

ECONOMIC LIVELIHOODS OF REFUGEES IN KRISAN,
WESTERN REGION OF GHANA.

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER DEGREE
IN MIGRATION STUDIES



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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation presented for examination is my own work. It was not written for me in whole or in part by anyone. I also declare that any paraphrase or quotations from published or unpublished works have been duly acknowledged.

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Signature

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DR LOUIS BOAKYE-YIADOM

.....
Signature

Date.....



DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my dearest mother AMA MANSA SANDERS.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

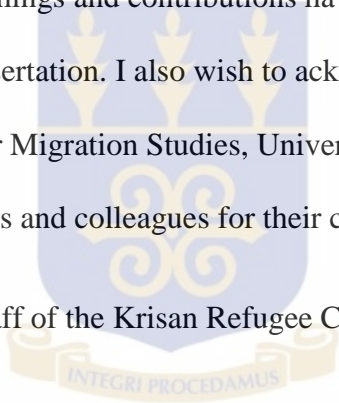
My sincere appreciation and gratitude go to my family especially my mother for their unconditional love and support. Akpe.

I would like to express my deepest thanks for the guidance and support of my supervisor Dr. Louis Boakye-Yiadom, Department of Economics, University of Ghana, Legon.

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, the protracted nature of refugee camps across the world has caused a shift from humanitarian food aid supply to self-reliance which is considered to be a more durable solution for refugees to have a more dignified and sustainable livelihood. The refugees in the Krisan camp have extreme difficulties making adequate livelihoods within the camp as well as outside the camp due to a range of factors such as an inability to earn adequate economic wages and outright unemployment. The study set out to determine the existence of alternative strategies used by refugees at the Camp to provide for their daily economic livelihoods, analyse the composition of these strategies, and determine the extent to which these strategies meet the needs of the refugees in the camp. The study sought to investigate the problem as a social phenomenon within frameworks such as the Self-Reliance Policy and the Sustainable Livelihood Framework. With the case study approach, employing qualitative methods such as focus group discussions, observations and in-depth interviews as well and quantitative methods based on questionnaires administered to a randomly selected sample of sixty households heads as respondents, I collected data for analysis by the survey which also covered purposively sampled officials of relevant institutions.

The following findings were made; the refugees have taken to economic activities such as fish net drawing and mongering, charcoal burning, hair dressing, etc. as alternative livelihood strategies to survive. Networking within the camp determines the level of success at the camp in terms of survival, support (both physical and emotional), and level of income. Also, the economy at the camp is closed and sub divided into enclaves by country of origin which further reduces

the size of the market for a particular refugee with a particular skill. There is a high level of illiteracy at the camp which seems to explain refugees' non-participation in the formal sector of the economy. Although the observed standard of living was low, there was no evidence of malnourishment.

Upon the findings made, it is recommended that exceptions should be made for vulnerable refugees such as the aged, nursing mothers, the sick and new arrivals from the Self-Reliance policy. There should be greater diversification of training programs to suit the individual needs of the refugees. There should be some intervention by government and the local authorities to give backing to the refugees so as to enable them participate in the local economy.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU: African Union

CARE: Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere

CRS: Catholic Relief Service

DFID: Department for International Development

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States

ERD: European Report of Development

GHC: Ghana Cedi(s)

GES: Ghana Education Service

GIP: Ghana Police Service

GOG: Government of Ghana

GRB: Ghana Refugee Board

JHS: Junior High School

IFAD: International Fund for Agricultural Development

MMDAs: Metropolitan Municipal and District Assemblies

MSG: Multiple Storey Gardening

NADMO: National Disaster Management Organization

NCS: National Catholic Secretariat

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations

NVTI: National Vocational Technical Institute

OAU: Organisation of African Unity

OXFAM: Oxford Committee for Famine Relief

PNDCL: Provisional National Defence Council Law

SHS: Senior High School

SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Scientist

UN: United Nations

UNHCR: United Nations High Commission for Refugee

UNIDO: United Nations Industrial Development Organisation

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Migration is a phenomenon that has existed since the beginning of time. Humans migrate for various reasons that may include (but is not limited to) changes in weather patterns, primitive search for food and water, reproductive activities, running away from seen and imagined enemies, or plain curiosity. Migrations may therefore unfold slowly over time when people are hunting, gathering, or looking for greener pastures, it can be hurried and massive as in wars, civil unrest, or politically indiscrete decisions or can be a mixture of any of the previously mentioned dynamics. According to Eltis (2007), the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was the largest long distance coerced movement of people in history. He further asserts that, prior to the mid-nineteenth century it formed the major demographic well-spring for the re-peopling of the Americas. By the end of the slave trade in the 19th century, an estimated 12.5 million Africans had undertaken the passage across the Atlantic in over 35,000 voyages with approximately 10.7 million completing the journey (Slave Voyages database).

Migration issues therefore tend to either raise hopes or bring about deep fears (de Haas, 2007). In recent years, the increase in human migration maybe attributed to globalization and the declining cost of transport, intra and inter-state economic inequalities, and conflicts that are mushrooming in all corners of the globe. In addition to the previously mentioned reasons for migration is the problem of hunger, especially in the Sahelian regions of Africa. Diminishing agricultural and pastoral returns as a result of poor weather patterns and archaic agricultural practices have immensely contributed to the

movement of people who are looking for food. While others are searching for food, others want better educational and employment opportunities for themselves while others want to reunite with families who have already migrated.

Many of the major migrations in the world have occurred as a result of forced migration or expulsion according to Adamson (2006). Natural disasters, for example the 2004 Asian tsunami and typhoon in the Philippines in 2013 and man-made disasters such as wars and conflicts that have engulfed the world have also contributed to the migration of people. The current uprising in the Middle East especially in Syria since 2011 and the unrelenting situation in South Sudan has pushed internally displaced persons, asylum seekers and refugee figures to 35 million (Global Appeal Update, 2013). Despite some large-scale repatriation programs in the 1990s and early 2000s, large numbers of refugees throughout the world did not return to their homeland because of the instability in their country of origin (Crisp, 2006: 11-12). Issues concerning refugees affect the government of the host nation, society and community in which they are placed specifically, and the international community at large. However the greatest issues concern the refugees themselves. Their integration into the receiving/host country does not usually take place as desired. However, today, no part of the world is exempted from the refugee situation except for those areas, which are currently experiencing the conflicts. Because the whole world is affected by this refugee situation, the importance of migration and particularly forced migration has become increasingly visible on the global policy agenda. The United States, Australia, Canada, Norway and Sweden are the some countries of resettlement of refugees. Asia is said to have hosted about 9.4 million refugees in 2003, followed by Africa with 4.6 million and Europe with one million (UNHCR, 2003; Martin, 2004).

1.2 Mass Movements in Africa

The majority of mass movements, especially contemporary refugee movements in the third world, are caused by war, ethnic strife, and sharp socio-economic inequalities argued Mensah (2009). Africa, which is home of most of the poorest third world countries has a forced migration burden of untold proportions. The many African conflicts over the years have left Africa with large populations of both internally and externally displaced people (Crisp, 2000; Ogata, 2005). In Sudan alone, the conflict has displaced 2.6 million people internally and generated about 250,000 refugees according to the UNHCR (2001). It is estimated that 29 percent of the world's refugee population lives in Africa (UNHCR, 2001). Due to the many conflicts, camps like Dadaab and Kakuma in Kenya and the UNHCR refugee camp in Tanzania have, over the years, hosted refugees. Adepoju (1982) argues that, the continuous deterioration of the political systems in Africa, and the current threats of terrorism that intermittently occur especially in the northern parts of Nigeria, Mali, and other parts of Africa have indeed become the burgeoning source of forced migration.

1.3 Refugee Settlement in Ghana

The peaceful atmosphere that has existed in Ghana for the past decades has encouraged the arrival of refugees not only from the neighbouring countries like the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Nigeria, and Togo but many more from distant countries including Sudan, Eritrea, and Somalia. Over the years, a number of UNHCR refugee camps have been established in Ghana and these include Klikor Refugee Camp in the southern part of the Volta Region which was established in the 1990s to host refugees from Togo fleeing from the political unrest; The Buduburam Refugee Camp near Accra also established in the

1990s which became home to thousands of Liberian refugees; and other camps such as the Egeyikrom Refugee Camp in the Central Region that hosted refugees from La Cote D'Ivoire and the Krisan Refugee Camp in the Western Region which was initially established in 1996 to host Liberian refugees but has become one of the most culturally diverse camps in the world as it hosts refugees from about fifteen (15) different countries. The capacity of the camp is 2000, but the camp hosted up to about 3000 at a point in time. At the time of the research, the refugee population at the Krisan Refugee Camp was 967. The Camp Coordinator stated that the population figure fluctuates as the dynamics change according to the processes of repatriation, resettlement, and integration and natural population determinants (birth and death).

To ensure that the refugees are safe and cared for, institutions and bodies have been established to monitor the welfare of these forced migrants in Ghana. These institutions include:

- The Ghana Refugee Board: set up in 1992 under Refugee law, 1992 (PNDC 305D); it refers to the United Nations Conventions relating to the status of refugees of 1951 and the United Nations Protocol relating to the status of refugees of 1967, which have been ratified by the Government of Ghana. The OAU Conventions governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa of September 1969 also ratified by the Government of Ghana.
- The Ghana Immigration Service: Ghana's attempt at addressing refugee situations dates back to the era of independence when the then president Dr Kwame Nkrumah extend material and moral support to dependant states like southern African states like Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia (Dumor, 1991). The

traditional Ghanaian hospitality and gestures coupled with acceptance and ratification of international immigration laws and conventions are some of the measures the government of took to regulate immigration in Ghana before the establishment of Ghana immigration service by Immigration Service Law, 1989 (PNDCL 226); It is generally responsible for the control and movement of people to and from Ghana. It is charged with the responsibility of enforcement of all the enactments relating to the entry, residence, and employment of all foreigners in Ghana. The major law under which it operates is the Immigration Act 2000, Act 573 and other enactments relating to migration and border security. Under this department is the Refugee section – to provide protection for refugees and to seek permanent solution for problems of refugees in Ghana.

- The National Organization for Disaster Management: established by an act of parliament, Act 517 of 1996 to be responsible for the management of areas affected by disasters and other emergencies in the country also plays a role in the management of refugees in Ghana.

1.4 Problem Statement

The phenomenon of people being displaced as a result of armed conflicts, political discontent, and military strife has unfortunately become a persistent one. This is particularly true of refugees from most nations of Africa where those who have gone back to their homes barely settled before rumours of war and conflict erupt again. The Ivory Coast for example had two successive conflicts that sent refugees to Ghana twice notwithstanding the successful restoration of relative peace in some of the countries of origin, efforts to repatriate refugees or integrate them into the host society or country

have not gone down well with some of the refugees. While most of the refugees including Liberians and Togolese have agreed to be repatriated back home, others have verbalized fear as the main reason for resisting. The process of integration of refugees into the host countries has been fraught with bottlenecks as dialogue with receiving communities has been non-existent. In addition, the host community perceives the refugees as a burden on the country's scarce resources. Therefore, the refugees who are promised integration into the community still do not have permanent citizen cards. With no skills and poverty stricken, most of the refugees have remained in the camp. The refugee camps in Ghana therefore remain and maintain their characteristics as refugee camps.

The inhabitants of Krisan Refugee Camp are no exception to this situation of uncertainty. Since the camp's inception in 1996, the UNHCR has been responsible for the upkeep and the sustenance of the refugees in collaboration with the Ghana Government, NGOs and other implementing agencies such as NADMO, Ghana Police, Ghana Immigration Service, and the Ghana Refugee Board. The residents in the camp were provided with basic needs as aid and some refugees were given basic vocational training in masonry, carpentry, hairdressing, sewing and baking. These efforts notwithstanding, the standard of living of the inhabitants of the camp is rather low. A preliminary observation and anecdotal evidence suggests that a large proportion of the refugees are suffering from deprivation or poverty. This state of affairs has worsened because the UNHCR has since September 2011, as a policy, decided to stop giving the refugees at Krisan food rations. The efforts of the refugees to generate household incomes through the use of their vocational training has been rather ineffective since their services as tailors, seamstresses, bakers, masons etc. are not being patronized. This has diminished their ability to enhance their economic

and social wellbeing as well as improve their nutritional status. Socially, the refugees were initially accepted and were thus peacefully coexisting with the host community. However, over the period, attitudes have changed and there is a state of distrust between the refugees and the natives. The breakdown in trust between the refugees and the native communities has rendered their stay in the environs tedious. In the nexus of social and economic difficulties, refugees at the Krisan camp have lived there for a rather long period. The study seeks to find out what the alternative livelihood strategies of the refugees are. What is the range of economic activities undertaken and to what extent these activities are assisting the refugees to cope or adapt to life at the Krisan camp.

