

# BARRIERS AND MOTIVATORS FOR COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE RESPONSE TO EBOLA IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO (DRC), 2018-2019

*A synthesis of social science analysis results and corresponding field activities in four response areas. This was a collaborative project led by CDC's Social and Behavioral Science (SBS) Task Force in direct support of the DRC's Ebola response social science analytic cell (see author listing, page 16)*

## OBJECTIVE

The objective was to identify major barriers and motivators for community participation in the four key interventions of the 2018-2019 Ebola response in eastern DRC: 1) early identification of possible Ebola cases, identification and monitoring of all contacts ("contact tracing"); 2) vaccination of people at high risk; 3) transfer of people with possible Ebola symptoms to an Ebola treatment center; and 4) safe and dignified burial.<sup>1</sup> Analysts reviewed quantitative and qualitative analyses conducted during the response. All available social science reports on community knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, experiences and recommendations were reviewed and the results grouped according to the four interventions, and then according to what motivators or barriers to participation are suggested by the findings. To be included, motivators and barriers had to be indicated by at least two separate studies or reports. Motivators and barriers are shown according to intervention category in tables, alongside a summary of current activities and opportunities for further action.

## BACKGROUND

A unique feature of the current response to Ebola in the DRC is the large volume of social and behavioral data collected through the social science analytic cell ("Cellule d'Analyse en Sciences Sociale," or "CASS") and community feedback data collected by the Risk Communication and Community Engagement (RCCE) task force. To date, community volunteers have collected more than 500,000 feedback comments (in 17 health zones).<sup>2</sup> In addition, more than 30 qualitative and quantitative studies on perceptions, knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors (Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices (KAP) surveys, focus groups, etc.) have been conducted in eastern DRC since the outbreak began. There are also a small but growing number of published studies on perceptions of the Ebola virus disease (EVD) in eastern DRC.<sup>3-5</sup> This report is the first of its kind to bring all of these data together to summarize and align the evidence on barriers and motivators for community participation, and to describe the steps taken to overcome the barriers.

## Definitions

### ***Participation, motivators, and barriers***

Participation is defined as the ability and willingness to engage with prevention and treatment interventions during the response to an Ebola outbreak. Motivators are defined as factors, either external or internal to an individual that enhance a person's capability, opportunity, or motivation to participate in the interventions. Barriers are defined as the opposite: external or internal factors that impede an individual's capability, opportunity, or motivation to participate.

### ***Ebola contact***

An Ebola contact, or simply a "contact," is defined as "...any person who has been exposed to a suspected, probable, or confirmed case of EVD disease in at least one of the following ways: 1) slept in the same household as a case; 2) had direct physical contact with the case (living or dead) during illness; 3) had direct physical contact with the case (dead) at a funeral or during funeral preparation rituals; 4) touched the blood or body fluids (including urine, feces, vomit, tears or sweat) of a case during illness; 5) touched the clothing or linen of a case; or 6) is a baby who has been breastfed by the case."<sup>6</sup>

### ***Participation in contact tracing***

In the context of this response, contact tracing is defined as the performance of one of the two behaviors:

1. Among individuals identified as possible or confirmed cases of EVD: providing the name and contact information of one or more individuals with whom they recall having been in contact during the period when they were exhibiting symptoms that meet the case definition of EVD.
2. Among the people identified as "contacts" in point 1 above: agreeing to receive a daily visit for 21 days, to have their temperature taken and to answer questions about the presence of symptoms of the disease. (This does not include consent to transportation to an Ebola treatment center or temporary isolation center).

### ***Participation in vaccination***

Participation in vaccination is defined as being identified as a candidate for vaccination and agreeing to have it administered. The “ring” vaccination strategy involves selectively vaccinating only close contacts of suspected cases, including healthcare and intervention workers, as opposed to a geographically based strategy where everyone in a target neighborhood is vaccinated.

### ***Participation in transport to the Ebola treatment center***

Participation in transport to an Ebola treatment center is defined as: 1) the willingness to be transported; 2) to have a family member transported to an Ebola treatment center; or 3) the willingness to be immediately transported (or to have a family member transported) to an Ebola treatment center.

### ***Participation in safe and dignified burial***

Participation in safe and dignified burial involves following a series of twelve steps established by the World Health Organization (WHO) to prevent transmission, while allowing for family involvement to the greatest extent possible.<sup>7</sup> The key elements of the process are as follows: 1) the family must be fully informed of the dignified burial process; 2) the formal consent of the family must be obtained; 4) personal protective equipment must be worn appropriately; 4) decontamination steps must be followed; and 5) handling of human remains must be minimized.

## **EPIDEMIOLOGY OF EVD AND INTERVENTION INDICATORS**

Despite recent advances in the prevention and treatment<sup>8-10</sup> of Ebola virus disease (EVD), this virus remains highly contagious and deadly.<sup>11-14</sup> In DRC, case totals have fluctuated since the epidemic was declared on August 1, 2018;<sup>12</sup> confirmed cases peaked in May 2019 with 117 cases in one week,<sup>15</sup> fell to their lowest level in November 2019 with 6 in one week,<sup>16-17</sup> and then increased significantly again to 27 cases in December 2019.<sup>18</sup> Current projections suggest that EVD cases could continue in eastern DRC through 2020.<sup>19</sup> The most effective practices to stop an outbreak of EVD are summarized in four key behaviors: contact tracing (and offered vaccination), transfer of suspected cases to Ebola treatment centers (ETC), and safe and dignified burial.<sup>20-22</sup>

