

**GHANA'S CONTRIBUTION TO WEST AFRICAN SUB-REGIONAL
STABILITY: THE ISSUE OF HOSTING REFUGEES**

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work; and that neither part nor whole has been presented for another degree in the University or elsewhere.

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DEDICATION

To the Glory of God, this thesis is dedicated to the memory of Nene Azago Kwesitsu I, the late Mahefakor of the Manya Krobo Traditional Area of the Republic of Ghana, and my foster father, who unfortunately did not live to see the end of this project. It is also dedicated to all refugees worldwide in their struggle security, peace, and justice.



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	III
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	V
LIST OF TABLES	VIII
ABSTRACT.....	X
ABBREVIATIONS	XI
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	6
1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	7
1.4 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY	7
1.5 THE POLITICS OF THE LIBERIAN CONFLICT AND REFUGEES IN GHANA.....	8
1.5.1 THE LAND OF LIBERIA	8
1.5.2 THE INDIGENOUS LIBERIAN PEOPLE.....	9
1.5.2.1 Ethnic Groups	9
1.5.3 ARRIVAL OF AMERICO-LIBERIANS AND FORMATION OF THE LIBERIAN STATE	10
1.5.3.1 Americo-Liberian Rule	11
1.5.4 COUP D' ETAT	15
1.5.4.1 Charles Taylor's Rebellion and Civil War.....	17
1.5.5 WAR CRIMES, TRAUMA AND PROSPECTS OF REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES.....	22
1.5.6 CONCLUSION.....	27
1.6 LIBERIAN REFUGEES AND THE BUILDING OF REFUGEE HOSTING STRUCTURES IN GHANA	28
1.6.1 GHANA AND THE OBLIGATIONS OF HOSTING REFUGEES	29
1.6.1.1 Ghana's Experience With Refugees Since Independence	29
1.6.1.2 Liberian Refugees and the Building of Refugee Hosting Structures	30
1.6.2 GOMOA BUDUBURAM HOST COMMUNITY	31
1.6.2.1 Origins of Buduburam	31
1.6.2.2 The People of Buduburam	32
1.6.2.3 The Natural Environment of Buduburam	32
1.6.2.4 The Economic Life of Buduburam	33
1.6.3 THE REFUGEE SETTLEMENT.....	33
1.6.4 HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENT	34
1.6.5 REFUGEE INITIATIVE AT THE BUDUBURAM CAMP.....	36
1.6.5. 1 Other Community Based Organisations (CBOs).....	36
1.7 THE LIBERIAN WELFARE COUNCIL	37
1.8 REFUGEE HOSTING STRUCTURES IN GHANA.....	37
1.8.1 GHANA REFUGEE BOARD.....	37

1.8. 2 COMPOSITION OF THE BOARD.....	38
1.9 CONCLUSION.....	39
1.10 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY	39
1.11 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS	40
REFERENCES	42
CHAPTER TWO	44
LITERATURE REVIEW	44
2.1INTRODUCTION	44
2.2REFUGEE SETTLEMENTS IN AFRICA.....	45
2.2.1 THE ANTI-COLONIAL ERA	45
2.2.2THE POST ANTI-COLONIAL PERIOD.....	48
2.3IMPACT OF REFUGEE INFLUX/HOST COMMUNITY- REFUGEE RELATIONSHIPS.....	51
REFERENCES	62
CHAPTER THREE	65
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	65
3.1 THE THEORY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF BURDENS AND BENEFITS AMONG LOCAL HOSTS.....	65
3.2HYPOTHESIS	69
3.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	69
REFERENCES	70
CHAPTER FOUR.....	71
METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY	71
4.1INTRODUCTION	71
4.2RESEARCH DESIGN	71
4.3 SOURCES OF DATA	71
4.4 POPULATION	71
4.5 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE	72
4.6 SURVEY INSTRUMENTS.....	72
4.7 DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE.....	72
4.8 INTERPRETATION OF DATA	73
REFERENCES	74
CHAPTER FIVE	75
DATA ANALYSIS.....	75
5.1 INTRODUCTION	75
5.3DATA INTERPRETATION	75