1.5 Objectives of Study

The general objective of this study is to ascertain the extent to which the vocational and skill training programs provided to the refugees at the Krisan camp that is organized by UNHCR and other NGOs is helping define, elevate, and improve the economic livelihoods of the refugees at the Krisan Refugee Camp. Secondly, the study aims to determine alternative strategies used by refugees at the Krisan Camp to provide for their day to day economic livelihoods, analyse the composition of these strategies, and discover the extent to which these strategies meet the daily needs of the refugees in the camp.

The specific objectives of the study are

1. To assess the new livelihood strategies that have been introduced to the refugees which they have adapted;
2. To evaluate the effectiveness /adequacy of adapted livelihood strategies in ensuring a decent living;

3. To describe /analyse the role of the UNHCR and the agencies of the Government of Ghana in supporting livelihood changes and wellbeing for refugees in the light of UN Refugee “Conventions” articles 17 and 18 (see appendix 2)

1.6 Research Questions

This study seeks to answer the following questions

1. What is the nature of the support/sustenance that is provided by the relevant institutions to refugees at the Krisan refugee camp?
2. What is the impact of this support on their livelihoods in Ghana?
3. How are sources of household income generated by refugees at Krisan?

1.7 Significance of the Study

There are already laid down United Nations standards for the general well-being of the refugee. In addition, there are conventions and treaties that Ghana is a signatory to or needs to comply with because it is by default part of the International Community. The legal structures embedded in the UN Conventions have implications for Ghana as a host nation responsible for refugees. The responsibility of the host nation includes the provision of safety, access to services, adequate nutrition and overall sense of well-being accorded its citizens with the help of the UN bodies responsible for refugees. This study will be useful for the determination of how well host nations, as well as related/relevant agencies are living up to their duties/responsibilities to the refugees to ensure that their dignity is not compromised. Both empirical and descriptive data will be presented to elaborate and clarify the social and economic conditions under which the Krisan refugees live.

1.8 Scope of the Research

This research will focus on the geographical space of the Krisan Refugee Camp and its inhabitants. There are two categories of respondents:

- The refugees including those who are gainfully employed both inside and outside the camp and
- The institutions related to the operations of the refugee camp.

In terms of content, the study will be concerned with issues such as employment and incomes of refugees as supported by the legal framework of the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees Articles 17 and 18.

The report is organized as follows:

Chapter one contains the introduction, problem statement, research question, objectives, significance of the study, scope of the research, while chapter two presents a brief history, the location, culture, language and key characteristics of the host communities. Chapter three is a review of relevant literature aimed at exploring information already available regarding the economic livelihood strategies of refugees in different settings all over the world but particularly in Africa. Chapter four discusses and justifies the strategies for both the data collection and data analysis methodology. Chapter five provides a presentation and analysis of data collected, and discussions as well as findings made while chapter six presents a summary of findings made, conclusions drawn, and recommendations made by the study.

CHAPTER TWO

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE HOST COMMUNITY

2.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapter, more than fifty percent (50%) of refugees in the world currently live in urban areas. The others however live in refugee camps that are mostly out of cosmopolitan areas. The Krisan Refugee Camp is one of such residential refugee camps managed by the UNHCR and the Government of Ghana. Situated in the rural town of Krisan in the Ellembelle district of the Western Region, the camp, which was originally meant for Liberian refugees, is now home to refugees from fifteen (15) nations. This chapter will give a brief overview of the social, cultural and economic activities of the region, district and local communities that influence life at the camp.

2.2 The Western Region

The Western Region of Ghana covers approximately 2, 3921 square kilometres, and is about 10 percent of Ghana's total land area. Seventy-five percent (75%) of its vegetation lies within the forest zone of Ghana and is the wettest part of Ghana with an average rainfall of 1600mm per annum according to the official portal of government of Ghana. The region is bounded to the east by the Central Region, to the west by The Ivory Coast, and to the north by both the Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo Regions. There are five main ethnic groups in the Western Region: Ahanta, Sefwi, Nzema, Wassa and Aowin.

The 2010 national population census indicated that the region has a population of 2,376,021 million people and constitutes approximately 8.9 percent of the total

population of the country. The sudden 23.5 percent increase from the 2000 census figure of 1,924,577 is not necessarily an indication of a rise in birth rate or a decrease in the death rate alone but also signals the inflow of people from different walks of life who have converged in the area after the discovery of oil. The coincidence of oil drilling and the construction of the West Africa gas pipeline that runs through the area under discussion has attracted and continues to attract those seeking greener pastures. With this high inter-census population growth rate of 2.0 percent, there is fear that the available infrastructure may not be able to sustain the ongoing human activity.

2.3 The Ellembelle District

The Krisan Refugee Camp is in the Ellembelle district, which was formerly part of the Nzema-East Municipality until 2008. Axim, the district capital, is the wettest part of Ghana with an annual rainfall figure of about 190 centimetres. The Ellembelle District covers a total area of about 1,468km squared which makes up about 9.8 percent of the total land mass of the Western Region and located on the southern end of the region. It is bounded to the west by Jomoro District, Nzema-East to the east and to the north by Wassa-Amenfi Districts, with the Atlantic Ocean to the south (*Wikipedia*).

There is a considerable amount of voluntary intra and inter district migration which is seasonal in nature depending on the rainfall pattern as well as the seasonal Fishing, farming, and mining activities which are the main economic activities in this part of the region.

The 2010 population figures also indicates a comparatively youthful age group (that is 15 years to 64 years) constituting fifty-one percent (51%) as the economically active age group. The dependent cohorts (that is the 0–14 years together with the above 65 years)

constitute a total of 37,549 (43%) of the population. By way of religion, most people in the district profess to be Christians. This group constitutes an estimated seventy-nine percent (79%) of the population. Eight percent (8%) profess to be Moslems, three percent (3%) are traditionalists and ten percent (10%) do not profess any faith; this is according to anecdotal studies done in the region (the Ghana Government Official Portal, retrieved 30/07/14). In terms of ethnicity, the Nzema make up the largest ethnic group and make up 80 percent of the population. The resident ethnic composition of the population is Fante (9%), Ga-Adangbe (3%), Ewe (4%), and Mole-Dagbani (4%).

The district is governed by two parallel structures; the local governmental authority (the District Assembly) and the traditional authority. The traditional authority is headed by the Omanhene whose authority is derived from the backing and loyalty of his chiefs, elders and people of the land.

Of all the economic activities in the area, agriculture is the major livelihood of the people of this district, engaging about 70 percent of the population. Farming and fishing are the principal agricultural activities due to the rainfall configurations and forested nature. The district is forested due to the heavy rain that is experienced in that part of the country.

2.4 Krisan

Krisan Township is the community in which the refugee camp is located. It is a rural community located approximately forty-eight (48) kilometres from the border town of Elubo and it is about two (2) kilometres from the Eikwe community who are owners of the farmlands and forests that the refugees live off. Sanzule is the landlord for the camp school and the land on which the NVTI is situated. Eikwe and Sanzule are the other two

local communities close to the refugee camp in Krisan that are playing major roles in the upkeep of the camp. The residents of Krisan are largely farmers, with raffia being the major crop of economic importance. In present times however, the ongoing West African Gas Pipeline Project has injected a lot of alternative employment into the economy of the area with an increase in economic activities. According to the camp coordinator, the refugee camp is about 400 meters by 250 meters square and it has hosted up to a maximum of about 3,000 refugees since its inception.

The Krisan Refugee Camp and Its Administrative Structure

The camp was established in 1996 by the Government of Ghana in association with the UNHCR with the original goal of settling high-risk Liberian refugees. It is perceived to be one of the most varied refugee camps in the world and has refugees from over fourteen (14) different African countries (namely, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Togo, Chad, Cote D'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Burundi, Somalia, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Congo Brazzaville, Central African Republic) as well as one refugee from Pakistan in Asia. .

As with all refugee camps in Ghana, the Krisan Refugee Camp is managed by the Government of Ghana through the National Disaster Management Organization (NADMO) and supported by the Ghana Refugee Board. The resident camp manager is responsible for the running of the day to day affairs of the camp on behalf of the Ghana Refugee Board. Currently, the camp is divided into four administrative units known as Welfare Committees. The key obligation of these committees is to pursue the well-being of the refugees. The executives of the Welfare Committees serves as the mediators

between the refugees on one hand and the Ghana Refugee Board and its implementing agencies on the other.

The operational agencies currently at the camp are the Catholic Relief Services, the National Disaster Management Organization, and the Ghana Refugee Board. The Country Office of the UNHCR only functions as a collaborative agency assisting the national agencies responsible for refugees.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three reviews the existing literature related to this research and refugee livelihood strategies. I will therefore survey the existing body of literature on Sustainable Livelihood Strategy (SLS) of the Department for International Development (DFID 1999) and the policy of Self-Reliance used by the UNHCR.

3.2 Refugees as Forced Migrants

Migration typologies frequently differentiates population travels by the scale of alternatives involved in the decision to leave home. Voluntary migrants are deliberate in their choice of destination, a good number often move for economic reasons. Involuntary migrants, on the other hand, have no such options when they are forced out of their homes. Over the years, this perception has been over simplified. In reality, "...few migrants are wholly voluntary or wholly involuntary. Almost all migration involves some kind of compulsion; at the same time almost all migration involves choices" (Van Hear 1998, 42). Migration is thus defined by International Organisation for Migration {IOM} (2005) as a word "...used to describe the process of movement of people." Migration can also defined as the movement and change in residence either permanently or semi permanently across a geographical boundary over a period of time.

Forced migration is a term used to describe the movement of not only refugees and asylum seekers but also people forced to move due to external factors. Forced migration has comparable characteristics to displacement. Forced migration flows occur because of

a variety of reasons, including persecution, natural and/or manmade disaster, development projects, war and conflicts, ethnic discrimination and persecution, among others.

The 1951 Refugee Convention relating to the Status of Refugees is the most referred to legal document that defines who a refugee is, their rights and the legal obligations of State parties.

According to the United Nations 1951 *Convention Relating to the Status Refugees*, the term "refugee" applies to any person who:

"owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."

There are key laws and articles that seek to protect the interests of refugees (e.g. Article 31, 32 and 33 of the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees) {See Appendix 2} such that their mode of entry into a host country cannot be a basis for disqualification and articles 17, 18 which seek to emphasize their right to be employed and self-employment.

Africa over the years has continued to experience civil conflicts, wars and ethnic displacement leading to the mass exodus of its people. The UNHCR has argued that, Africa is home to more than twenty eight percent of refugees in the world. The African Union (then the Organisation of African Unity) came up to amend the UNHCR's

definition of who a refugee is in an attempt to correct the deficiencies of the 1951 convention by declaring a refugee in the *Convention on Refugee Problems in Africa* as:

“Every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.” (OAU 1969, Article 1.2).