### **Participation in the Four Key Behaviors During the Ebola DRC 2018-2019 Response**

#### ***Contact tracing***

Epidemiological data suggest that not all contacts of Ebola cases were identified or tracked. For example, the contact tracing data reviewed for the period August 1, 2018 to December 31, 2019 revealed that only 46% of EVD cases were listed as known contacts. Another indicator of contact tracing success is the proportion of identified contacts who are successfully followed. Contact tracing data (from Beni, Biakato, Butembo, Mambasa, and Mangina subcoordinations) shows that from June 3, 2019 to December 31 2019, the overall contact follow-up rate was 73%, and the mean weekly contact follow-up rate ranged from 59% (week beginning November 25, 2019) to 84% (week beginning November 11, 2019). The most recent data on contact tracing for the past 21 days (as of December 31, 2019) indicated 70% of contacts were followed-up.<sup>23</sup>

#### ***Vaccination***

As of January 4, 2020, a total of 261,285 people have been vaccinated against the Ebola virus in eastern DRC.<sup>24</sup> While there are no data available on the effectiveness of a vaccination campaigns in DRC, the data suggest that not all contacts are vaccinated. Other social science data suggest that vaccination is not fully accepted; for example, depending on the area and time period, between 26% and 69% of survey participants in DRC reported that they would refuse vaccination.<sup>3,5</sup>

#### ***Early transfer of suspected cases to an ETC***

Beni and Bunia did not enter data on alerts that were isolated in the ETC, and most of the data were from Butembo.<sup>25</sup> Based on these data, between January 1, 2019 and December 31, 2019, the percentage of validated alerts (suspect cases) that were admitted to an ETC or were in the process of admission ranged from 12% (week starting January 6, 2019) to 38% (week starting December 8, 2019). As of December 31, 2019, the overall proportion of validated alerts admitted to an ETC or in the process of admission was 27%.<sup>23</sup> Although there has been an overall upward trend in the

proportion of early-isolated EVD cases and a downward trend in community deaths since the beginning of 2019, these data suggest that the challenges of early isolation remain.

### ***Safe and dignified burials***

Data on safe and dignified burials from the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) were reviewed. Data from September 22, 2018 to December 31, 2019 showed that 86% of people who died as a result of EVD received a safe and dignified burial. The percentage of safe and dignified burials fluctuated between a high of 96% (week beginning November 25, 2018) and a low of 69% (week beginning March 17, 2019). Of the recorded deaths, 5.0% were confirmed EVD cases by swabbing. Safe and dignified burials were performed even for non-EVD cases, so it is difficult to determine successful practices among confirmed EVD cases. 50% of the deceased received a dignified and secure burial in hospitals, and 51% in other places (such as transit centers, ETCs, and in the community).<sup>26</sup>

## **METHODS**

### **Theoretical Basis**

In this analysis, the concept of examining barriers and motivators for participation was drawn from health behavior specifically, the socio-ecological model<sup>27</sup> and the COM-B behavior system.<sup>28</sup> The socio-ecological model posits that individual decision-making is influenced by family and community beliefs, and suggests that behavioral interventions should act across multiple levels of influence to increase impact. The COM-B behavior model further suggests that health decisions and actions are influenced by an individual's capability, opportunity as well as motivation to perform a behavior. This acknowledges the multifaceted nature of behavioral influences, both internal (psychological) and external (cultural, financial and logistical). The purpose of the current approach of identifying motivators and barriers is to identify a range of influences, both positive and negative, on participation in each of the four interventions.

### **Social Science Study and Survey Inclusion Criteria**

All types of systematic investigation of community KAP, experiences, and recommendations regarding the Ebola response were included in this analysis, spanning published research and unpublished operational studies conducted to support response interventions. Analysts identified published literature, unpublished CASS reports, Red Cross reports in Goma, and qualitative "community feedback" reports prepared by CDC that related to any of the four key behaviors (contact tracing, vaccination, transport to the ETC, and safe and dignified burial). Published reports were identified through PubMed using the search terms 'Ebola', 'Democratic Republic of Congo', 'North Kivu' and '2018' and '2019'. For the purpose of this analysis, all surveys where participants selected predefined response options for the purpose of comparing the frequency of option selection were considered quantitative. All other types of surveys were considered qualitative; these included surveys with questions that were entirely open-ended, or surveys with no questions that allowed for comments and questions to be simply recorded.

### **Data Synthesis**

Analysts first created four tables, each corresponding to one of the four key behaviors. Examining the body of qualitative research, they then identified themes that emerged that corresponded to each of the four key behaviors—examples included "belief that Ebola does not exist" or "distrust in the medical system." The themes were then organized by the barrier or motivator to participation that they suggested.

Next, analysts searched the quantitative data for evidence that aligned with each of the motivators and barriers identified from the qualitative data review. The alignment between the quantitative and qualitative research underwent two rounds of validation by analysts to confirm that the data points corresponded.

Analysts then removed all barriers and motivators that were not corroborated by both qualitative and quantitative data. Quantitative and qualitative research methods each pose unique strengths and challenges with respect to the robustness, generalizability, and replicability of the findings. As such, for the purpose of this report, the analysts proposed that only the barriers and motivators that emerged from both the quantitative and qualitative research were to be presented, as these were deemed more reliable and strongly supported than the findings that emerged from one body of research alone.

Unexpectedly, no motivating factors were identified that were supported by both qualitative and quantitative data, so tables and the discussion from this point onward refer only to barriers. Within each key behavior table, the identified

barriers were presented in order of strongest to weakest quantitative foundation. The supporting data for each of the barriers were then summarized and presented in brief bullets, also organized by strength of association.

