecognised markets—as an entry point. Formal markets were more accessible because of a strong relationship among sellers, emotional and financial support, and the protection they offered.

(4) Mugunga 3 camp dwellers were not a homogeneous group of vulnerable residents, but rather multiple groups with different statuses and possibilities. These groups engaged in various activities, inside or outside of the camp. Across the groups, the camp's existence was very important in residents' IDP trajectories because the camp gave them a place to recover from their (traumatic) experiences, allowed families to stay together, and provided a stepping stone to survive and integrate in the city.

Overall, this thesis finds that IDPs sustain their lives in cities with little humanitarian aid. Instead, they get assistance through kinship ties, acquaintances and organisations such as churches. Surprisingly, local authorities were also inclined to help IDPs, at least for a certain period, which I call the 'window of sympathy'. Although the study findings affirm urban IDPs' agency to survive with the help of the resources they mobilise, the study also finds that the vulnerable position of IDPs is often neglected and that assistance is rarely offered to them in a way that is in line with the Guiding Principles.

The thesis concludes with recommendations for three levels of actors: local authorities, national and international actors dealing with IDPs in the field, and policy makers.

Nederlandse Samenvatting

Het aantal mensen dat gedwongen moet verhuizen door crisissituaties in de hele wereld is de afgelopen jaren sterk gestegen. De aard en complexiteit van deze crises maken onderzoek naar gedwongen verhuizingen relevant om te begrijpen hoe mensen die in tijden van crisis ontworteld zijn een leven en middelen van bestaan opbouwen in stedelijke gebieden. Daarnaast biedt dit onderzoek inzicht in de veranderende dynamiek in stedelijke gebieden als gevolg van bevolkingsbewegingen. Over het algemeen bestaan de ontheemden uit twee hoofdgroepen: vluchtelingen en binnenlands ontheemden (IDP's). Veranderingen in de samenstelling van de stedelijke bevolking als gevolg van conflicten en natuurrampen maken het essentieel om aandacht te besteden aan IDP's.

De internationale gemeenschap heeft weinig oog voor IDP's, maar er wordt steeds meer onderzoek gedaan naar deze bevolkingsgroepen. Sommige wetenschappers beschouwen binnenlands ontheemden als slachtoffers, terwijl anderen erkennen dat binnenlands ontheemden het vermogen hebben om actief gebruik te maken van bestaande voorzieningen om te overleven. In dit onderzoek naar de ervaringen van ontheemden in het oosten van de Democratische Republiek Congo (DRC) worden IDP's beschouwd als actieve actoren. Daarbij wordt een aantal gangbare veronderstellingen over de ervaringen van ontheemden kritisch tegen het licht gehouden. Dit onderzoek beoogt een denkkader te bieden om de ervaringen van de IDP's in stedelijke gebieden te kunnen begrijpen. Dit kan worden gebruikt in toekomstig onderzoek en beleid om actoren die te maken hebben met IDP's en anderen te informeren over

de aanpak van problemen met betrekking tot binnenlands ontheemden, om ervoor te zorgen dat er rekening wordt gehouden met binnenlands ontheemden als onderdeel van de stedelijke bevolking bij het creëren van oplossingen, en om op verschillende niveaus de aandacht te vestigen op binnenlands ontheemden.

Het oosten van de DRC is de afgelopen 20 jaar geteisterd door conflicten. Om diverse redenen zijn er conflicten tussen verschillende partijen uitgebroken, waardoor het land in een aanhoudende crisissituatie is terechtgekomen. De verplaatsing van de bevolking, in het bijzonder van IDP's, is een belangrijk gevolg van deze aanhoudende conflicten, waardoor de DRC bovenaan staat op de lijst van landen waar ontheemding gepaard gaat met conflicten en geweld. Hulpverlening aan binnenlands ontheemden wordt ernstig bemoeilijkt door geweld en ongunstige werkomstandigheden.