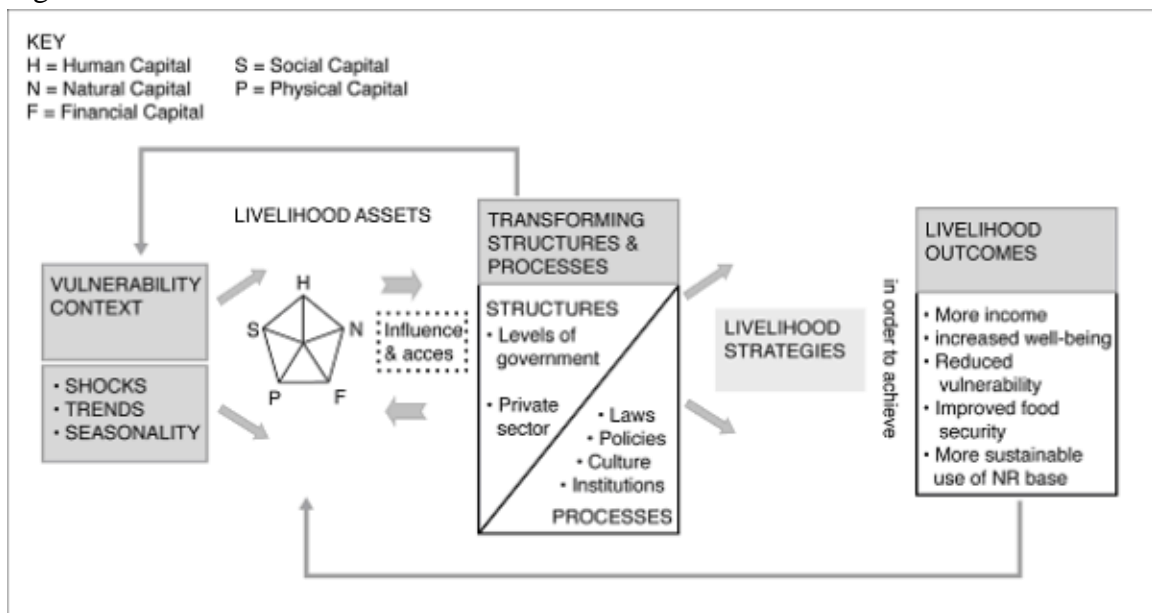
3.3 Sustainable Livelihood Framework and the Conceptual Framework of Analysis

The meaning of ‘livelihood’ has been comprehensively discussed among scholars and development experts. According to Koppenberg (2010), “...the link between migration and development is nothing new.” Chambers and Conway (1991: 5-6) argued that “a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means of living”. In this concept, capabilities that is, people’s ability to perform certain basic tasks, including the ability to manage stress and shocks, be able to manage change and take advantage of opportunities that come the way of the refugee household.

Chambers and Conway (1991) discussed the complications, variety of individual and household livelihoods, as well as social and environmental sustainability of livelihoods as a whole. They recommend a measure of ‘net sustainable livelihoods’, which encompasses “...the number of environmentally and socially sustainable livelihoods that provide a living in a context less their negative effects on the benefits and sustainability of the totality of other livelihoods everywhere” argued Chambers and Conway (1992, p.26). Another scholar Scoones (1998), emphasized that sustainable livelihoods must be about

institutions and organisations establishing appropriate guidelines, with the framework directing the means to the end. Carney (1998) and others scholars have argued that, there is the necessity to appreciate the livelihood strategies and vulnerability of the poor as the beginning of understanding livelihood analysis.

Fig.3.1 DFID Sustainable Livelihood Framework



Source: www.poverty-wellbeing.net

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) in figure 3.1, which was developed by the UK Department for International Development in 1999, was used to analyse the strengths and possibilities that vulnerable people like the refugees have and the strategies that they use to make a living.

Assets in this framework means possessions and supplies in the form of resources that refugee households are able to use for livelihoods. DFID (1999), distinguishes five categories of assets (or capital) upon which livelihoods are built; natural (e.g. land for farming, sea for fishing, etc.), financial (money and stocks, etc.), social (networks),

human (skills, health, knowledge, strength for labour) and physical (available infrastructure).

In this framework, the *Vulnerability Context* as DFID argues, is made up of the external environment within which they exist. Vulnerability signifies the shocks, trends and seasonal difficulties that the refugees encounter in their livelihood options. For example, seasonal vulnerability of prices, health or employment opportunities that impact on their livelihoods (DFID, 1999, Chambers & Conway, 1992). *Transforming structures and process*: within the framework these are the institutions, organizations, policies and legislations that help to support livelihoods. These structures are operational at all stages, from the individual refugee to the household and the community at large. Scoones, (1998) argues that the framework explains the roles these institutional and organizational processes could play on livelihood sustainability. The impacts that are made by NGOs, government and community institutions and organizations are highlighted by this. *Livelihood Strategies*: Ellis (2000:40), mentioned that, 'Livelihood strategies are composed of activities that generate the means of household survival.' Subject to the level of interplay between the assets of refugees, the structures and processes and the vulnerability context within which they function, people make choices as to what livelihood strategies will best provide them with livelihood 'outcomes' which are the resultant effects of engaging in a particular activity. These include an increase in income levels, well-being, reduction of vulnerability and an increase in and improved levels of food supply. According to the DFID, appreciating livelihood outcomes is focused on providing, through the involvement and investigation of a range of outcomes that will enhance the well-being of refugees and reduce poverty as a whole.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Framework

One major strength of the framework is that it serves as a guideline to all development practitioners within the field. It is also believed by some scholars that the framework highlights what the refugees have rather than what they don't have.

One limitation of the framework is its inability to acknowledge the fact that forced migrants in their state of desperation may not necessarily be interested in sustainability rather survival. Lautze (1996: 7) suggests that “strategies employed by victims of protracted complex emergencies are about survival in both the present time frame and the aftermath of crisis. For most victims of protracted civil conflict, economic collapse and political chaos, [long-term] ‘development’ became irrelevant some time ago”. In Krisan for instance, the refugees seem more worried about their daily survival than sustaining it. In addition, Toner (2003: 5), suggests that, it is uncertain, within the framework, if the availability in one asset e.g. human labour can offset the lack thereof in another asset e.g. social networks that ensures remittances as is the case in Krisan. Again, political power play that exist between institutions, organisations and governments was not sufficiently highlighted in the framework. For example, the dynamics between factors such as access to land for farming, ability to access the local markets to trade and the inflow of humanitarian aid are not well explained in the framework.

3.4 Policy of Self-Reliance

The UNHCR since its inception has been focused on immediate survival of refugees, IDPs and Asylum seekers over long-term stability. While the UNHCR has the mandate to safeguard the rights and well-being of refugees, their ultimate goal is to find Durable Solutions that will allow the refugees to rebuild their lives in dignity and peace. For

instance, Jamal (2000:11) argues that the initial UNHCR plan was focused essentially on providing basic physical survival assistance to the displaced people in humanitarian form rather than providing essential needs which will lead to a safe and dignified life. Over the years however, assistance to the refugees began to shrink because of the protracted nature of refugee camps. From the early 2000s, the UNHCR expressed some interest in the issue of refugee livelihoods. Jacobsen (2005: 85) noted that supporting the ability of refugees to pursue livelihoods is an important way of going beyond traditional relief of reliance on humanitarian aid for survival. UNHCR, therefore in its attempt to pursue sustainable and durable solutions introduced the Self-Reliance Policy as a guide to livelihoods of refugees. The UNHCR's *Handbook for Self-Reliance* (2005: 1) defines Self-Reliance as:

The social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet essential needs (including protection, food, water, shelter, personal safety, health and Education) in a sustainable manner and with dignity. Self-Reliance, as a programme approach, refers to developing and strengthening livelihoods of persons of concern, and Reducing their vulnerability and long-term reliance on humanitarian/external assistance.

UNHCR's Handbook for Self-Reliance articulates that Self-Reliance means to develop and strengthen refugee livelihoods and reduce their vulnerability and reliance on humanitarian aid. In the handbook, UNHCR suggests that the Self-Reliance is "an integral and underpinning part of any durable solutions" meaning Self-Reliance should be supported at all stages of refugee assistance i.e. repatriation, resettlement and local integration by assisting organisations. What requires examination here is whether the

state in which refugees are living without aid necessarily means that these refugees are able to cater for their daily needs ‘in a sustainable manner and with dignity’, as defined by the UN.

In recent times, the UNHCR Self-Reliance agenda has gradually metamorphosed from its rigid vision of local integration into a broader and more comprehensive Livelihood Program that the UNHCR proposes will protect the refugees. At the heart of this protection mandate is livelihoods training and Self-Reliance. The livelihoods training is to economically empower refugees to reduce dependency and promote Self-Reliance (UNHCR Livelihood). This emphasis on dependency reduction is reflected in ‘Section B’ of *Self-Reliance Book One* of the UNHCR Community Development Strategy which states that “traditional humanitarian/relief assistance is increasingly viewed as undermining the capacities of individuals to cope with crisis.” This alleged trait of dependency was reported in the Somali refugee camps in Kenya. Kibreab (1994) challenges the stereotypes that had contributed these wrong perceptions among aid agencies with regard to the alleged prevalence of the so-called “dependency syndrome” among Somalia camp refugees between 1979 and 1989. Instead, Kibreab states that evidence for such a phenomenon does not exist but that “given the constraints and limited opportunities, the refugees were found to be imaginative, resourceful, and industrious.” Other contributors that refute this allegation of dependency syndrome among Somali refugees in Kenya include Abdi (2005) who wrote that this apparent dependency is derived from the removal of the refugees from their social, political, and economic coping system and blamed the structural constraints of the camps which were equated to “total institutions” for the plight of the refugees. Harvey and Lind (2005) observed that

“dependency” is a vaguely used term that often hides as much as it reveals and can have many different meanings. Its vagueness and lack of definition have their own usefulness in providing justification for action or inaction. Harvey and Lind suggest that certain assumptions and meanings do, however, underpin the common usage of “dependency” within the discourse of humanitarian aid.

This shift in the UNHCR agenda is not surprising since recent escalating global unrest has increased and compounded the flow of mass movement of refugees across borders. In addition to the recent ongoing movement of refugees in places like Syria, protracted refugee situations that already exist and backflows from repatriated refugees have become an enigma for the UNHCR and host countries (Crisp, 2003).

Providing refugees with skills that can be utilized for Self-Reliance if repatriated back to countries of origin, integrated into the local community in the country of asylum, or resettled in a third country has therefore become a priority (UNHCR, 2014). Livelihood projects that UNHCR has initiated in refugee camps include facilitation of access to savings and loans, skills and vocational training, entrepreneurial training and business support service, sustainable use of natural resources, labour-based activities, grant assistance in emergency situations, career guidance and support, access to apprenticeships and jobs as well as work permits and business permits.

Strengths and Limitations of the Self Reliance Policy

One major strength observed by Crisp (2003) is large proportions of the world’s refugees tend to remain in their countries of asylum for long periods of time, due to the prolonged nature of the conflicts in their homelands. For that matter, a shift from humanitarian aid to self-provision is an important step to empower the refugees. It helps them develop

their own human potential and contribute positively to the economy of the country of asylum.

While it is important for the world's refugees to desire for opportunity to return to their countries it must be acknowledged that others are unable to have that wish simply because conflicts persist in their homelands and also because of close ties that have been established in the asylum country. In Krisan for example, there are intermarriages between locals and refugees, such established close economic or social ties may not allow for a wish to return home. For that matter Crisp (2003) argues that, the Self-Reliance policy is a move in the right direction to train and educate those refugees who wish to be integrated into country of asylum.

Verdirame & Harrell-Bond (2006) express grave concerns about human rights violations against refugees by governments, UNHCR, and humanitarian organizations. They mentioned the progressive side-lining of national authorities by UNHCR, failures in the protection of refugees as a result of a multiplicity of bad policies, official delays and the duplication of efforts by humanitarian organizations.

The refugees in camps are confined and not allowed to move around to seek their own livelihoods. The writers are of the opinion that UNHCR places more emphasis on repatriation than integration leading to the use of countries of asylum as “waiting rooms.” When the durable solution of repatriation is not an option, the refugees become trapped in limbo and in a predetermined care and maintenance schedule which is concomitant with encampment.

Cavaglieri (2008) noted that the past ten years have witnessed the widespread acceptance of multidimensionality of poverty that encompasses not just low income, but also vulnerability, insecurity, and voicelessness. Unfortunately, Krisan refugees experience all the three dimensions of poverty. Cavaglieri states that the camps may be a safety net in the emergency phase but as the years go by the refugees begin to be denied their basic human rights and rights as refugees i.e. freedom of movement and employment that will enable them protect their livelihoods are denied.