The analysts then reviewed UNICEF, WHO and CDC situation reports to identify ongoing activities that related to any of the barriers. Summaries of Ebola news from North Kivu and UNICEF's action reporting tools (Monito) were scanned as well, and CDC analysts corresponded via email and phone with UNICEF stakeholders for accounts of relevant activities. Finally, the analysts compared the activities to identified barriers to suggest additional areas of investigation. These suggestions were validated by two other analysts to verify alignment with the barriers mentioned and the reported ongoing activities.

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**TABLE 1. BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION IN CONTACT TRACING**

<b>Lack of information on contact tracing</b>			
<b>KEY FINDINGS</b>	<b>QUALITATIVE FINDINGS</b>	<b>PROMOTION ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES</b>
<p><b>KEY FINDINGS</b>                      1-5                      In the eight subcoordinations, a majority (&gt;50%) reported not understanding the different interventions and the Ebola response (lowest: 15%, highest: 85%, women in</p>	<p><b>QUALITATIVE FINDINGS</b>  <u>Community Feedback</u><sup>6-7</sup>                      Several health zones reported that not understanding the reasons why people's names are written down creates fear and suspicion, and 26% (n=241/914) of the comments on contact tracing indicated that more information was needed.</p> <p><u>Interviews and Focus Groups</u><sup>8</sup>                      Many in Butembo and Katwa indicated that people need an explanation of what contact tracing is: 15% of the interviews and 33% of the focus groups reported a lack of information about the Ebola outbreak in general.</p>	<p><b>PROMOTION ACTIVITIES</b>                      A "frequently asked questions" (FAQ) document has been distributed to contact tracers and is used in training.<sup>9</sup></p> <p>An adaptation of a video created for the epidemic in West Africa, with an appropriate "dub" for the DRC has been developed and distributed.<sup>10</sup></p> <p>The Risk Communication and Community Engagement (RCCE) teams have undertaken educational efforts in Biakato, Bunia, Butembo, Komanda, Mambasa, Mangina and Goma to address rumors and encourage participation and use of various response services, including contact tracing.<sup>11-15</sup></p>	<p><b>ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES</b>                      Evaluating the dissemination effectiveness of the FAQ document via video</p> <p>Determining how news of effective treatment may be used to promote positive attitudes towards health services</p> <p>Exploring the geographic scope of the response educational activities to determine audience reach for an outbreak and preparedness</p>
<b>Perception that Ebola does not exist, or that the existing Ebola epidemic is being exploited for commercial or political gain</b>			
<b>KEY FINDINGS</b>	<b>QUALITATIVE FINDINGS</b>	<b>PROMOTION ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES</b>
<p><b>KEY FINDINGS</b>                      5, 16-19                      Questions were not asked about the relation to contact tracing, and the survey on general perception of Ebola showed that between 15% (Butembo) and 54% (Karisimbi) of those who believed that the Ebola epidemic was not real. Among those who do not believe that Ebola is real, between 9% (Butembo) and 62% (Mambasa) of those who believe the epidemic had been exploited for political purposes, and 37% (Butembo) and 55% (Goma) for financial gain.</p> <p>In Butembo, 25% (n=230/961) of those who believe that the epidemic does not exist. A greater proportion of those who believe that the epidemic in North Kivu is real was exploited for financial gain (85%, "to destabilize the region" (86%,</p>	<p><b>QUALITATIVE FINDINGS</b>  <u>Interviews and Focus Groups</u><sup>8,21</sup>                      In Butembo and Katwa, doubting the existence of Ebola was a major theme in 19 of 34 key informant interviews and 4 of 9 focus groups. For others, however, the theme was slightly different, namely that the lack of 'belief' in the disease stems more from the stance that the Ebola epidemic is being used for financial purposes (but not that it does not exist).</p> <p>In Beni, the "community death" study revealed a perception in the community that local health authority workers are paid for each alert they issue and the "ETC refusal" study revealed that most participants questioned the existence of EVD.</p> <p>Studies in Beni and Butembo reveal community perception that health personnel may be motivated to report "false alarms" for Ebola because they may be financially compensated for the number of alerts they issue. This perception may be influenced by a general lack of awareness of Ebola symptoms, which leads to mistrust in Ebola case identification.</p>	<p><b>PROMOTION ACTIVITIES</b>                      Several development projects have been launched to meet basic infrastructure needs (e.g. drinking water, flood damage prevention),<sup>22-23</sup> which serve to demonstrate to citizens that the government and international organizations are invested in their health and well-being.</p> <p>The response has offered new options for contact tracing to reduce visibility of the response in communities. Instead of daily visits, an intervention officer can stay with a family for the entire 21-day period, or the family can be moved to another location for duration of the 21-day follow-up.<sup>24</sup></p> <p>A media message was created and aired on television with Congolese celebrity Dikembe Mutombo discussing the Ebola epidemic to reinforce that it is real.<sup>25</sup></p>	<p><b>ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES</b>                      Evaluating the impact of the media message</p> <p>Conducting a formative evaluation of the message development and delivery for communications that connect the connection between non-Ebola development projects and response organizations' involvement in improving the well-being of the population</p> <p>Conducting a study to determine the influence of belief in the impact of belief or disbelief on the numbers and adoption of protective practices</p>
<b>Negative opinion of contact tracing (and surveillance) staff competence</b>			
<b>KEY FINDINGS</b>	<b>QUALITATIVE FINDINGS</b>	<b>PROMOTION ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES</b>
<p><b>KEY FINDINGS</b>                      16-19                      No one had contact with staff indicated that they were not adequately informed about the response in two health zones (Beni women) and 40.5% of those who reported this was less than 5% reported this in Butembo/Katwa and Goma.</p>	<p><b>QUALITATIVE FINDINGS</b>  <u>Community Feedback</u><sup>6-7</sup>                      Across 12 health zones, 27% (n=247/914) of community feedback revealed concern regarding the competence of contact tracers. The highest rate was recorded in Butembo (55%) and the lowest in Katwa (18%).</p> <p><u>Interviews and Focus Groups</u><sup>8</sup>                      In 7 of the 34 interviews and 2 of the 9 focus groups conducted in Butembo and Katwa, participants expressed doubts about the quality and competence of the response agents, including their lack of self-confidence, communication of contradictory messages, and the fact that they are not health professionals.</p>	<p><b>PROMOTION ACTIVITIES</b>                      Capacity-building activities are underway for contact tracing agents to improve technical and communication skills, including surveillance team training conducted in June 2019.<sup>26</sup></p> <p>An FAQ document has been distributed to contact tracers and is used in training.<sup>9</sup></p> <p>WHO developed a smart phone-based reporting system to increase speed, efficiency, and standardization of contact reporting and validation.<sup>27</sup> Intended outcomes include improved effectiveness of field staff and improved perception of staff competence.</p>	<p><b>ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES</b>                      Examining the variability in the level of competence by health zones and identifying high-performing staff who may serve as models</p> <p>Evaluating the dissemination effectiveness of the FAQ document</p>
<b>Negative opinion of response team staff as a whole</b>			