5.4: CHI SQUARE TEST	91
CHAPTER SIX	93
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS	93
6.1 INTRODUCTION	93
6.2 BIO DATA	93
6.3 IMPACT OF REFUGEES ON THE BUDUBURAM HOST COMMUNITY	96
6.4 HOST COMMUNITY – REFUGEE RELATIONS	106
6.5 EXPECTATIONS OF THE BUDUBURAM HOST COMMUNITY AND THE FUTURE OF THE REFUGEES	110
6.6 CONCLUSION	113
REFERENCES	114
CHAPTER SEVEN	115
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	115
7.1 INTRODUCTION	115
7.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	115
7.3 CONCLUSION	117
7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS	118
BIBLIOGRAPHY	120
APPENDICES	1255
APPENDIX I	1266
APPENDIX II	1300
APPENDIX III	1311
APPENDIX IV	1322
APPENDIX V	1333

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Age of Respondents	75
Table 2: Gender of Respondents.....	76
Table 3: Educational Background of Respondents	77
Table 4: Nationality of Spouses of Respondents	77
Table 5: Occupation of Respondents	78
Table 6: What is the positive effect of urbanization on the host community?	78
Table 7: What is/are the burden(s) of the refugee camp on the host community?	80
Table 8: What is the positive impact of the refugee settlement on your locality?.....	80
Table 9: Ways in which the refugee settlement benefited the local host community.....	81
Table 10: Have you personally suffered from the refugee settlement?	82
Table 11: Negative effects of the refugee settlement on respondents	82
Table 12: Have you personally benefited from the refugee settlement?	83
Table 13: Ways in which respondents benefited personally from the refugee settlement.....	83
Table 14: What in your view is the real contribution of the host community	84
Table 15: Do you have a refugee friend(s)?.....	84
Table 16: Do refugees participate in host community	85
Table 17: Which of the following is the cause of tension (if any) between	85
Table 18: What has been the general relationship between the host community and the refugees? 86	
Table 19: What has been the relationship between the host community and the camp administration?.....	86
Table 20: Specify the nature of relationship between the host community and the camp administration	87
Table 21: Has there been any self-settlement of refugees with you/your relations in the host community?.....	87
Table 22: What type of self-settlement scheme of refugees has taken	88
Table 23: Would you marry a refugee or allow a refugee to marry your son/ daughter?.....	88
Table 24: Should the refugee camp be closed down?	89
Table 25: What is your opinion of the future of the refugees?	89
Table 26: What are your expectations of the Government of Ghana and the International Community for the Buduburam Host Community?.....	90

Table 27: What future relationship do you want between the Buduburam host community and Liberia? 90

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Civilians displaced by the Darfur conflict set out to collect firewood from the scrubland surrounding their camp.....	56
Figure 2:	Marital Status of Respondents.....	76
Figure 3:	What is/are the negative impact(s) of urbanization on the host community?	79
Figure 4:	Has the refugee settlement been beneficial to the local host?	81
Figure 5:	Has the refugee settlement been beneficial to the local host?	91
Figure 6:	Test Statistics Chi sq. results	91

ABSTRACT

The emergence of conflicts in West Africa, especially the conflict which ravaged Liberia from 1989-2003, posed a major refugee challenge to the sub-region including Ghana. The hosting of refugees by Ghana dates back to the country's immediate post-independent era, but became more prominent from the 1990s, when the Liberian refugee settlement was established in the country. The contribution of the Buduburam local host community to the Liberian refugees and its impact on the community is the problem investigated in this study. It is relevant to note that, the Liberian refugee situation in Ghana led to the establishment of permanent refugee hosting structures in the country. Relevant literature was reviewed from both Africa and outside Africa on host community-refugee relations as well as the impact of refugees on their hosts. The refugee situation in Africa in the period of anti-colonialism and post colonialism was also considered in the review. The theory which underpins the study is the theory of the distribution of burdens and benefits to local hosts, propounded by Berth Whitaker. Both quantitative and qualitative data was employed for the study and primary and secondary sources of data were used. The primary sources of data which formed the basis of the study were structured questionnaires and in-depth interviews whilst the secondary sources included books, magazines, reports, and bulletins etc. The study has shown that the local host community finds the refugee settlement beneficial rather than a burden to them. Among the benefits to the local host community is the transformation of the host community from a rural to urban settlement with modern infrastructure and amenities. Notwithstanding this benefit, the community also reaped some negative effects of the refugee settlement such as the rise in crime, high cost of living and pressure on the host community land among others. Among the recommendations made by the researcher, is that an International Centre for Refugee Studies be set up at Buduburam for being, arguably, the most developed refugee camp in Africa. Also, local industries must be established in the Buduburam community to employ both the local people and the refugees among other recommendations.