De belangrijkste vraag die in dit proefschrift wordt beantwoord is: 'Hoe gaan IDP's om met de uitdagingen van ontheemding en hoe voorzien ze in hun levensonderhoud in de steden?' Deze brede onderzoeksvraag is opgesplitst in de volgende specifieke deelvragen:

- Hoe is het etiket 'IDP' gebruikt bij de humanitaire hulp in Zuid-Kivu? (Hoofdstuk 2)
- Welke rol spelen netwerken voor IDP's en hoe gebruiken ze deze op cruciale momenten tijdens hun ontheemding in Bukavu? (Hoofdstuk 3)
- Voor welke uitdagingen staan ontheemde vrouwen bij het betreden van de arbeidsmarkt in Bukavu? (Hoofdstuk 4)
- In hoeverre verschillen IDP's in kamp Mugunga 3 in kwetsbaarheid, en welke invloed heeft dit op de betekenis van het kamp voor de ontheemden die er verblijven? (Hoofdstuk 5)

Het doel van dit onderzoek is om te begrijpen wat IDP's werkelijk ervaren in het oosten van de DRC door te kijken naar hun leven, hun strijd en hun overleven. Daarom is een kwalitatieve benadering gekozen waarin de ervaringen van de IDP's in detail worden beschreven en waaruit blijkt wat het betekent om een binnenlands ontheemde te zijn in Bukavu en Goma. Deze aanpak was vooral nuttig gezien het gebrek aan officiële gegevens over IDP's en de onzichtbaarheid van de ontheemden in bepaalde gebieden.

Het veldwerk voor het onderzoek is uitgevoerd tussen oktober 2013 en maart 2015. In een periode van meer dan 18 maanden zijn de ervaringen van IDP's in stedelijke gebieden onderzocht. Daarbij lag de nadruk op het levensonderhoud en op hoe het begrip 'IDP's' werd opgevat. De onderzoeksgegevens zijn grotendeels verzameld in Bukavu, de hoofdstad van de provincie Zuid-Kivu, maar er is ook gekeken naar IDP's in Goma in Noord-Kivu en in beide provincies zijn plattelandsgebieden bezocht.

De onderzoeksresultaten worden beschreven in vier hoofdstukken. Na een inleidend hoofdstuk wordt in Hoofdstuk 2 het etiket IDP nader bekeken met speciale aandacht voor het proces waarin bepaald wordt welke ontheemden recht hebben op hulp in een stedelijke omgeving. Het hoofdstuk gaat in op de gevolgen van het etiket IDP voor het verlenen van humanitaire hulp aan IDP's buiten de kampen en toetst die aan de Beleidsuitgangspunten inzake binnenlandse ontheemding. Hoofdstuk 3 gaat over de sociale netwerken van IDP's, en specifiek over de verschillen binnen het ontheemdingstraject. Hierbij komt aan de orde welke rol netwerken spelen op verschillende punten in het ontheemdingstraject, te beginnen met de vlucht uit de oorspronkelijke woonplaats. Hoofdstuk 4 beschrijft het werkzame leven van ontheemde vrouwen in een stedelijke omgeving en gaat in op de mate waarin vrouwelijke IDP's actief zijn in verschillende sectoren van de arbeidsmarkt. Hierbij wordt de veronderstelling getoetst dat kwetsbare mensen vanuit hun netwerk toegang krijgen tot de informele sector omdat deze gekenmerkt wordt door flexibiliteit, kansen en toegankelijkheid. Hoofdstuk 5 beschrijft de typen IDP's die tijdens het veldonderzoek in kamp Mugunga 3 in Goma woonden. Daarbij wordt gekeken naar verschillen in de wijze waarop ze in hun levensonderhoud voorzien, in waarheen ze willen vertrekken in geval van sluiting van het kamp, in kwetsbaarheid en in wat het kamp voor hen betekent.

De belangrijkste conclusies van dit proefschrift zijn:

(1) Er is geen uniforme aanpak om te bepalen welke IDP's in aanmerking komen voor hulp, en de instanties die zich bezighouden met IDP's in Zuid-Kivu hanteren een verschillend beleid. Wat opvalt is dat veel instanties het ontheemdingsaspect op de achtergrond plaatsen, terwijl zij wel om middelen voor IDP's vragen. Het beleid is veelal niet in overeenstemming met de Beleidsuitgangspunten inzake binnenlandse ontheemding.

(2) Terwijl in de literatuur vooral de nadruk ligt op verwanten en etnische netwerken die IDP's ondersteunen, blijkt uit dit onderzoek dat kennissen (nieuwe vrienden uit de stad) en verticale banden met mensen die betrokken zijn bij formele instellingen of bij de sociaal-politieke hiërarchie belangrijker waren voor IDP's tijdens hun verblijf in Bukavu. Dit geldt voor het hele ontheemdingstraject.