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES	ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES
<p>Surveys<sup>16-19</sup></p> <p>2% of those who had contact with response staff reported that the response staff were disrespectful or aggressive. This was the case in Butembo/Katwa or 10% of the women surveyed in the community surveyed in the Butembo/Katwa area.</p>	<p>Interviews and Focus Groups<sup>8</sup></p> <p>Negative perceptions of responding agents were evident in 17/34 interviews and 5/9 focus groups, including comments regarding belief that response staff were dangerous or cursed. In Butembo/Katwa, participants commented that the presence of RECO in the community was embarrassing.</p>	<p>To build relationships with the community, RCCE teams continue to organize engagement and awareness events including sporting events; radio station spots; conference debates; door-to-door outreach; reaching out to women's associations, traditional healers, neighborhood leaders, and holding youth, corporate, and church events.<sup>12-15</sup></p> <p>New options for families involved in contact tracing (see Barrier B "Mitigation Activities") may help to change attitudes towards responding agents.<sup>24</sup></p> <p>The development of community outreach committees (Cellules d'Animation Communautaire [CACs]) may provide an outlet for specific issues with contact tracers.<sup>13</sup></p>	<p>Exploring the geographic scope of the response, educational activities, and how to determine audience reach for the outbreak and preparedness response.</p> <p>Enumerating and describing the community's development and functioning.</p>

## DISCUSSION

In summary, barriers to contact tracing are related to lack of information, skepticism about the epidemic and the response, and concerns about the capacity of contact tracers. The response has taken a number of important steps to address these concerns. For example, more automated systems (using smartphones) for collecting and reporting contact tracing data have been introduced,<sup>27</sup> as well as new options for contact tracing participants to participate in less publicly visible ways.<sup>24</sup> Efforts are underway to provide more training and orientation tools for contact tracers,<sup>9</sup> and the response has been active in educating the community about contact tracing. An evaluation of the dissemination and use of the FAQ document and video is recommended to identify whether there is a rationale for updating and expanding these tools. Disbelief of EVD and suspicion of the response are barriers to participation in the response in general (beyond simple contact tracing). A notable opportunity to increase confidence in response efforts, which could be further explored, is to publicize current efforts by international partners to support infrastructure development outside of the Ebola response (e.g. drinking water, flood prevention)<sup>22-23</sup> to demonstrate to citizens that the government and international organizations are invested in their health and well-being. In the future, more data should be collected on community responses to contact tracing to identify more sensitive indicators of the impact of response efforts.

**TABLE 2. BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION IN VACCINATION**

### Barrier A. Confusion regarding ring vaccination (including eligibility) and opposition to selective vaccination of individuals