3.5 Conclusion

Crisp (2003) has identified that the impact of refugees on host communities depends on both the local government, UNHCR as well as its implementing agencies. Since the refugees in the Krisan Camp tend to worry about their survival rather than sustaining livelihoods, it is imperative that their state of deprivation or otherwise is evaluated in order to be able to determine the most appropriate measures of intervention. The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework and the Self Reliance Policy serve as analytical tools for assessing the livelihood strategies available to refugees at the Krisan camp.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter takes a look at the methods by which data was collected and analysed to arrive at conclusions.

4.2 Introduction to Data Collection Methods

Branner (1992) argued that there are three types of methods for collecting data; the qualitative, the quantitative and the mixed methods. The method used for the study combined both qualitative and quantitative (mixed method) features of research.

4.2.1 Sources of Data Collection

The study made use of both primary and secondary data. Primary data, according to Malhotra and Binks (2007), are data that originate from field study or surveys conducted by the researcher with the objective of addressing the research questions. This is first hand data gotten from the administration of questionnaires and interviews conducted as field surveys. The data was gathered from responses. Secondary data, on the other hand, was data already collected and documented in publications and other reliable and relevant sources. These can be found in libraries and archives (Bryman, 1992). Examples of such sources are in UNHCR publications as well as other publications carried out in other areas by relevant institutions and researchers.

4.2.2 Discussion of Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

(a) QUALITATIVE METHOD

Three kinds of qualitative data collection techniques used in this research. These are in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and observation. Because the qualitative approach describes and gives an understanding to social phenomena in terms of the meaning respondents assign to the phenomena (as social constructs), qualitative methods produce rich, descriptive data that need to be interpreted through: The identification and coding of themes and categories leading to findings that can contribute to theoretical knowledge. Another reason for using the qualitative methods is because they give a broader and a more credible understanding of the research problem (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). Quinn (1980) also argued that qualitative approach to data collection as a strategy is to permit imperative scopes to develop from people's thoughts and feelings through structured and semi-structured interviews and the analysis of the cases under study devoid of assuming, in advance, what those scopes will be. The qualitative data collection approach also brings to bear detailed data on the experiences, perceptions, emotions, views and actions of the respondents, which in this research will be very important for explaining the state of livelihood and the effects of such livelihoods on refugees in the camp. On the other hand, the qualitative approach to data collection is argued to have some weaknesses; some schools of thought consider the qualitative approach to data collection to be too biased and not a suitable method for generalizing and building predictions (Plano, Clark, Huddleston, Churchill, Green & Garret, 2008).

(B) QUANTITATIVE METHOD

Quantitative methods of data collection use instruments that are statistics based. All variables are measured or are collected in a manner that makes them subject to mathematical analysis. This method is used in the study because it is designed to collect data in a way that is compliant to statistical analysis. Consequently, such method is heavily dependent on statistical techniques for analysing quantifiable data. Data collected as such are highly useful for broad view and forecasts. Quantitative methods also have the capacity for classic description and the establishment of the nature of relationship between different variables (Castro, Kellison, Boyd, & Kopak, 2010) Quantitative data were deemed to be very relevant in explaining economic livelihoods within the camp of Krisan. For the purpose of this study, questionnaires will be used. Quantitative method however has a tendency of detaching findings from the actual world setting as argued by some authorities. They are also not suitable for understanding conduct and opinion as well as other social constructs that are not objectively quantifiable; they are not as malleable and as insightful as qualitative method (Brannen, 1992).

4.2.3 Justification of Method Triangulation

Due to the various shortcomings of both the quantitative and the qualitative approaches, method triangulation has become a more common approach used in research in recent years. Scholars have argued that, any research that uses only one of the two approaches or methods is more likely to be vulnerable to errors that are linked to the particular

method chosen than that which uses the multiple methods in which different types of data provide cross-data validation checks.

Using a multiple method allows an enquiry into a research question with “an arsenal of methods that have non-overlapping weaknesses in addition to their complementary strength” (Brewer & Hunter 1989:17 in Quinn, 1990). Considering the nature of this research and the research problem, method triangulation was used to conduct out this study.

In support of the mixed method approach, Sharan (2002) argued that due to the multiplicity of construction and interpretations of realities that the mixed method offers it is a tool for understanding complex issues. She further argued that, qualitative and quantitative data can cross-validate each other around a common reference. On the other hand, Meeto and Temple (2003) argue that merely using the mixed method does not automatically imply validity nor the accuracy of the inferences determined. They asserted that, since social reality is multifaceted, the study and explanations of all dimensions of the research problem could be better explained by the use of the mixed method rather than to cross validate. And this study seeks to explain the multifaceted nature and broader dimensions of the research problem by the use of the mixed method in conducting the study.

In the study, quantitative methods were used to present data on the socio-economic and socio-demographic variables while qualitative methods were to interpret livelihoods at the camp

4.3 Population of Study and Data Collection Instruments

4.3.1 Study Population

The population of study is defined as all persons with characteristics that the researcher wishes to study. According to Parahoo (1997) a population is the total number of elements/ units from which data can be collected. In this case study, the population is the refugees resident at the Krisan refugee camp who number 967 individuals. However, since they all belong to households as a fundamental unit in this community of refugees, the household will be the unit of enquiry with the household head as the respondent.

The Krisan refugee camp was chosen as the study area for several reasons;

1. The camp is located about 300 kilometres west of Accra near the border with La Côte d'Ivoire (i.e. The Ivory Coast) unlike Budumburam camp which is located about thirty-two (32) kilometres west of Accra, the residents of the Budumburam camp have access to banking services such as money transfers, while the Krisan camp has nothing of the sort. The UNHCR and its donor partners have made lives more bearable for the refugees, thereby increasing the spirit of entrepreneurship and community resilience with a diversity of different cultures co-existing. The Krisan camp, by virtue of its isolation, presents a truer picture of the difficulties that refugees would have to contend with in terms of livelihoods than those other camps that are near commercial centres which would, as a result of proximity, interfere with the reality of the situation that refugees tend to experience.
2. The size of the camp population of 967 refugees is rather small compared to the Buduburam camp that had more than 38,000 refugees, (UNHCR). Krisan, with its greater mix of cultures however, is more cosmopolitan in its refugee make-up.

This study area presents a good chance of finding out how livelihoods are affected by these circumstances.

3. The UNHCR's recently adopted policy of "self-reliance" as a livelihood strategy framework has affected refugees worldwide and Krisan is no exception. To this end, according to the camp coordinator, the UNHCR stopped giving food rations to Krisan refugees in 2011. The UNHCR hopes to achieve "durable solutions" by equipping the refugees with skills rather than rations.
4. Not much research has been conducted on the Krisan refugee camp in relation to livelihood opportunities. Most economic livelihood literature about refugee camps in Ghana is on the Buduburam camp that which is very vibrant with economic/commercial activities and well-equipped health centres and schools. Krisan, on the other hand, has become a protracted refugee camp which is almost forgotten and virtually neglected.

The target group is the heads of household, whether married, single, divorced, or widowed. This study has chosen to use a sample size of 60 households because this size is deemed reasonable given remoteness of the study area, time constraints and financial constraints.

4.3.2 Primary Data Sources

Close and open-ended questionnaires were used to collect quantitative primary data while focus group discussions and in-depth interviews and observation, were the main primary qualitative data collection techniques used.

SAMPLING TECHNIQUE:

According to Sakaran (2000), there are two forms of sampling. These are non-probability and probability sampling. Owing to the nature of the study, the researcher opted to use the probability sampling procedure to select the sixty (60) respondents out of the 450 households that constitute the sampling frame of refugee households. This is meant to give each household an equal chance to be selected. Additionally, since there are no objectively perceivable categories or clusters of refugee households based on the focus of the study, the researcher opted to use the simple random sampling procedure to select the households to be interviewed. The sample frame (a list of refugee households) was accessed from the Krisan refugee camp coordinator. These households were assigned numerical identities which were then written on pieces of paper and put a bin/ pot from which sixty of them were randomly picked. The selected sixty households was thus the sample for this research; Agresti and Finlay (2009) define a sample as a subset of a population or a sampling frame.

4.3.3 Research Design

According to Arker, Kumar & Day (2001), research design acts as a guide for the researcher to decide which methodology to use during the research so as to achieve the desired results. Conceptually, therefore, this research will use the case study approach which is designed to be an inductive study. This design is most suitable for the conduct of studies in which the researcher has no control over the variables being studied, thus the phenomenon of economic livelihoods of refugees in Krisan is to be explored providing the opportunity of multiple sources of evidence required for the study. The preference of

the case study design is also based on the fact that the study is investigating the real life situation of the refugees within their given setting with clear-cut boundaries.

4.3.4 Primary Instruments

(a) INSTITUTIONAL SURVEY

In addition to the survey, to be conducted with the refugees as respondents/ interviewees, the study also conducted in-depth interviews with relevant institutions such as NADMO and UNHCR. Respondents in this survey were purposively selected. The six respondents in this survey were officials of relevant institutions and agencies who have special knowledge and are known to be well informed in matters and policies as well as practices relating to refugees especially in Ghana and Krisan in particular. The in-depth interview involved a detailed enquiry into the practices, policies of these institutions in relation to the wellbeing of refugees.

(b) INTERVIEW METHODS

The household head, as respondents, was taken through the questionnaire which has standard list of questions for the heads of the household and the responses recorded. In the case of the institutional survey, an open survey was undertaken with the purposively selected official of relevant institutions as respondents for them to provide a legislative, policy, practice and/ or political background and insight with respect to the phenomenon being studied. This is meant to help the study to be conducted with a balanced perspective.

(c) QUESTIONNAIRES

The primary instrument used to collect quantitative data had both open and close ended questions making up the structured and semi structured questionnaires. The

questionnaires used were structured in such a way that the head of household provides answers on behalf of the household on the various characteristics and background of the members of the household. The questionnaire asked questions pertaining to the socio-economic variables such as demography, economic activity, and state of employment, incomes and remittance together with other variables that can help the researcher to investigate the phenomenon being studied.

(d) FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Focus group discussions were held with some households in the community. The purpose of the focus group discussions was to assist the researcher to get a better insight into the qualitative nature of the variables to confirm the information gathered through responses to the questions in the questionnaires as well as interviews conducted. It also helped clarify answers given in the questionnaire. Focus group discussions were held with two different groups. Each with six household heads taking part in discussions with a duration of about 30-45 minutes. Besides writing down what was discussed; audio recordings of the discussions were made and used to cross check what was written. During the researcher's stay at the camp for the study, the livelihood activities that the refugees undertook were observed. Evidence of income levels was exhibited.

(e) OBSERVATION

The researcher also undertook observation at the camp as part of methods for collecting data. The purpose was to cross validate information and gather more details which may not have been identified by other methods. During the period stay at the camp the researcher moved around with the refugees and interacted with them. Observations made

were noted as field notes which provided access to valuable information; such as how the residents utilise the physical environment for their survival.

4.4 Secondary Data

As established earlier, there is not much literature on the economic livelihood of Krisan refugees. However, there have been many studies conducted with their subsequent reports on the other refugee camps in Ghana; these complement the plethora of literature on refugees in Africa as a continent. As a source of secondary data, the researcher heavily relied on both published and unpublished documents as well as documentaries, books and Internet sources together with the resource materials of the institutions and organizations responsible for the safety of refugees such as the UNCHR, Ghana Refugee Board, NADMO, and the Ghana Immigration Service. The secondary data so collected did provide further explanation and served as a supplement to the primary data.

4.5 Data Analysis Techniques

The data collected in this research was analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The quantitative data was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) data analysis software. Statistical techniques such as frequency tables, graphs and descriptive statistics were used to present and analyse data. Qualitative data obtained through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were also analysed using content analysis and presented thematically.

4.6 Research Challenges

There were many problems that the researcher faced during the data collection process. Non-cooperation by the refugees was a major challenge to the study. The refugees tended to under report on matters relating to incomes, thus necessitating the need to do more probing investigations to validate their claims and assertions. According to most reports from the refugees, many studies have been conducted on various topics about the camp and refugees, yet their expectations are never met as a result of these researches. Therefore, there was lack of interest in participation and initial information was distorted. The researcher however had to explain that the research was for academic purposes only. Although they eventually warmed up to the idea of the research, it took time. In this situation, method triangulation as a research method was helpful to cross validate the information given.