(3) Terwijl de bestaande literatuur vaak uitgaat van de veronderstelling dat IDP's aangewezen zijn op de informele arbeidsmarkt, blijkt uit dit onderzoek dat veel ontheemde vrouwen op de erkende (formele) arbeidsmarkt zijn begonnen voordat zij actief werden op de niet-erkende (informele) arbeidsmarkt. Afhankelijk van de hoeveelheid tijd die zij op de erkende markt doorbrachten en hun middelen (d.w.z. geld, een goed netwerk om goederen op krediet te krijgen), gebruikten ontheemde vrouwen erkende markten – in tegenstelling tot niet-erkende

markten – vaak als ingang. Formele markten waren toegankelijker door de sterke onderlinge banden tussen verkopers, en boden emotionele en financiële steun en bescherming.

(4) De bewoners van kamp Mugunga 3 vormden geen homogene groep kwetsbare bewoners, maar konden onderverdeeld worden in aparte groepen die verschilden in status en mogelijkheden. Deze groepen ontplooiden diverse activiteiten binnen of buiten het kamp. Voor alle groepen gold dat het kamp erg belangrijk was omdat het de bewoners een plek gaf om hun (traumatische) ervaringen te boven te komen, het gezinnen de mogelijkheid gaf om bij elkaar te blijven, en het een opstapje bood om te overleven en te integreren in de stad.

In het algemeen blijkt uit dit proefschrift dat binnenlands ontheemden met slechts weinig humanitaire hulp het hoofd boven water weten te houden in steden. Zij redden zich met hulp van verwanten, kennissen en organisaties zoals kerken. Verrassend genoeg waren de lokale autoriteiten althans tijdelijk ook geneigd om IDP's te helpen; dit gebeurde in de zogenaamde 'mededogenfase'. Hoewel de resultaten van het onderzoek bevestigen dat IDP's in steden in staat zijn te overleven met behulp van de middelen die zij mobiliseren, blijkt uit het onderzoek ook dat de kwetsbare positie van IDP's vaak wordt genegeerd. Veder komt naar voren dat de wijze waarop zij hulp krijgen zelden in overeenstemming is met de Beleidsuitgangspunten.

Het proefschrift besluit met aanbevelingen voor actoren op drie niveaus: lokale overheden, nationale en internationale actoren die in de praktijk te maken hebben met IDP's, en beleidsmakers.

Résumé Français

Le nombre de personnes touchées par le déplacement forcé a fortement augmenté à travers le monde. La nature et la complexité de ces crises rendent l'étude des déplacements forcés pertinentes pour comprendre comment les personnes déplacées internes survivent dans les zones urbaines, ainsi que la dynamique changeante des zones urbaines résultant des mouvements de population. En règle générale, les populations déplacées de force comprennent deux groupes principaux: les réfugiés et les personnes déplacées internes à l'intérieur de leur propre pays.

Dans la plupart des cas, les personnes déplacées internes sont considéré comme des victimes, tandis que dans d'autres ont reconnu la capacité de ces derniers à s'appuyer sur les structures existantes pour survivre en tant qu'agents actifs. Dans ma recherches, j'ai adopté l'approche consistant à considérer les personnes déplacées internes comme des agents actifs dans l'exploration de leurs expériences en matière de déplacement dans l'est de la République Démocratique du Congo (RDC). J'ai cherché à revoir certaines des hypothèses communes relatives aux expériences des personnes déplacées. Grâce à mes recherches, j'espère pouvoir fournir un cadre de réflexion pour comprendre les expériences des personnes déplacées internes en milieu urbain dans le cadres des recherches futures et des orientations politiques connexes.
L'est de la RDC a connu des conflits ces 20 dernières années. Pour de multiples raisons, des conflits ont éclaté et ont impliqué différents acteurs, plaçant le pays dans une situation de crise permanente. Les mouvements de population, en particulier des personnes déplacées internes, ont été une conséquence majeure de ces conflits, en plaçant la RDC au sommet de la liste des pays où le déplacement interne est associé à des conflits et à la violence. Fournir une assistance

aux personnes déplacées a été un défi, car la violence et les conditions de travail ont souvent entravé la fourniture de l'aide.

Avec la question principale abordée dans cette thèse, «Comment les personnes déplacées internes font-ils face aux défis du déplacement et maintiennent-ils leurs moyens de subsistance dans les villes?», j'ai essayé de comprendre la réalité des expériences des personnes déplacées internes à l'est de la RDC, en se basant sur leurs vies.