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES	ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES
<p><u>CASS KAP Surveys<sup>1-5</sup></u></p> <p>In a KAP survey in Katwa and Butembo, 66% of participants mentioned a lack of information on vaccination. Many refused the vaccine due to lack of information: 16% (women in Beni) to 72% (Katwa).</p> <p>Participants stated that a common reason for refusal of the vaccine may be a lack of clarity regarding who is supposed to be vaccinated (ranging from 20% in Butembo to 47% in Katwa), and approximately one-fifth of participants reported having questions about who is eligible for the vaccine (22% in Butembo, 23% in Katwa, 23% in Mambasa and 25% in Karisimbi).</p> <p><u>KAP Survey<sup>6</sup></u></p> <p>A survey conducted in Beni, Butembo, Mangina and among displaced people (IDPs) in the Komanda camp revealed that 82% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that everyone should be vaccinated, not just Ebola contacts.</p>	<p><u>Community Feedback<sup>7-9</sup></u></p> <p>The most common sentiment identified in community feedback comments was dissatisfaction with how the vaccination programs are run, with over 23,000 comments corresponding to this theme. There were also frequent expressions of suspicion and anger about what is perceived as selecting some people over others for vaccination. Example comments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Why not vaccinate the entire population as was done with meningitis?"</li> <li>• "Why isn't the EVD vaccine given door-to-door like other vaccines?"</li> </ul> <p><u>Focus Group<sup>6</sup></u></p> <p>Key informants from Beni, Butembo, Mangina and IDPs in the Komanda camp reflect confusion and suspicion. "For example, they are refusing the vaccine to pregnant women, yet we know that pregnant women are always vaccinated to protect babies. We are asking if this policy is not a way to exterminate us."</p>	<p>The response developed an FAQ document including vaccination questions,<sup>10</sup> which is now used by vaccination teams for training and in the field.</p> <p>The RCCE and vaccination teams have developed three communication tools that explain and compare the Ebola vaccine to other vaccines, and have created and will promote a short video on vaccination.<sup>11</sup></p> <p>In a few test areas (Lwemba in Biakato; Bingo in Mangina), geographic vaccination rather than ring vaccination is being piloted. The RCCE team has developed a communication strategy to explain geographic vaccination in these communities.<sup>12</sup></p> <p>The RCCE team has organized numerous public awareness sessions, home visits and radio broadcasts on the importance of vaccination.<sup>12</sup></p> <p>The RCCE team is engaging traditional healers in the response to provide vaccination and to promote ring vaccination, particularly in remote health areas.<sup>13</sup></p> <p>Internews published the answers to an important community question in its Tulivyo Sikia Bulletin No. 2: "Why vaccinate only the population of Goma and deprive us of the Johnson &amp; Johnson vaccine?"<sup>14</sup></p>	<p>Exploring the geographic scope of the response, educational activities, and how to determine audience reach for the outbreak and preparedness response.</p> <p>Enumerating and describing the community's development and functioning.</p>

### Barrier B. Belief that the vaccine is ineffective

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES	ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES
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<p><u>KAP Survey</u><sup>15-16</sup> In Beni and Butembo, only 66% of participants said they believed Ebola vaccine is effective. Of those who would not accept the vaccine, 23% said it was because the vaccine does not work. In North Kivu, 75% of participants were aware of the Ebola vaccine but only 59% thought it protected against Ebola.</p> <p><u>CASS KAP Surveys</u><sup>3</sup> While a majority (56%-86%) of participants in the different health zones cite vaccination as a means of stopping transmission, this suggests that in some areas significant minorities do not see vaccines as such.</p>	<p><u>Community Feedback</u><sup>7,9</sup> Several comments related to doubts about the efficacy of the vaccine. Example comments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The vaccine given is not effective in fighting against Ebola.” (Butembo)</li> <li>• “There is no effective medication or Ebola vaccine because even people who are vaccinated die of the Ebola virus.” (Butembo)</li> <li>• “Even people who already vaccinated start to die, so we do not want the vaccine anymore.” (Katwa)</li> </ul>	<p>Please see Barrier A, "Promotion Activities." In addition to explaining the ring vaccination strategy, these educational activities can also serve to convey the message that the vaccine helps to prevent Ebola infection.</p> <p>In Goma, the RCCE and the vaccination teams developed a communication plan for the introduction of the new vaccine. This plan will address the benefits of the vaccine and the vaccination schedule.<sup>17</sup></p>	<p>Ga cla ine</p>
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### Barrier C. Fear of side effects

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES	AD
<p><u>Published Surveys</u><sup>15,18</sup> In Beni and Butembo, 63% of participants stated that they would accept the Ebola vaccine. Of those who would not accept the vaccine, over 50% cited belief that the vaccine is unsafe, or poses risk or danger.</p> <p><u>CASS KAP Surveys</u><sup>19-20</sup> Approximately 22% reported fear of vaccination. Roughly 50% (Mambasa and Beni) to 65% (Bunia, Rwampara) of the healthcare workers surveyed thought that health staff might not be vaccinated for fear of side effects.</p>	<p><u>Community Feedback</u><sup>7,9</sup> Community feedback revealed suspicions about short and long-term side effects of vaccination, including general illness, disability (physical and mental), paralysis, and birth defects and infertility in men and women. Participants also expressed concern about the experimental status of the vaccine.</p>	<p>Please see Barrier A, "Promotion Activities." In addition to explaining the ring vaccination strategy, these educational activities also serve to convey the message that the vaccine helps to prevent Ebola infection.</p> <p>Internews published the answers to an important community question in its Tulivyo Sikia Bulletin No. 2: "Do both vaccines have side effects?"<sup>14</sup></p>	<p>AD De usi alr fea  Co ex un sid the vac pla</p>

### Barrier D. Fear that the vaccine transmits Ebola

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES	AD
<p><u>CASS KAP Surveys</u><sup>1-2</sup> While the fear that vaccination might transmit the Ebola virus was reported with moderate to low frequency (20-26% of participants) in several regions the belief seemed to be more widespread in certain localities (Beni women-only survey, 47%; Mambasa, 61%).</p>	<p><u>Community Feedback</u><sup>9</sup> Community reactions claiming that the vaccine causes or spreads the Ebola virus have been identified in a number of health zones and persist over time. In some scenarios, the vaccine is seen as a means of deliberately spreading the Ebola virus, or the vaccine is used to exterminate the population (or specific minority groups).</p>	<p>Please see Barrier A, "Promotion Activities." In addition to explaining the ring vaccination strategy, these educational activities also serve to convey the message that the vaccine helps to prevent Ebola infection.</p>	<p>AD Exp cor thi</p>

## DISCUSSION

When examining barriers to EVD vaccination, two competing concerns emerge: one is the lack of confidence in the vaccine (demonstrated by the belief that it is ineffective or fear of side effects), while the second is the sense of injustice associated with ring vaccination (since it involves selectively vaccinating only close contacts of suspected cases). The introduction of a new vaccine (Johnson & Johnson) in November 2019 (in preparation areas) that does not use a ring vaccination strategy, and the piloting of the administration of the first vaccine (Merck) using a geographical approach rather than a ring strategy (in limited areas), will likely change the dynamics around vaccine acceptance. One potential barrier that was suggested by qualitative data but not corroborated with quantitative data was that eligible people were unable to get the vaccine for logistical reasons, either because they had to travel to receive the vaccine or because they were asked to pay for it. This merits further exploration. Additional research on vaccine acceptance will also shed light on how the introduction of a new vaccine and new implementation strategies affect perceptions and barriers to immunization.