According to the camp coordinator, the camp hosts fifteen (15) different nationalities, Arabic, French, Swahili are some of the languages spoken by these refugees. The issue of language therefore presented a problem. Interpreters were not readily available for the many languages that the refugees speak.

The issue of mixed method used in the research also posed the problem of how to prioritize the methods. Because of the language barrier in this research, a lot more time was devoted to quantitative rather than qualitative data collection. This is because each question needed further explanation before answers were given.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of data collected from the field. The chapter is divided into four sections as follows: section one is a presentation and analysis of the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents. Section two is about the various ways by which these refugees make a living (livelihood strategies). Section three presents difficulties the refugees face while making a living. The last section focuses on the roles of the various agencies and NGOs in supporting these forced migrants.

5.2 Demographic Characteristics

This section is an examination of data collected on socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. Their age, sex, marital status, educational level, religious affiliation, household size, place of birth and nationality of household.

It is important to understand how productivity changes with age and the general perception that, there is an inverse relationship between productivity and age and that productivity fades with age. However the Efficiency Wage Theory of Harris and Todaro (1970) suggests that workers should be paid according to their productivity level rather than their age. According to some studies, man's peak productive working years are between eighteen (18) years to forty-eight (48) years. Although this research is generally not about age and productivity, it is important to understand the influence and impact of age on livelihood strategies. The age of a refugee is very important since it impacts on

her/his capacity level, type and level of participation in livelihood strategies. The table below shows the age distribution of the respondents.

Table 5.1 Age Distribution

Age	Frequency.	percent
20 and below years	8	13.3
21 - 30 years	26	43.3
31 - 40 years	17	28.3
41 - 50 years	5	8.3
Above 50 years	4	6.7
Total	60	100

Source: Field Work 2014

Table 5.1 represents the age distribution of the sixty (60) respondents. The ages of 21-30 years have the highest percentage forming the modal group of 43.3 percent (43.3%), followed by the ages of 31-40 with 28.33 percent (28.33%). The next highest age group is 20 years and below which forms 13.33 percent (13.33%). The age group of 41-50 came next with 8.33 percent (8.33%). And last is the group fifty (50) years and above, with 6.67 percent (6.67%).

From table 5.1, it is clear that as the ages increase, the percentages often decrease. However, from the table, respondents who form the third largest category are twenty (20) years and below, this could be explained in the sense that in certain households, the parent(s) is unable to work due to illness or other factors. In certain cases too, the respondent is the only member of the household regardless of the age. In this case, he/she must be engaged in some economic activity for survival. Also, the above 50 years group have a lower tendency to engage in any economic activity, which might have two reasons: some of the activities might be too harsh for them e.g. burning charcoal.

Secondly, at that age range, respondents have children who are of working ages. Therefore, refugees who fall within these age range might end up engaging in petty trading. And according to Rogers and Wasmer (2009), in trading activities, the elderly who are 50 years and above are the most productive

Table 5.2 Sex Distribution of Respondents

	Frequency	Percentage
Female	35	58.3
Male	25	41.7
Total	60	100

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Table 5.2 above shows the sex distribution of the heads of household among the respondents. The females are the larger group with 58.3 percent (58.3%) of the total respondents. Several reasons could account for this result. Firstly, most of the women I interviewed are widows who lost their husbands during the war or on their way to the host country. Regardless of their situation and circumstances, the family still needs to feed. Secondly, the women at the camp, by my observation, are engaged in petty trading, braiding of hair and pulling fishing nets to support their husbands. According to Rogers and Wasmer (2009), women above 50 years are more productive in trade than the younger generation. At the Krisan camp, it was observed that the refugee woman is becoming empowered leading to self-reliance more than relying on a man.

Table 5.3 Marital Status

Response	Frequency	percentage
Single (not yet married)	32	53.3
Married	19	31.7
Divorced	1	1.7
Widowed	6	10
Consensual Union	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Sacred and important as marriages are in the African context, it is not surprising that about one third of respondents are married. And from the table above, more than half of the heads of household are single. And the least is made up of divorcees with a percentage of 1.7 percent (1.7%). Even though more than half of respondents are single, upon a more detailed analysis of the data, it would be seen that these are rather young refugees who happen to be household heads. It is worth noting that there are quite a number of cross-cultural marriages taking place. At the time of the research the instances of refugees marrying across cultures (e.g. a Liberian marrying a Sudanese) is not common, even though it does happen. It was observed that inter marriages between refugees from different countries within the camp and refugees with local citizens exist for companionship. On the other hand, it was observed that refugees marrying locals is a more common occurrence. The focus group discussions revealed that those who marry into the local communities tend to have greater advantages in relation to access to facilities, services and opportunities which greatly enhance their strategies for livelihood. According to the focus group discussions, this is exclusively refugee men marrying women from the host community.

Table 5.4 Educational Attainment

Level of education	Frequency	Percentage
No Education	10	16.7
Primary	6	10
Junior High School	22	36.7
Senior High School	17	28.3
Tertiary	5	8.3
Total	60	100

Source: Field work 2014

In general there is high functional illiteracy; because those with formal education are not English speaking, thus in Ghana they are functionally illiterate. Table 5.4 shows the educational attainment of refugees. Of the sixty respondents only five people have had tertiary education in their various official languages constituting 8.3 percent (8.3%) of the population of respondents. On the other hand, 16.67 percent (16.67%) have had no education at all. 10 percent (10%) said they attended up to the primary level, while 36.67 percent (36.67%), who are in the majority have had up to JHS level. The second largest group of respondents constituting 28.33 percent (28.33) said they have had up to senior secondary education. From my observation and interviews, refugees have not been employed in the formal sector in Ghana. This could be as a result of the level of education of these refugees as well as the dysfunctional (not useful due to language barrier) nature of their educational certificates in Ghana.

Due to the high functional illiteracy at the camp with very low levels of employable skills and the non-existent market for their skills, relatively better skilled refugees tend to leave the camp. Job opportunities in the formal sector of the Ghanaian economy require skills which about 80 percent (80%) of the refugees do not possess. Martin (2004) argues that

most of the skills that refugees possess may not be relevant in their host nations. This makes it difficult for them to be employed. In Krisan, I was reliably informed that one refugee teaches French in one of the local first cycle schools. He is among five others employed by the agencies at the camp who are employed in the formal sector.

Table 5.5 Refugee Reads and Writes English or a Ghanaian Language

Responses	Frequency	percent
Yes	21	35
No	39	65
Total	60	100

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Table 5.5 presents the proportions of respondents who could or could not speak or write English or Ghanaian Language. 65 percent (65%) of respondents could not read and write English and/or a Ghanaian language. 35 percent (35%) of the respondents could speak and write English and or any Ghanaian language. Even though 73.3 percent (73.3%) of the respondents have educational attainments above primary school (table 5.3), the quantitative survey revealed that 65 percent (65%) of these refugees are not proficient in English as shown in table 5.5

From interviews and questionnaires (see table 5.7), most refugees have been in the camp for over ten (10) years. For the large majority of them, little or no education has been sought during their stay. This seems to be because most of them have different official languages, for example Arabic, French, etc., thus education or proficiency in English is not particularly desirable. This is not to say that they have not had any formal education in their home countries. This is because from the data, 83.3 percent (83.3%) have had some amount of education from their home countries.

Table 5.6 Religious Affiliation of Respondents

Religion	Frequency.	percent
Christian	39	65
Muslim	19	31.7
No religion	1	1.7
Other	1	1.7
Total	60	100

Source: Fieldwork 2014

The two most populous religions at the camp are Christianity and Islam. Table 5.6 above shows the religious affiliations of the refugees at the camp. Sixty five percent (65%) are Christians while 31.7 percent (31.7%) are Muslims. The other religious groups in the camp include Rastafarians and traditionalist with 1.7 percent (1.7%) each.

5.3 Characteristics of the Household

The household constitutes an important component in this research. Since the study is about the household unit.

Table 5.7 Respondents' Length of Stay at the Krisan Camp

Duration	Frequency	percentage
0-4 years	11	18.3
5 - 9 years	16	26.7
10 years and above	33	55
Total	60	100

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Table 5.7 above shows the number of years the respondents have lived in Krisan. It was observed that those who have lived in the camp for longer periods are able to sustain their livelihoods much better and have the capacity to expand their strategies simply because they know the terrain better, what works and what doesn't. From the table above, fifty five percent (55%) of respondents have been at the camp for more than ten years,

followed by 26.7 percent (26.7%) who have lived there five to nine years, while zero to four years make up 18.3 percent (18.3%) of respondents. A more detailed analysis revealed that 8.3 percent (8.3%) have lived there less than a year. The focus group discussions did reveal that the longer a refugee has been in the camp, the better he/she is able to have an alternative livelihood.

Table 5.8 Nationality of Household Head

Nationality	Frequency.	percent
Liberia	13	21.7
Sierra Leone	12	20
Sudan	11	18.3
Togo	17	28.3
Other	7	11.7
Total	60	100

Source: Field work 2014

Table 5.8 above shows the distribution of the nationality of heads of household. From the table, according to the sample, Togo has the highest with 28.3 percent (28.3%). The next highest is the Liberia with 21.7 percent (21.7%) Sierra Leone has the third largest with 20 percent, followed by the Sudan with 18.3 percent (18.3%). Other countries form the remaining 11.7 percent (11.7%).

From observations and focus group discussions, it was noticed that one factor that proved to be a rather important determinant of a resident's success in commercial ventures is his/her nation of origin. It is an unwritten code that camp residents predominantly purchase from sellers who have the same country of origin as the buyer. It was observed that the Sudanese do better at petty trading and they have more trading outlets than the other nationals. But that is not to say that it is unheard of that a Sudanese would buy from a trader who hails from a different nation. This simply underlines the importance of

“ethnically” based networks in the choice and success of a given refugee in commerce as a livelihood strategy. These “ethnically” based networks, in all ways necessary, are protective of the wellbeing of their members.

Added to the above, intra-country networks were very visible in the camp. They assist the refugees in their survival especially for the more vulnerable refugees. A Sudanese refugee who arrived a few months before my research, who also happens to be a nursing mother, is not able to sustain herself. However, other Sudanese refugees feed her on a daily basis. This intra country networking helps her to make a living

5.4 Livelihood Strategies

Before the introduction of the Self-Reliance policy, the livelihood of refugees depended on humanitarian aid and charity donations from agencies. Subsequent to the implementation of the policy, food rations and all other forms of aid by the UNHCR have been stopped. This has forced the refugees into fending for themselves. Refugees at the Krisan camp have been compelled to go through the various processes (i.e. from the vulnerable context to livelihood outcomes) as analysed in the DFID framework on sustainable livelihood. As a result of the policy change the camp residents have become more dependent on their livelihood assets (i.e. human, natural, financial, physical as well as social) in order to achieve their livelihood outcomes. The various households had different numbers of members employed in various economic activities based on seasonality, trends and shocks.