ABBREVIATIONS

UN - United Nations

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

LN - League of Nations

OAU - Organization of African Unity

USA - United States of America

ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States

ECOMOG – Economic Community of West Africa Ceasefire Monitoring Group

IRR - International Refugee Regime

GRB - Ghana Refugee Board

ACS - American Colonization Society

USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PRC – Peoples’ Redemption Council

ARL - Armed Forces of Liberia

SPLA - Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army

NPFL - National Patriotic Front of Liberia

INPFL - Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia

ULIMO - United Liberia Movement for Democracy

LDF - Loma Defence Force

LURD - Liberians United for Democracy and Reconciliation

MODEL - Movement for Democracy in Liberia

CPA - Comprehensive Peace Agreement

LTRC - Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission

DRC - Democratic Republic of the Congo

CAR - Central African Republic

RENAMO – Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance)

FRELIMO – Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front)

RUF - Revolutionary United Front

NADMO – National Disaster Management Organisation

CCG - Christian Council of Ghana

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

For over three millennia, from classical to modern civilizations, from the time of the blossoming of the ancient Empires of Babylon and Assyria, to the epochs of the Greek City States and the Roman Empire, and from Judaism and Christianity to Islam, people have always taken flight and sought refuge from chaotic to stable lands as refugees (UNHCR, 2001). The history of the traditions of origin of many of the ethnic groups in Africa today reveal that they were refugees who fled from some kind of oppression, persecution, famine or other unpleasant situations to establish new homes. For example, a popular folklore of the Ewe speaking people in Ghana tells the story of their flight from the tyrannical rule of King Agokorli of the ancient Notsie Kingdom, to their present places of abode (Amenumey, 1968).

Telecommunication technology in modern times has, however, brought the problem of forced migrants to a proper focus than in the past. Every now and then on television, large numbers of migrants, usually poor people, forced to abandon their homes and countries are seen moving with their belongings and sometimes pursued by tanks and fighters, to seek sanctuary in neighbouring states. Since 1921, when the League of Nations (LN) appointed the first High Commissioner for Refugees, the problem of refugees has attracted wider world attention leading to the adoption of an International Legal Framework, the 1951 United Nations (UN) Convention relating to the status of refugees, and the building of a formal institution, the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), to deal with the problem of refugees created by the events of World War II (Trier, 1994). Even though the framers of the 1951 convention thought that the world refugee crisis was a temporary problem, it has become a permanent issue which has affected relations

between nations while the number of refugees in the world has witnessed an exponential growth (Ibid).

According to UNHCR sources, there were over nineteen million refugees in the world in 2005 and the numbers keep increasing (UNHCR, 2005). The result is the refining of the original 1951 document, through the adoption of protocols, conventions and accords, to be abreast with the dynamics of the world refugee crisis. For example, in 1967, the UN adopted a protocol aimed at the elimination of geographical and time restrictions imposed by the 1951 UN Convention which provides the legal definition of a refugee.

Regional bodies of the world confronted by peculiar refugee situations, which the UN convention and protocol did not address, also adopted their adaptable refugee instruments. For example, African countries adopted the 1969 Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Convention whilst Latin American countries also issued the Cartagena Declaration in 1984, both aimed at broadening the scope of the 1951 UN convention and its 1967 protocol to deal with the problem of refugees in their respective regions. That the problem of refugees is a very important issue in contemporary global politics is an undeniable fact. As a proof of that, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Sadako Ogata, was in 1992 invited for the first time to address the UN Security Council on the state of the world's refugees (Mitchell, 1995).