**TABLE 3. BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION IN TRANSPORT TO THE EBOLA TREATMENT CENTER (ETC)**

Finding that there is a strong association between the ETC and death			
FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES	ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES
<p>1-11</p> <p>Multiple health zones, between 60-82% (Niyragongo being the only zone) said that they would not send a family member to go to the ETC because they are suspected of having Ebola. They believe that people who go to the ETC die.</p> <p>Other zones also had high percentages (80%) of people reporting fear of Ebola. In Mandima, Niyragongo, and other zones, though variation in the way people were asked limit its impact.</p>	<p><u>Community Feedback</u><sup>12-13</sup></p> <p>Multiple health zones provided comments suggesting a belief that everyone who goes to the ETC dies.</p> <p>Example comments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“When those who are sick with Ebola virus are brought to the Ebola Treatment Center, they die, so there’s no point in us bringing them.” (Bunia)</li> <li>“Once at the ETC, the patient always dies.” (Goma)</li> </ul> <p><u>CASS Interviews and Focus Groups</u><sup>11,14</sup></p> <p>In all the focus groups, participants expressed the feeling that the ETC is a ‘place of death.’</p> <p>Example comment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“What I know about the ETC it is a place where if you go, you cannot come back.”</li> </ul>	<p>The RCCE teams have organized events to engage the community, key leaders, and Ebola survivors to raise public awareness and increase acceptance of ETCs<sup>15-17</sup>.</p> <p>Two videos were created for dissemination in the community, one with a survivor’s testimony<sup>16</sup> and another with messages on the use of ETCs for the general public.<sup>17</sup></p> <p>The RCCE teams in Beni, Mambasa, Mangina and Goma organized public visits to ETCs to demystify the service and promote its use, and in Aloya (Mangina), they met with women’s groups to increase participation in ETCs.<sup>17-18</sup></p> <p>The response provided communicators with information describing a patient’s journey, “Parcours du malade” (meaning “Patient Journey”) to share with the public.<sup>19</sup></p>	<p>Assessing the geographic coverage of response activities designed to address fears of the ETC and perceptions of death across the Ebola-affected zones to further understand perceptions of the ETC</p> <p>Evaluating the distribution, use, and impact of the two videos and the “Parcours du malade” communication materials to identify the extent to which they address perceptions around the ETC</p>
Finding that Ebola does not exist, or that the existing Ebola epidemic is being exploited for commercial or political gain			
FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES	ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES
<p>1-11</p> <p>Questions were not asked about willingness to contact tracing, and a survey on general perceptions showed that between 40% and 54% (Karisimbi) of respondents believed that the Ebola epidemic was real. Among those who believed that Ebola is real, between 37% (Mambasa) and 62% (Mambasa) believed the epidemic had been exploited for financial purposes, and 37% (Goma) for financial gain.</p> <p>20</p> <p>In Mambasa, 25% (n=230/961) of respondents said that they believe that Ebola does not exist. A greater proportion of respondents believed that the epidemic in North Kivu was being exploited for financial gain" (85%, Mambasa) and "to stabilize the region" (86%, Mambasa).</p>	<p><u>Interviews and Focus Groups</u><sup>11</sup></p> <p>6 of the 11 focus groups in Lwemba, Butembo and Katwa and 19 of the 34 interviews had had the theme that Ebola does not exist, or that Ebola exists and response personnel are spreading it for profit.</p> <p>Example comment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"Ebola doesn't even exist. Once you get to the ETC, you inject patients with products that weaken them."</li> </ul> <p>Most (n=9/16) of the individuals interviewed in Biakato, Bingo, Katanga and Lwemba questioned the existence of Ebola.</p>	<p>A media message was created and aired on television with a Congolese celebrity discussing the Ebola epidemic to reinforce that it is real.<sup>21</sup></p> <p>Several development projects have been launched to meet basic infrastructure needs (e.g. drinking water, flood damage prevention)<sup>22-23</sup>, which serve to demonstrate to citizens that the government and international organizations are invested in their health and well-being.</p> <p>In February-March 2019 there were efforts made across all agencies to reduce the visibility of response efforts in the community, including moving from cars to motorbikes as a form of transportation or having teams carpool together.<sup>24</sup></p>	<p>Evaluating the impact of the media message on community perceptions</p> <p>Conducting a formative evaluation to assess message development and promotion communications that convey connection between non-Ebola development projects and Ebola-affected organizations’ investment in the well-being of the population</p> <p>Exploring opportunities to integrate Ebola into the health system rather than addressing Ebola as an independent problem</p>
Finding that ETC staff disregard other illnesses			
FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES	ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES
<p>1-11</p> <p>In Mambasa, 20%-26% of respondents reported that worrying about Ebola was a barrier to sending a family member to the ETC.</p>	<p><u>Community Feedback</u><sup>12-13</sup></p> <p>Although the percentages are relatively low in the surveys, there is a large body of qualitative evidence that reveals fear that other health problems are ignored at the ETC. Participants are concerned that when people are brought to the ETC for testing, their underlying illnesses may remain untreated while they wait, resulting in death. Sample comments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"At the ETC, the sick are abandoned. They are not given any medication. That's why patients die there even if they don't have Ebola."</li> </ul>	<p>The RCCE team produced a radio program on the testimonies and reintegration of a non-case released from the Bunia ETC.<sup>25</sup></p> <p>UNICEF reports that the RCCE has organized visits and briefings on the ETC for the community, including explaining how the ETC works and tours to display what happens there.<sup>26-27</sup></p>	<p>Exploring opportunities to integrate Ebola into the health system rather than addressing Ebola as an independent problem</p> <p>Exploring opportunities to integrate Ebola into the health system rather than addressing Ebola as an independent problem</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"Why are patients dragged to the ETC to wait for lab results without being treated?"</li> </ul>		
Belief that care is provided only to patients known by ETC staff			
FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES	ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES
<p>One-fifth of participants in Beni and Mandima (20%) said they would not encourage a family member to go to the ETC if they were not receiving Ebola because they believe care is only given to people known by ETC staff. In the other zones, more than 13% of participants</p>	<p><u>Community Feedback</u><sup>12,27</sup></p> <p>Some community members expressed perceptions of preferential treatment for people who are well-connected.</p> <p>Examples of comments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"In the Ebola treatment center, people are treated according to whether they are known; otherwise, they die."</li> <li>"We have noticed that at the ETC it's all about who you know. When you are known by the healthcare workers, you are well cared for and cured."</li> </ul>	<p>The RCCE teams have been working on engaging the community by recruiting locally and including influential women, religious leaders and traditional healers in the response and in the community outreach units (Cellule d'Animation Communautaire [CACs]).<sup>16,29</sup> This helps develop local buy-in and build trust.</p> <p>ETCs are employing vaccinated Ebola survivors to help provide care for patients, and medical students trained in infection prevention and control are placed in high-risk health facilities in their home communities.<sup>30-31</sup> Ideally, increasing the number of caregivers from the community will increase trust in the ETC.</p>	<p>Exploring this barrier further through more robust quantitative data and analyzing geographic variations.</p>