Appendix I: Fieldwork periods and locations, 2013–2015

Fieldwork period	**Fieldwork location**
October 2013–February 2014	Bukavu, South Kivu
Mars 2014	Nindja, Kabare territory, South Kivu Lusenda, Fizi territory, South Kivu
April 2014	Bukavu, South Kivu
May 2014	Bunyakiry, Kalehe territory, South Kivu
June 2014	Bukavu, South Kivu
July-September 2014	Mugunga 3 camp, Goma, North Kivu
October 2014	Masisi centre, Masisi Territory, North Kivu
November 2014	Nyragongo centre, Nyaragongo territory, North Kivu
December 2014–January 2015	Mugunga 3 camp, Goma, North Kivu
February 2015- April 2015	Bukavu, South Kivu

Appendix II: Overview of publications

Rudolph, M., C. Jacobs, and G. Nguya. 2015. ""Si dieu t'envoie de l'aide tu ne peux pas refuser" - continuous displacement, vulnerability, and humanitarian aid in protracted conflicts in the DRC." In L'Afrique des Grands Lacs Annuaire 2014-2015, edited by F. Reyntjens, S. Vandeginste and M. Verpoorten, 107-126. Anvers: Antwerpen

Gloria Nguya. 2016. “Bringing internally displaced persons back into sight in the Democratic Republic of Congo.” *SLRC, research brief, 26, 2016.* https://securelivelihoods.org/publications/

Gloria Nguya. 2019. “We are all IDPs’ Vulnerability and livelihoods in Mugunga 3 camp, Goma, Democratic Republic of the Congo.” SLRC, working paper, 77 https://securelivelihoods.org/publications/

Gloria Nguya. 2019. “Assisting IDPs where you cannot identify them. The case of South Kivu, DRC1.” SLRC, research brief https://securelivelihoods.org/publications/

Gloria Nguya. 2019. “Defining and identifying IDPs outside of camps in South Kivu, DRC: challenges, contradictions and consequences.” SLRC, research brief https://securelivelihoods.org/publications/

Appendix III: Curriculum Vitae

GLORIA NGUYA BINDA

Address : Pacifique street n*8
Town : Kinshasa
Democratic Republic of Congo

Language : French, English, Swahili
email address : glorianguya@gmail.com

Currently based in Kinshasa, I have been working on **livelihoods of Internal Displaced Person (IDPs) in Eastern DRC.** related on an understanding the ways IDPs sustain their lives in urban areas (Bukavu and Goma cities), I gained expertise in qualitative method to comprehend the survival strategies of IDPs outside and inside camps.

SKILLS AND TRAINING

• Qualitative data collection and analyze **(including: participation-observation, observation, interviews,** • Quantitative data collection and analyze **(including: preparing the questionnaire and data dictionary, training of surveyors, supervising data collection and entering**	• NVIVO training • Security Training in field work • End Note training • SPSS training • Power point presentation training • Qualitative data processing and writing training • Securing Livelihoods Research Consortium training

Education

October/2007- September/2010	DEA (Master) in Economy and Development/ major in Finance and Development ***« Analysis of economic aspects of the exchange control regulation in DRC » (Dissertation)*** Catholic University of Congo

	KINSHASA, Democratic Republic of Congo
October/2005 – September/2007	Bachelor Degree in Economy and Development, major in Finance and Development **«The mobilization of External Aid and the impact of development projects» (Dissertation)** Catholic University of Congo KINSHASA, DRC
October/2002 – September/2005	Three years diploma in Economy and Development ***«Market garden impact on household income in Kinshasa: case of the cooperative of the market gardeners of the agricultural centre of KIMBASEKE (COOPACEK) »*** Catholic University of Congo KINSHASA, DRC
September/1994 – July/2000	School leaving Certificate in Biochemistry **School: Lycée Kabambar** KINSHASA, DRC

Work experience

October 2011/ April 2012	Internship at **FOOD AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO) Project GCP/ DRC/ 028/ BEL (UPH)** **Kinshasa/ DRC** My task was to analyse the impact of UPH project on livelihoods and incomes of beneficiaries in some cities in DRC. I'm interested in the opportunity of illustrating the qualitative benefits of UPH development in DRC cities and on showing its contribution to the FAO's programme on growing greener cities.
March 2017/ May 2017	**Internship at United Nations University WIDER** **Helsinki/ Finland** As a PhD research intern, my task was to prepare a paper based on a comparative studies between IDPs and non-IDPs in Bukavu and to present some results in order to contribute to WIDER conference on

	migration and mobility in Accra in September 2017.
November 2018/ 13th -15th	**Gender trainer in** **CREGED/ Bukavu/ DRC** Gender course organized by the Centre de Recherche et Expertise en Genre et Developpement (CREGED) to basic knowldege on gender in Bukavu