Table 5.9 Household size against number in household gainfully employed

			Number in the household gainfully employed					
			None	1	2	3	Other	Total
Household size	1-2	Count	6	10	3	0	0	19
		% within household size	31.6%	52.6%	15.8%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within gainfully employed household members	42.9%	33.3%	23.1%	0.0%	0.0%	31.7%
		% of total	10%	16.7%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%	
	3 - 4	Count	1	8	4	1	1	15
		% within household size	6.7%	53.3%	26.7%	6.7%	6.7%	100.0%
		% within gainfully employed household members	7.1%	26.7%	30.8%	33.3%	33.3%	25.0%
		% of total	1.7	13.3	6.7	1.7	1.7	25.0%
	5 - 6	Count	0	3	3	0	1	7
		% within household size	0.0%	42.9%	42.9%	0.0%	14.3%	100.0%
		% within gainfully employed household members	0.0%	10.0%	23.1%	0.0%	33.3%	11.7%
		% of total	0.0%	5.0%	5.0%	0.0%	1.7%	11.7%
	7 - 8	Count	0	1	1	0	0	2
		% within household size	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within gainfully employed household members	0.0%	3.3%	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	3.3%
		% of total	0.0%	1.7%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	3.3%
	Others	Count	7	8	2	0	0	17
		% within household size	41.2%	47.1%	11.8%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within gainfully employed household members	50.0%	26.7%	15.4%	0.0%	0.0%	28.3%
		% of total	11.7%	13.3%	3.3%	0.0%	0.0%	28.3%
Total	Count	14	30	13	1	2	60	
	% within household size	23.3%	50.0%	21.7%	1.7%	3.3%	100.0%	
	% within gainfully employed household members	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Scholars have argued that the household size or configuration is an important factor in determining the effectiveness of a given household's livelihood strategies. This view is indicated by Gonzalez et al. (2001), when they argue that the size of a household and the availability or non-availability of earners in it is a very important determinant of its vulnerability. It is believed that large households that have fewer income earners are

bound to experience some level of poverty. This is evident from the table 5.9 above showing 72 percent of the households (that is forty-three out of the sixty) sampled have either one or two members gainfully employed. However, more than twenty-three percent (that is fourteen out of sixty) of the sampled household heads interviewed have no member of their households employed. It was also realised that fifty percent (50.0%) of all the households sampled had only one member gainfully employed. At the same time twenty-three percent of the households have no gainfully employed members. Thus, as much as seventy-three percent of all households have one or no member who is gainfully employed. It is also worth noting that only five percent (that is three) households have more than two members gainfully employed.

The argument of Gonzalez et al (2001) seems to be confirmed by the fact that there are many large households with rather few gainfully employed members. This defeats the objectives of the Self-Reliance policy. From observations and focus group discussions, it was evident that large households with either fewer working members or no gainfully employed members seemed to be poorer than those households with fewer members with more members gainfully employed.

Life in the camp seems very harsh to the forced migrants. The perception that food and other necessities are to be provided by the UNHCR and its operating partners stays with refugees regardless of efforts being made by the UNHCR to move away from food supply to self-sufficiency. In their minds, it is their right to be given food rations and other necessities.

Table 5.10 Receipt of financial or in-kind assistance and economic activity

			Currently engaged in economic activity		
			Yes	No	Total
Receipt of financial or in-kind assistance	Yes	count	4	1	5
		Within recipients of assistance	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
		Within economically active	17.4%	5.3%	11.9
		% of total	9.5%	2.4%	11.9%
	No	count	19	18	37
		Within recipients of assistance	51.4%	48.6%	100.0%
		Within economically active	82.6%	94.7%	88.1%
		% of total	45.2%	42.8%	88.1%
	Total	count	23	19	42
		% of total	54.8%	45.2%	100%
		Within economically active	100%	100%	

Source: Fieldwork 2014

From the above table, out of the forty-two who responded to the question on receipt of remittances as well as economic activity, only fifty-five percent (i.e. 54.8%) of the respondents are employed in one activity or the other. Forty-five percent (i.e. 45.2%) of the respondents are unemployed. It is worth noting that in many households; however, the role headship of the household is strategically left for the frail and less capable ones, while the more energetic members are made available to be employed as revealed during the focus group discussions.

Another observation I made while on the field was the various characteristics of the different countries in the camp. For example, Sudanese wives/women have no power in the household. Every decision lies with the men. Before I could interview one refugee woman from a Sudanese household, I needed to ask permission from her husband or the

patriarch of the household (or some other male within the household) that is if she is not married. These observations were further confirmed by the camp coordinator. In this instance, the woman is not able to go out and engage in any form of livelihood activity to assist the husband (or the household as a whole) in improving their quality of life at the camp.

Table 5.11 Current Economic Activity

Economic Activity	Frequency.	percent
Baking	1	2.8
Catering	1	2.8
Craftsmanship	1	2.8
Doctor	1	2.8
Electrician	1	2.8
Farming	1	2.8
Fishing	2	5.6
Hair Dressing	4	11.1
Charcoal burning	11	30.6
Security Guard	5	13.9
Shoe Making	1	2.8
Tailor	1	2.8
Trading	6	16.7
Total	36	100

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Table 5.11 above shows some of the activities that the refugees use to make a living.

The four most common occupations are charcoal burning, trading, security guard duties, and hair dressing, respectively in that order. These four account for 81.1 percent (81.1%) of the respondents' primary occupations. Observations made confirmed that, the single highest employer is charcoal burning even at a time when charcoal burning has waned due to the rains. When the weather is favourable, practically all employable refugees are engaged in charcoal burning. It was revealed that only a little more than one fifth of

households sampled, had at least one member who owned a business. Practically all of them were involved in petty trading activities.

The respondents are paid lower wages due to discrimination and a lack of bargaining power. From the research findings, one major difficulty that the refugees face in Krisan is the problem of bargaining power. As disclosed by one refugee who braids hair, she is paid GH¢3.00 - GH¢4.00 (a little above \$1.00) per hair done, whereas the locals charge as much as GH¢10.00 -15.00 (about \$5.00) per customer depending on the style of hair. The refugees revealed during focus group discussions that they are generally perceived to be better hair braiders than their local counterparts, thus the local salon owners prevent them from working in their shops for fear of losing their customers to the refugee hair braiders. It is thus evident that their refugee status makes them prone to exploitation.

From the focus group discussions and observations, it is evident that more than 70 percent (70%) of refugees do more than one job a day. For instance, the males will go to the seashore to help fishermen pull their nets for wages, then go and burn charcoal later. In the case of females, some go to the seashore to help pull fishing nets so they can get wages in kind (i.e. fish) which they use for meals at home, and then go to the market to braid hair. Later in the day they sit in front of their houses selling things that other refugees can afford. They do not complain about juggling two jobs, but feel exhausted after the labour intensive net pulling which is not able to fully sustain them and therefore have to do another labour-intensive job like that of charcoal burning. Answers gleaned from interviews of some women reflect the same workload. These multiple income streams that the refugees maintain are meant to improve their income levels as a livelihood strategy since their income levels (per a given job) are reported to be rather

low. Since the reward is small, there is the need for them to go and do several jobs in a day to enable them survive.

Table 5.12 Household's Ownership of a Business

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	11	20.8
No	42	79.2
Total	53	100

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Lack of capital available to the refugees to start their business was a major problem for the forced migrants to start their own business. In Ghana, recently, micro finance companies have thrived mainly because people are patronizing their services on condition that they have collateral to secure a loan. The banks and these financial companies need collateral which is impossible for these forced migrants to provide, thus cutting them out from the opportunity to access capital for any business venture.

During the focus group discussions, it was revealed that the efforts of the refugees to generate income by living off the earth are overtly and/ or covertly subverted by the locals through theft and acts of vandalism. During one focus group discussion, a 24-year old male alluded to the fact that the locals mostly visit the refugee charcoal burning and farming sites either to steal their charcoal or sometimes vandalize and destroy the site to discourage and/or prevent the refugees from coming back to use the land and its resources.

The UNHCR has collaborated with other donor agencies such as UNIDO and the Japanese Government to establish a vocational technical institute called Charlotte Dolphyn NVTI Centre. The centre is used to train refugees in livelihood strategies to

enable them acquire training in tie and dye, batik, hair dressing, “electrical”, baking and other types of skills training.

Table 5.13 Training Programme Beneficiaries against Livelihood Acquisition

			Training program helped to acquire a means of livelihood		
			Yes	No	Total
Beneficiaries of livelihood training program	Yes	count	12	5	17
		% within household members	70.6%	29.4%	100.0%
		% within livelihood acquisition	92.3%	26.3%	
		% of the total	37.5%	15.6%	53.1%
	No	count	0	15	15
		% within household members	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% within livelihood acquisition	7.7%	77.7%	
		% of the total	3.1%	43.8%	46.9
	Total	count	12	20	32
		% within means of livelihood	100.0%	100.0%	
		% of the total	40.6%	59.4%	100.0%

Source: Fieldwork 2014

The data in table 5.13 above shows that fifty-three percent (53.1%) of respondents had members who underwent the livelihood training programmes, while about forty-one percent (i.e. 40.6%) had the training provided assisting them to acquire a means of livelihood.

The responses provided during focus group discussions do not show any clear preference from the range of programmes offered. An analysis of the data on training programmes benefited from, and the businesses that household members own, indicates that the beneficiaries are not using the training as much as would be expected. This may suggest that the beneficiaries may not have really been interested in that particular programme offered. This seems to be supported by the focus group discussions during which the participants indicated some amount of displeasure in the process of matching refugees to

the programmes, as well as a lack of confidence displayed by the beneficiaries in the employment of the skills acquired. Furthermore, less than half (i.e. 40.6 percent) of respondents agreed that the training programme helped them acquire a livelihood because refugees are not completely kitted for work after graduating from the skills training program. It is thus almost impossible for them to work. As part of the Self Reliance policy by the UNHCR, refugees in protracted refugee camps are trained to be self-reliant instead of relying on relief and assistance. However, the training program is of little benefit to them since work tools and equipment are not given them to start their businesses.

There is no viable market for Self Reliance products since fellow refugees are largely unable to patronize the services provided by these Self Reliance graduates: lack of employment, low wages, and lack of capital are all factors contributing to poverty and the consequent low purchasing power of the refugees. Furthermore, discrimination against the refugees by the locals prevents them from entering the local market to compete. Thus they sell in the camp whatever service they provide. However, from observation, refugees are not able to patronize each other's goods and services because of lack of purchasing power. This then becomes a vicious cycle and deepens poverty, thereby adversely affecting livelihoods.

Table 5.13 reveals that most refugees are not able to use the training skills acquired because the courses are too short, thus not giving beneficiaries the full range of skills required thereby not helping them to acquire a livelihood, as the focus group discussions revealed. The training programmes have different durations; the courses' duration ranges from six (6) weeks to three (3) months. These courses are meant to enhance the ability of

beneficiaries to have better livelihood strategies that will help them survive both in the camps and when they are resettled, integrated or repatriated. However, most refugees complain that the duration of the training programs for some of the courses like bakery, masonry and other programs require longer periods to become proficient in the skill. This makes it difficult for them to use the skills as a livelihood strategy to support themselves adequately.

5.5 Remittances

The financial component of the livelihood assets of refugees as posited by the DFID Sustainable Livelihood Framework manifest as remittances to residence of the Krisan camp in addition to the income they earn from their economic activities. The role of remittance(s) in the life of refugees cannot be ignored. The host communities tend to perceive refugees to be recipients of funds which are sometimes used rather irresponsibly. However, by the survey in Krisan, the empirical evidence suggests that the perception is wrong at least for refugees in Krisan as the tables presented below indicate, they do not receive much in remittances.

Table 5.14 Non Resident Household Member Remitters

Response	Frequency	percent
Yes	15	34.1
No	29	65.9
Total	44	100

Source: Fieldwork 2014

In relation to remittances, only 34.1% of households sampled have members who currently live outside and send remittances, while as much as 65.9% do not receive remittances from outside. According the table below, about 19% of the households

receive remittances from their children. Even though the category of others constitutes almost 69%, it is actually deceptive because the composition of the others is made up of very many loose relationships.

Table 5.15 Relation between Remitter and Recipient

Response	Frequency	percent
Spouse	1	6.3
Child	3	18.8
Parent	1	6.3
Other	11	68.8
Total	16	100

Source: Fieldwork 2014

In all only sixteen respondents out of the sixty sampled (that is 25.07%) receive remittances. Only one respondent out of the sixty, receives remittances from her spouse. The same holds true for the one who receives it from his parents. Interestingly the non-filial remitters are in the majority constituting almost 69 percent of the remitters.

Table 5.16 Remitter Has Dependents in This Household

Response	Frequency	percent
Yes	3	18.8
No	13	81.2
Total	16	100

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Of the remitters, only 18.8 percent (18.8%) had dependents in the household and 81.2 percent (81.2%) not having dependants in the household. This indicates that the remitters are not doing so because of dependents but rather out of pure altruism or out of conjugal, parental or filial responsibilities.