## DISCUSSION

The principal barriers to willingness to go to an ETC are: (1) a perception that the ETC leads to death; and (2) a general skepticism about the reality of the Ebola epidemic. Although several other themes related to people's perceptions and experiences with ETCs emerged in the community responses, few of these were validated by quantitative data. The following two themes had some quantitative results to support them, but frequencies were not very high (not higher than 26%): "Belief that ETC staff disregard other illnesses" and "Belief that care is provided only to patients known by ETC staff." As noted above, response communication teams have carried out several activities to change beliefs around ETCs, to address concerns about the Ebola response, and to build confidence in the health system. However, it is difficult to fully assess the extent to which these activities are addressing these barriers without greater detail about the geographic scope and strategy of community education activities.

**TABLE 4. BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION IN SAFE AND DIGNIFIED BURIAL (SDB)**

Barrier A. Suspicion of burial practices where the body is obscured		
QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES
<p><u>HHI Survey</u><sup>4</sup></p> <p>In Beni and Butembo, only 4% found it acceptable to have the body obscured during the ceremony.</p>	<p><u>Community Feedback</u><sup>2-3</sup></p> <p>Community feedback revealed suspicion around burials where the body is obscured in a body bag or an opaque coffin, particularly with regard to mutilation of the body.</p> <p>Example comments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"We want the bodies to be shown to the community after they are put in the body bag to confirm that it is the same person."</li> <li>"You cut off people's organs during the safe and dignified burial."</li> </ul> <p><u>SSHAP synthesis</u>,<sup>4</sup> <u>CASS data synthesis</u>,<sup>5</sup> and <u>Published Conflict Scan</u><sup>6</sup></p> <p>Media monitoring uncovered rumors in the local media regarding theft and mutilation of bodies and pre-digging of graves (prohibited by Nande culture). Additionally, a conflict scan using focus groups and key interviews of 218 people found that people had the belief that the soul cannot escape the body bag and find rest.</p>	<p>Transparent body bags were introduced in June 2019, and by August 2019 at least one funeral service provider in each zone was using them.<sup>7</sup></p>
Barrier B. Lack of information on how safe and dignified burial is conducted		
QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES

<p><b>CASS KAP Surveys<sup>8-14</sup></b>  Across seven health zones, about two-thirds of people in Katwa and Beni listed SDBs as the best way to control Ebola. In other zones less than one third mentioned SDB as a way to control EVD (lowest: 2% in Goma).</p> <p>Some participants had questions about SDB in general (highest in Butembo (43%). One frequent question was about where people who die from Ebola are buried (35% in Katwa, 25% in Butembo, 19% in Mambasa, and &lt;8% in the other health zones.)</p>	<p><b>Community Feedback<sup>2-3</sup></b>  Questions from the community about how safe and dignified burial is conducted and the rationale for it were one of the top three community feedback themes among SDB comments from six health zones.</p> <p>Example comments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● “Why do you want to bury all dead bodies, even in a negative case?”</li> <li>● “The burial you perform, it happens when and how?”</li> <li>● “People never saw where you bury people with Ebola, where do you take them?”</li> </ul>	<p>The RCCE teams have organized awareness campaigns, sports events and home visits, and engaged with community radio stations and youth and women's associations to increase acceptance of the response.<sup>15</sup> The RCCE team has also been active in the area of education and training, with more than 23,000 homes visited.<sup>16</sup></p> <p>The RCCE team is undertaking a series of activities to increase public understanding of SDB and the swab collection process.<sup>15-16</sup></p> <p>In Beni, Mangina, and Mambasa, the response uses a video kit that explains safe and dignified burial and the RCCE team is working on facilitating and distribution of the video kit to all health zones.<sup>17</sup></p>
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**Barrier C. Belief that safe and dignified burial is not culturally acceptable or does not respect customs**