The refugee problem has tilted more from the sphere of humanitarian considerations to the arena of politics, and a very important tool that shapes relations between nations. For example, when Bangladesh separated from Pakistan in 1971, India intervened on the side of Bangladesh, to curb the flow of refugees from the conflict into India, an issue that affected Indo-Pakistan relations

and security and stability in their region (Dickerson and Flanagan, 2002). Foreign policies of states have also led to refugee flows in the world. A classic example is the case of the Angolan civil war. That conflict invited the competitive intervention of the ideological foes of the cold war. The result was the transformation of the conflict into a protracted proxy war that virtually flooded the whole of the Southern African region with Angolan refugees (Ibid). Similarly, the United States of America's intervention to restore the democratic government of Jean Bertrand Aristide in Haiti in 1994, was driven in part by domestic political considerations arising from the movement of refugees from Haiti to the US which the US government wanted to halt.

The optimism of the international community that the global refugee menace will receive a downward trend since the birth of international refugee policy at the end of World War II, has proved to the contrary. Not even the end of the cold war that ended most of the proxy wars of ideology brought about any significant change. Equally, the hope of African countries that the downing of the colonial edifice, the struggle against which necessitated the adoption of the 1969 OAU Convention, will end refugee flows on the continent has become grim. The world refugee crisis has escalated as the number of refugees has increased. The 20th century has been described as "the century of refugees due to the large number of refugees it generated in nearly all parts of the world right into the new millennium" (Owusu, 2000, p 1). From about 1.5 million refugees in the world in 1951 when the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) was established, the refugee numbers more than quadrupled in a space of 30 years, becoming 8.2 million by 1980 (Gil Loescher, 1992). By the closing decades of the 20th century, the world became host to over twenty million refugees out of which over six million can be found in Africa (Owusu, 2000).

The world refugee problem can be attributed to several factors that can be summarized as political, economic, religious and cultural. For example, the imposition of Islamic law on Sudan by the Moslem dominated Khartoum government and its rejection by the Southern Sudanese Christian and animist populations led to the intensification of the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army insurgency in the 1980s and a massive flood of Sudanese refugees across East Africa (Gil Loescher, 1992). Political upheavals in the form of Marxist revolutions as well as the contest for state power resulted in the uprooting of millions of people in countries such as Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, etc (ibid). Also, competition for political power between rival ethnic groups fuelled by the availability of modern weaponry, led to refugee situations in many third world countries in the 1990s of which Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia are classic examples (ibid).

With time, the refugee problem has become more complex as various factors, both natural and man-made, have added to involuntary population movement. However, not all categories of people uprooted from their homes or forced to leave their countries of habitual residence, have been recognized by international law as refugees, as is the case of victims of environmental degradation in the Sahel Region of Africa described by Essuman-Johnson (1996) as 'environmental refugees of the Sahel'. In Ghana, the environmental refugees from the Sahel region, mainly from the Fulani and the Tuareg ethnic groups, although not recognized by international law as refugees, receive some assistance from the Christian Council of Ghana, other voluntary organizations and benevolent individuals. The government of Ghana has also been liberal towards these refugees during their entry and exile in Ghana, sometimes with their cattle in search for pasture (Ibid). Thus, various factors, including even development as argued by Dr.

Chris McDowell of Oxford University (cited in Mitchell, 1995), can be contributing factors to the displacement of people as refugees.