Table 5.17 Remitter's Residence against Remitter's Refugee Status

			Refugee Status		
			Yes	No	Total
Current residence of remitter	In other household in Krisan	Count	3	0	3
		% within current residence	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		% within refugee Status	21.4%	0.0%	18.8%
	In other household in Ghana but not Krisan	Count	5	1	6
		% within current residence	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
		% within refugee Status	35.7%	50.0%	37.5%
	Outside Ghana	Count	6	1	7
		% within current residence	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
		% within refugee Status	42.9%	50.0%	43.8%
	Total	Count	14	2	16
		% within current residence	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%
		% within refugee Status	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Fieldwork 2014

A considerable proportion of the remitters live outside the country as expected. However, majority of the remitters (i.e. 57.1 percent) remit from within Ghana. These remitters, according to the focus group discussions, are mostly persons who live in other cities and towns in the country but outside the refugee camps.

18.8 percent (18.8%) of the remitters live in other households in the Krisan Township, whilst 37.5 percent (37.5%) are living in other households outside Krisan but within Ghana. Of the remitters, 43.8 percent (43.8%) live outside Ghana. These remitters are be either repatriated refugees, resettled refugees or other family relations.

87.5 percent (87.5%) of the persons who were sending remittances to the households are themselves refugees, whereas 12.5 percent (12.5%) are not. From discussions, however, it was evident that a great deal of non-cash support (such as food items and clothing) is received by households from people who were not household members.

5.6 Discussion of Institutions

5.6.1 UNHCR

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees has been of much help to the process of finding a lasting solution to the refugee situation around the globe. The UNHCR collaborated with the Ghana Government through the Ghana Refugee Board to establish the Krisan camp in 1996/1997. The UNHCR has been responsible for the establishment of the camp, provision of food aid and rations to the refugees. A lot of resettlement and repatriation activities have been organized and undertaken by the UNHCR. About sixty-seven (67) refugees have been repatriated to third countries such as Australia, Canada and the United States of America in 2014 alone. The UNHCR collaborates with the Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) and the National Disaster Management Organisation (NADMO) in managing the camp. Through the UNHCR, the Krisan camp has a basic school which provides educational services to both the local community and the refugee community. The UNHCR in collaboration with some of the implementing partners distributes agricultural equipment and high-yielding seedlings to refugees for their micro farming projects as part of (MSG) adopted by UNHCR in 2006 in Ethiopia and Sudan. The UNHCR has registered the refugees in the Krisan camp with the National Health Insurance Scheme and also pays other extra medical expenses when required by the

refugees. These achievements at the camp have not been forthcoming as before since the introduction of the self-reliance policy.

5.6.2 Ghana Refugee Board

The Ghana Refugee Board, in collaboration with NADMO, partners with the UNHCR to manage the camp by providing camp personnel and training to the refugees. The Ghana Refugee Board solicited donor support for the refugees in the Krisan camp in the early stages when there was much inflow of refugees from neighbouring countries in West Africa into the camp. The Ghana Refugee Board, in partnership with the Catholic Relief Service (CRS), also offers counselling to refugees in the Krisan camp on matters that bother the refugees. The Ghana Refugee Board, in collaboration with NADMO officials, ensures that proper allocation of accommodation is made to the refugees who have been screened and are qualified to be in the camp. The NADMO officials offer training to the refugees in the Krisan camp on matters which may need urgent attention in terms of emergency within the camp such as how to handle outbreak of diseases and fires. The Ghana Refugee Board has, through the Ministry of Interior, issued identity papers to the refugees. The Ghana Refugee Board has collaborated with UNHCR to provide funds for the education and training of refugees at Krisan. It also reports all matters in relation to welfare and health to the Department of Social Welfare and the Ministry of Health for intervention.

5.6.3 Catholic Relief Services

The Catholic Relief Services has established a branch at the camp to provide spiritual support to the refugees and a place of worship. The CRS provides financial assistance to

refugee students by paying their school fees at the camp. Currently, the camp school has officially been placed under the ambit of the Ghana Education Service (GES). The Catholic Relief Services collaborates with individuals and organisations to provide basic necessities through donations such as clothing to the refugees. They are currently providing assistance to the refugees in the area of shelter and counselling. As an implementing partner of the UNHCR and the Ghana Refugee Board, the Catholic Relief Services also assists the camp management officials at Krisan through timely visits to the camp. At the beginning of the establishment of the camp, the Catholic Relief Services also complemented the efforts of the UNHCR and the GRB through the provision of additional food rations to the refugees. During my time of research, most of these agencies' activities have reduced in intensity.

5.6.4 Ghana Police Service

The Ghana Police Service provides special assistance to the camp community through camp policing. They assist the camp management officials to settle disputes. As most refugee literature has pointed out, almost all refugee camps have problems with insecurity ranging from domestic violence to armed robbery (Crisp 2002). For these and many other reasons, the Ghana Police Service has established a police post within the camp. Refugees, who fall foul of the laws of the Republic of Ghana, as well as, International laws protecting refugees, are prosecuted in a competent court of law. During the early in flow of refugees at the camp, the Ghana Police Service helped to identify ex-combatants among the civilians at the camp with the help of National Security.

5.6.5 Ghana Immigration Service

The Ghana Immigration Service, as part of the Ministry of Interior, provides special assistance to the Ghana Refugee Board and various refugee camps of which Krisan is no exception. The Ghana Immigration Service is the first port of call to most of the refugees at the Krisan camp. The provision of documents to the refugees during the process of third country resettlement to facilitate their travels helps in the resettlement of refugees through processing of their documentation to Australia, Canada and United States of America from the Krisan camp. Repatriation activities which are usually carried out within the Krisan camp usually get immigration approval through the Ghana Immigration Service. The Ghana Immigration Service helped the Ghana Refugee Board to conduct interviews within the refugee community for refugees who are due for repatriation. This is done in order to distinguish refugees who have a genuine case from the others. The Ghana Immigration Service has also provided identity documents for refugees within the Krisan refugee camp to facilitate their free movement within the country. Currently, the service is in collaboration with the relevant agencies to resettle some refugees at the camp.

The perceived shortcomings of the agencies in their provision of assistance to the refugees were confirmed by the respondents. From the interviews and focus group discussions, the refugees maintained that the assistance of these organizations and agencies were forthcoming from the beginning, but that in recent years, their presence and activities in the camp have not been as forthcoming as before. The provision of social amenities and aid has reached its minimum levels (i.e. if any at all). The camp coordinator specifically mentioned the issue of widespread complaints of leaking roofs in

the camp which is the responsibility of the CRS. The refugees expect these agencies to be more proactive in their roles and activities in the camp to enhance their livelihoods.

5.7 Conclusion

The Krisan refugee camp was established in 1996 by UNHCR as mentioned in the earlier chapters. At the peak of the camp's occupation, it hosted up to 3000 refugees and it currently hosts 967. Over its 18 years of being in existence, the camp population has been fluid and the UNCHR as part of its attempt to move from supplying food aid to self-sufficiency as a policy, has caused the UNHCR to drastically reduce its support for the refugees by stopping the supply of food and other supplies. This policy is perhaps singularly responsible for the livelihood difficulties that the refugees find themselves in currently. This policy is rather inimical to their livelihoods because the camp's economy is, practically speaking, a closed one; this means there is far less interaction in the form of commercial exchange between the camp residents and the surrounding settlements than is desirable.

CHAPTER SIX

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECCOMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a summary of the core findings and a set of conclusions and recommendations that will improve the livelihood strategies of refugees in Krisan and refugee camps in Ghana in general.

The study set out to assess the new livelihood strategies that have been introduced to the refugees which they have adapted; to evaluate the effectiveness /adequacy of adapted livelihood strategies in ensuring a decent living and also describe /analyse the role of the UNHCR and the agencies of the Government of Ghana in supporting livelihood changes and wellbeing for refugees in the light of UN Refugee “Conventions”.

6.2 Summary

6.2.1 Summary of Key Findings

Humanitarian aid administration assisted in catering for the refugees’ basic necessities, such as food, shelter and clothing. These relief supplies/ rations were woefully insufficient to cater for the needs of these refugees, causing refugees to find their own means of supporting themselves. The situation has gotten even worse now that the camp has become protracted and since 2011 the self-sufficiency policy has been implemented in the Krisan refugee camp by the UNHCR.

An additional concern, which arose from the study, was the assumption and the role of social capital in the daily quest of refugees to make a livelihood. As this study has found,

there is a “safety net” of social relations that sustains the survival of the refugees of Krisan. This “safety net” is made up of remittance flows, social networks at the camp, as well as informal and formal relations within and outside the camp of Krisan.

Almost all refugees are employed in the informal sector. A combination of strategies on a daily basis is employed to improve the income levels of the household. Petty trading, charcoal burning, small-scale businesses, and barter trade within the camp are among some of the strategies the refugees employed to sustain livelihoods. Only a few who work with the agencies in the camp are formally employed (i.e. security duties and janitorial services).

Some refugees have married local citizens and this gives them advantages to have access to social amenities in the community as well as the opportunity to participate in the local economy.

A high level of functional illiteracy exists in the camp. This major problem existing in the camp makes it very difficult for refugees to participate in the formal sector of the economy, thus limiting their employment options to the informal sector.

6.2.2 Assistance from Agencies

The UNHCR and the Government of Ghana who are the two main institutions that are directly linked with the operation and management of the camp have been very helpful. From the survey, it was established that other international and national organizations such as UNIDO, the Government of Japan and Catholic Relief Services have also played an immense role in the wellbeing of the refugees in the camp.

Their services mostly involve counselling of refugees, vocational and skills training, provision and maintenance of certain amenities in the camp, all geared towards improvement in livelihood strategies. The churches are concerned with both the spiritual and physical wellbeing of the refugees and therefore have established branches in the camp. A mosque is also available for the Muslim community.

6.2.3 Difficulties in Achieving Livelihood Strategies

There were several problems that the refugees complained that they go through on a daily basis as they try to achieve their livelihoods. This research found some of the refugees' problems to be (1) difficulties with employment opportunities both in the formal and informal sector; (2) low wages emanating from refugees' low bargaining power together with discrimination. Furthermore (3) the existence of suspicion between the locals and the refugees, (4) the lack of funds (both for business ventures and ability to buy their needs), and (5) frustrations, due to the language barrier, all add up to present a very serious challenge to their livelihoods.

6.3 Conclusion

The research sought to examine the livelihood strategies of refugees in light of the protracted nature of the camp and the implementation of the self-reliance policy introduced by the UNHCR. From the findings and discussions above, it is certain that refugees at the Krisan camp are employing all available strategies at their disposal to make a living. They are navigating through the obstacles to be self-sufficient and not relying on unavailable humanitarian aid for their daily sustenance. However, a number of revelations have been made. These are highlighted below.

- The refugees mostly rely on the physical environment for survival rather than remittances (as suggested by some scholars who studied refugees in urban areas) and cash income. Also, the remoteness of the camp is a disadvantage for the refugees who want to engage in any meaningful trading activity. This is so because the economy of the camp is a relatively cashless one, given that it is only 34 percent (34%) of refugees receive remittances. Instead, they rely only on the intra camp trading activities which is not particularly lucrative. From observations, their livelihood activities are for survival purposes and not for improvement of standards of living or saving for the future. Thus they live off the earth. They are opportunistic in their livelihood strategies, taking advantage of whatever environmental chances that may befall them.
- Most of the agencies and organisations' activities at the camp seem to be non-existent. The existing structures and social amenities and their deplorable state attest to the lack of attention paid to the camp by these agencies. This may be due to the camp having been declared protracted.
- Despite the hardship experienced in the camp by these refugees, there was no evidence of malnutrition among the refugees and this could be explained by the fact that, due to the rainfall regime, food - no matter how little - is fairly balanced and nutritious with a lot of vegetables. The proximity of the sea ensures a regular intake of fish which enhances their protein levels. There seems, however, to be a short fall in the staples (i.e. rice, corn, cassava, etc.) as a component in their diet.