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES
<p><b>KAP Survey<sup>1,4</sup></b>  Across health zones, only 25% of participants reported that they would accept that medical staff dress the deceased instead of a family member for a funeral; 9% would accept that the body remain in a medical facility before being buried rather than at home; and 2% would accept having medical personnel bury the body.</p> <p>In Beni and Butembo, only 35% of participants found it acceptable to proceed with the burial without waiting for relatives to travel from far away.</p> <p><b>CASS KAP Survey<sup>8-14</sup></b>  In 5 of the 7 health zones, more than 50% accepted the idea that someone from outside the family could perform burial.</p>	<p><b>Community Feedback<sup>2-3</sup></b>  Some community feedback indicated perceptions that the response shows a lack of respect for the deceased.</p> <p>Example comments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● “What dignity do you show when you leave corpses in the sun?”</li> <li>● “The way you bury the dead of Ebola does not relieve the population; look for other methods.”</li> </ul> <p><b>Published Mixed Methods Study<sup>18</sup></b>  Focus group participants from Beni, Butembo, and Mangina, and IDPs in Komanda camp expressed that seeing an Ebola patient after death was important to the family.</p> <p>Example comment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● “Our culture demands that we say goodbye to the one that goes ahead of us to the beyond. It’s a powerful moment for us.”</li> </ul> <p><b>SSHAP Synthesis,<sup>4</sup> CASS Data Synthesis,<sup>5</sup> Published Conflict Scan<sup>6</sup></b>  Media monitoring found claims that SDB teams were aggressive and did not communicate with grieving families. CASS analysis cited similar issues. The conflict scan showed concerns about certain cultural practices, such as pre-digging of a grave (prohibited by Nande culture).</p>	<p>The RCCE teams have been working on engaging the community by recruiting locally and including influential women, religious leaders and traditional healers in the response and in the community outreach units (Cellule d’Animation Communautaire [CACs]).<sup>17,19</sup></p> <p>The WHO updated guidelines in 2017 that include specific burial practice adaptations for Muslims. For example, these adaptations include spraying perfume instead of washing the body.<sup>20</sup></p>

**Barrier D. Lack of understanding around how the body remains infectious after death from EVD**

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS	QUALITATIVE FINDINGS	PROMOTION ACTIVITIES
<p><b>KAP Survey<sup>1,4</sup></b>  Across health zones, only 56% report knowing that Ebola can be contracted by touching dead people, and only 39% reported avoiding the body of someone who has recently died of Ebola (high of 61% in North Kivu).</p> <p><b>CASS KAP Surveys<sup>8-14</sup></b>  In four of eight health zones, less than 50% believed that Ebola is transmitted by touching the bodies (range by health zone: 20%- 95%).</p> <p><b>Published Mixed Methods Study<sup>18</sup></b></p>	<p><b>Community Feedback<sup>2-3</sup></b>  Some community members have reported that they touched the body of a deceased Ebola patient and did not contract Ebola. Based on this experience, they concluded that Ebola is not real.</p> <p>Example comments:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● “Ebola is a lie: we knew a positive case; we touched the patient and his dead body afterward, and yet we are well; we refused the vaccine.”</li> <li>● “Awareness is good, but why aren’t any Red Cross volunteers dying from Ebola, given the high number of corpses they bury?”</li> </ul>	<p>Please see Barriers B and C, "Promotion Activities." These promotion activities also serve to educate the community around the body remaining infectious after death.</p> <p>In Bunia, after a dialogue facilitated by the RCCE team in collaboration with the surveillance and IPC staff, 50 members of car and motorbike taxi drivers’ associations of Bunia and Rwampara committed to stop transporting dead bodies (infected or not) without a medical document.<sup>21</sup></p>

A study in Beni, Butembo, Mangina, and IDPs in Komanda found that only 4% would touch the body if a family member died.		
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## DISCUSSION

Early in the response, SDB leadership recognized the importance of the body being visible and identifiable to loved ones during burial, and they responded by introducing partially transparent body bags. It is not clear whether these bags have been made available for all burials, but the predominance of the concern about seeing the body suggests that this may be an effective solution. While community feedback does not show a strong reaction to the use of clear body bags,<sup>7</sup> future collection of community feedback regarding satisfaction with the burial process should provide more specific and actionable feedback. Other barriers included not having enough information about SDB, and fears that cultural traditions are not respected. Response activities include community education, obtaining agreement before proceeding with safe and dignified burial, and adjusting procedures to accommodate family desires. Without more specific information on the nature and scope of these efforts, it is difficult to assess how well they are able to address these barrier. It is notable that survey responses from one health zone to the next are divergent, which suggests that community engagement and SDB activities are more effective in some areas than others. Further inquiry should be conducted to identify success stories, and strategies could be replicated in other areas.

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[https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1e69Ip9eEudu9UIW7XXBs4gXXQL5lu\\_dwGRg7rhdCKac/edit#gid=1681762368](https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1e69Ip9eEudu9UIW7XXBs4gXXQL5lu_dwGRg7rhdCKac/edit#gid=1681762368)

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