6.4 Recommendations

1. The UNHCR in its bid to implement the self-sufficiency policy has failed to put in place proper structures, which will ensure that refugees are well catered for. The self-reliance policy is a rights-based approach; the refugees at the Krisan camp do not have social and economic rights. They live in an unfavourable atmosphere, which can change only if there is a shift in the mind-set of the locals (about refugees) and the refugees themselves. This must be accompanied by changes in traditional belief systems making it difficult for them to make a successful livelihood concerning refugees etc. The policy must also focus on introducing more advanced training programmes to update the refugees on new technologies. This will help increase their chances of becoming better at their trade and enhance their confidence levels.
2. Tailored training programs to suit the individual refugee interest: the policy should not be a blanket one, but allow for special packages for certain peculiar groups with the refugee population to be catered for in terms of their special needs; nursing mothers, elderly, the new comers and the sick. In the event of the training program chosen by the refugee not being available in the package, the implementing agencies could make arrangements to assign the refugee to a local artisan for apprenticeship. Furthermore, the duration and content of training given to the refugees should be reviewed to make the training more comprehensive so as to enhance the proficiency and confidence of the trainees. And upon completion, working kits, equipment and initial raw materials should be provided to the trainees.

3. The various agencies in charge of issues relating to refugees in Ghana should collaborate and coordinate their work to ensure greater harmonization of their interventions in the lives of the camp residents so as to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness. Thus, duties of the government must be reconsidered with reference to livelihoods. The responsibility of host countries is critical in safeguarding the refugee rights. Therefore Local authorities such as the Metropolitan, Municipal And District Assemblies (MMDA's) should be involved in the effort by government to better manage the social acceptance by the local communities as well as enhance the ability of the refugees to be active participants in the commercial and industrial sector of the economy. The governmental agencies responsible for refugees should ensure that those who desire to self-repatriate are encouraged by making it easier for them to do so with little hindrance.
4. The role of remittances and external sources of finances as a livelihood of refugees at the Krisan Refugee Camps must not be over emphasized. From the discussions above, it is clear that only a few refugees have access to remittances (see table 5.14) which in most cases is not regular and can also be cut short due to death or unemployment of the sender. This clearly points to the importance of regular intervention of donor agencies for occasional provision of basic necessities like cooking pots, coal pots, mattresses and blankets, buckets, fixing of leaking roofs, maintenance of street lights and other social amenities in the camp to make life bearable for refugees.

5. The AU and other sub regional bodies e.g. ECOWAS, SADC should provide humanitarian interventions and assistance to complement UNHCR's responsibilities towards refugees in Africa since the UNCHR has, as matter of policy, been implementing the Self-Reliance Policy
6. It is recommended that further research should be conducted into the following; the amount of remittance flow to refugees in Ghana and their impact on the livelihoods of refugees in Ghana.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix 1

Research Questionnaire

Consent Form

Title of the Research: The Economic Livelihood of Refugees in Krisan in the Western Region of Ghana.

Researcher's Name: Gifty Manteaw, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon.

This consent form contains information about the research named above. You have been randomly selected to participant in the research. In order to be sure that you are informed about being in the research, I am asking you to read or have read to you this consent form. The interview is expected to take about 30 minutes of your time.

The purpose of this research is to collect and analyse economic livelihood of individual refugee households at the Krisan camp. Your participation in this research is solely voluntary, you have the right to end your participation in this discussion at any time. I will protect information about you and you're taking part in the research, hence you will not be named in the research.

If you agree to be part of the study, please sign or make your mark in the presence of a witness. During the interview, please don't hesitate to ask us to explain anything you don't understand.

Your participation in this research will not affect you in anyway, since it is for research purposes only.

Do you agree to participate in this research?

Yes.....

No.....

Signature/thumbprint.....

Date.....

DEMOGRAPHY**1. Age**

1. Less than 20 years 2. 21-30 years 3. 31-40 years
4. 40-50 years 5. Above 50 years

2. Sex

1. Male 2. Female

3. Marital status

1. Single 2. Married 3. Divorced 4. Widower
Others specify.....

4. Educational background

1. No Education 2. Primary 3. Junior High School
4. Senior High Secondary School 5. Any Tertiary School
6. Others specify.....

5. Can you read or write English

1. Yes 2. No

6. Place of birth: where were you born?

1. Kisan 2. Western region 3. Ghana
4. Other country, specify.....

7. Religious affiliation

1. Christian []	2. Catholic []	3. Muslim []	4. Hindu []
5. Buddhist []	6. No religion []	7. Others, specify.....	

8. Nationality of members of household

1. State country of origin.....

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY**9. How many people are part of this household?**

1. 2 []	2. 3-4 []	3. 5-6 []	4. 7-8 []
5. Other, specify.....			

10. How many people in the household are gainfully employed?

1. 1 []	2. 2 []	3. 3 []
4. Other, specify.....		

11. Are you currently engaged in any economic activity for profit/pay/family benefit in cash or kind?

1. Yes []	2. No []
------------	-----------

12. If yes, what is your current economic activity?

1. Specify.....

13. What is your principal economic occupation?

1. Specify.....

14. Which industry/service is your economic activity?

1. Specify.....

15. For how long have you been working with this company?

1. Less than 6 month [] 2. 1 – 2 years [] 3. 3 – 5 years []
4. 5 year and above [] 5. Others, specify.....

16. Does anyone in the family own a business?

1. Yes [] 2. No []
3. If yes, specify type of business.....

17. Did you attend any school or did you do a course to aid your search for employment in Ghana?

1. Yes [] 2. No []

18. If yes, did it help to acquire a job?

1. Yes [] No []

19. Did any member of the household under go any livelihood training program organized by an international organization for refugees?

1. Yes []	2. No []	If yes, specify program.....
------------	-----------	------------------------------

20. Did the training program helped in acquiring a means of livelihood?

1. Yes []	2. No []
------------	-----------

REMITTANCE

21. Are there household members who don't currently live in the house but contribute financially or in kind to the house hold?

1. Yes []	2. No []
------------	-----------

22. What is the relationship with you?

1. Spouse []	2. Child []	3. Parent []	4. Grandchild []
5. Others, specify.....			

23. Does the person have children who live in this household?

1. Yes []	2. No []
------------	-----------

24. Where does the person currently live?

1. In other household in Kisan []	2. In other household in Ghana []
3. Outside Ghana, specify.....	

25. Is the person a refugee?Yes No **Does the household receive any financial or in kind support from anyone who is not a household member?**Yes No **If yes, what is the relationship with the family?**

Please specify.....

How old is the person?

1. Less than 20 years 2. 21-30 years 3. 31-40 years
 4. 40-50 years 5. Above 50 years

Sex of the person1. Male 2. Female **Does the household receive any financial or in kind assistant from an organization/institution?**Yes No **If yes, what type of organization/institution?**

Int NGOs Governmental local NGOs
 others, please specify

Where is the organization/institution located?Krisan Western Region Accra Outside Ghana

Others, please specify.....

Appendix 2

The United Nations Refugee Convention of 1951,

Articles 17, 18, 31, 32, 33

Article 17 Wage Earning Employment: The Contracting States shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory the most favourable treatment accorded to nationals of a foreign country in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage in wage-earning employment.

2. In any case, restrictive measures imposed on aliens or the employment of aliens for the protection of the national labour market shall not be applied to a refugee who was already exempt from them at the date of entry into force of this Convention for the Contracting State concerned, or who fulfils one of the following conditions:

- (a) He has completed three years' residence in the country;
- (b) He has a spouse possessing the nationality of the country of residence. A refugee may not invoke the benefits of this provision if he has abandoned his spouse.
- (c) He has one or more children possessing the nationality of the country of residence.

3. The Contracting States shall give sympathetic consideration to assimilating the rights of all refugees with regard to wage-earning employment to those of nationals, and in particular of those refugees who have entered their territory pursuant to programmes of labour recruitment or under immigration schemes.

Article 18 Self-Employment: The Contracting States shall accord to a refugee lawfully in their territory treatment as favourable as possible and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage on his own account in agriculture, industry, handicrafts and commerce and to establish commercial and industrial companies.

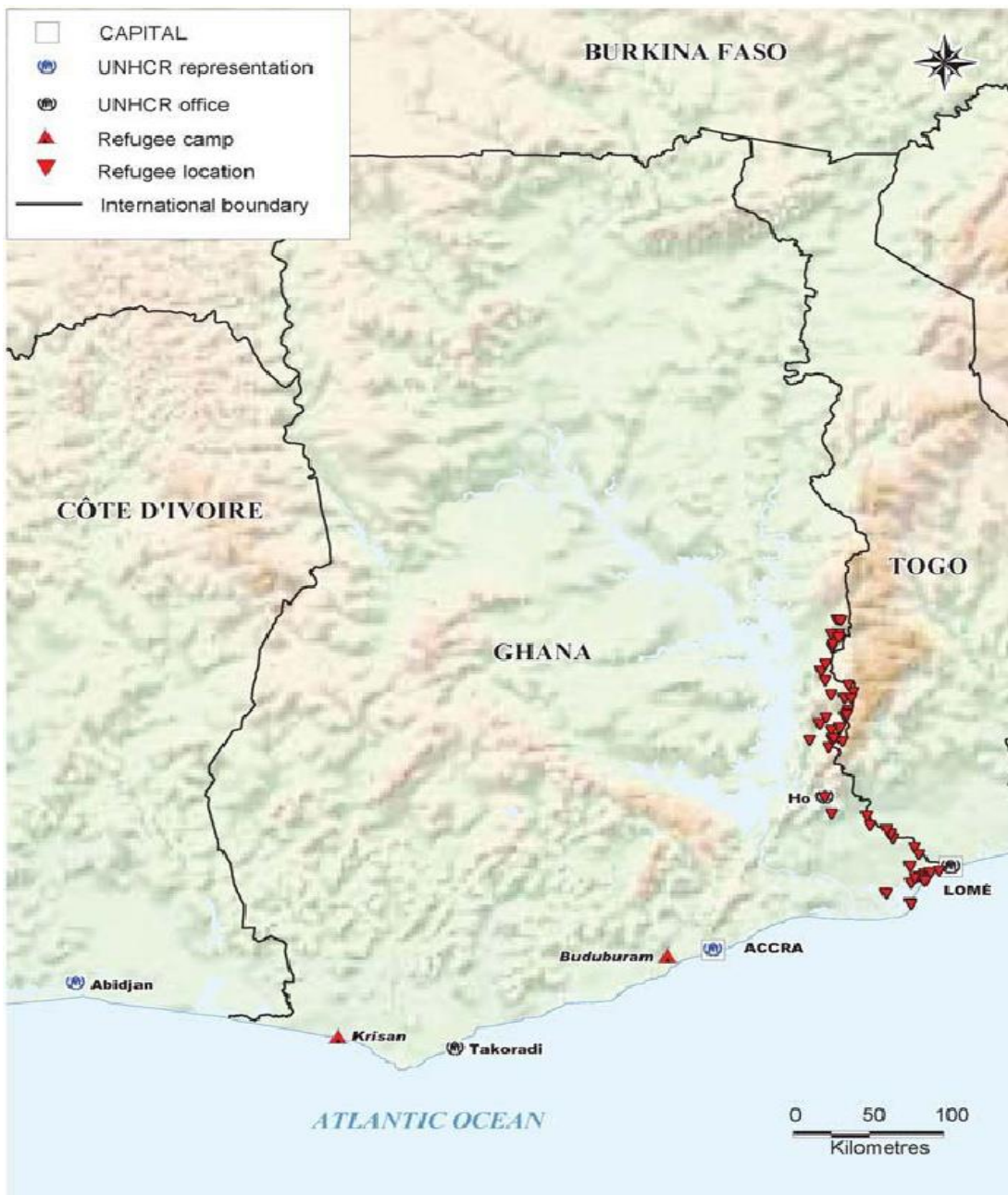
Article 31, Refugee Unlawful in the Country of Refuge: The Contracting States shall not impose penalties, on account of their illegal entry or presence, on refugees who, coming directly from a territory where their life or freedom was threatened in the sense of Article, enter or are present in their territory without authorization, provided they present themselves without delay to the authorities and show good cause for their illegal entry or presence.

Article 32 Expulsion: The Contracting States shall not expel a refugee lawfully in their territory save on grounds of national security or public order and in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with the process of law.

Article 33, Prohibition of Expulsion or Return ('Refoulement')

No Contracting State shall expel or return ('refouler') a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.

Appendix 3

Map Of Ghana Showing Krisan

Source: Mensah, A. D (2009), An Exploration of refugee integration: A case study of Krisan Refugee Camp

Appendix 4

Refugee Self-Reliance Skills Training Programme Beneficiary at Work