From the mid-nineties, sporadic violence resulting from pro-democracy struggles in Togo, civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, post-election violence in Cote d'Ivoire, military intervention in politics in countries such as Guinea Bissau and Mali and the brutal terrorist activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria have created and still threaten refugee flows in West Africa with implications for sub-regional peace and stability. The hosting of refugees from these conflicts as well as peace-keeping operations under the banner of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) is a burden on countries in the sub-region. Ghana has received a fair share of the problem of influx of refugees from Togo, the Mano-River basin of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea, as well as from Cote d'Ivoire, Sudan and Rwanda in addition to refugees fleeing unfavourable environmental conditions in the Sahel region. All the frontiers of Ghana, namely the sea, and its borders with Cote d'Ivoire, Togo and Burkina Faso, have at one time or the other been entry points for refugees. With all the refugees hosted from different countries by Ghana since the closing decades of the 1980s, the case of Liberian Refugees in Ghana has attracted the highest international attention. The settlement of Liberian refugees in Ghana for over two decades is significantly a protracted case of hosting visitors with the hope that they would return home soon. The Buduburam Refugee Camp in Ghana, which has hosted Liberian Refugees since 1990, has become very important in the spheres of academic research and international relations. Buduburam has even been described as a five star refugee camp in Africa (Owusu, 2000) and the Liberian refugee problem continue to attract international

attention on the contribution of Ghana to the safety of West Africans displaced by civil wars and other forms of sporadic violence.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The proliferation of conflicts in West Africa from the 1990s sent off thousands of refugees to many neighbouring countries. Probably due to its relatively stable political environment in the sub-region, Ghana became a destination for refugees from all the major conflict ridden states of Togo, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire. Of all the refugees that have been hosted by Ghana so far from the West African conflict situations, the case of the Liberian refugees is unique by UNHCR standards. The UNHCR defines a protracted refugee situation as one with a population of 25,000 or more persons living in exile for 5 or more years in a developing country (UNHCR, 2004b). The Liberian refugee situation in Ghana can therefore be described as a super-protracted refugee case having been in existence for over two decades and the refugee population reaching over 52,000 by 2005 at the Buduburam camp where they have been hosted since 1990 (Dicks,2000). The generally held view is that refugees are a burden on host communities and host countries. For example, Ghana estimates its annual per refugee costs to be about 348 US dollars (Betts, 2005). In spite of this perception of refugees as being a burden to host communities, a visit to the Liberian refugee camp at Buduburam shows a village host community rapidly transforming into an urban community and with it a growing trade and services economy replacing an agrarian economy which is typical of Ghanaian villages. The burden of this study is to assess the contribution of the local host community to the refugees which has led to the current developments in the host community and the burdens and benefits to the host community.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The first objective of the study was to investigate the opinion of the indigenous local host community on the impact of the Liberian refugees on their socio-cultural and economic life. Secondly, the study was to find out the relationship between the local host community, and the refugees in the past and in the present. Also, the study is interested in the expectations of the local host community from the government of Ghana, aid agencies and the international refugee regime for using their land to host the Liberian refugees for over two decades. Finally, the study assessed the contribution of the local host community to the refugees.

1.4 Justification of the Study

Ghana has hosted refugees from conflicts in the West African sub-region from Togo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Cote d'Ivoire since the 1990s and beyond (UNHCR Ghana, 2005). The case of the influx of Liberian refugees has rather posed a significant challenge to the country in terms of the number of refugees and the length of existence and consequent impact on the host community and the country at large. As Essuman-Johnson (2013) noted, at the time of the mass influx of the Liberian refugees, whose arrival was facilitated by the government of Ghana, the country was not prepared in terms of facilities and a refugee policy. It also faced the challenge of a clear mandate of handling the refugees due to the mode of their arrival. Consequently, Ghana had to pass a comprehensive refugee law, (PNDC LAW 305 1992) leading to the establishment of the Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) as the government agency responsible for refugee issues in Ghana (ibid).

That the Liberian refugee settlement in Ghana led to the establishment of refugee hosting structures in the country, and the fact that the Liberian refugee camp at Buduburam, is the longest existing refugee camp in Ghana (UNHCR Ghana 2012), and has led to the

transformation of the host community to an urban settlement, makes it a useful case study for assessing Ghana's contribution to West African sub-regional stability in the area of refugee hosting.

Another reason why this study is important is that, whilst a lot of studies have been carried out such as Dick (2000), Omata (2011) etc on the refugees in the Buduburam Refugee Camp, and the livelihood challenges of the refugees there, not much has been done on the impact of the refugee settlement on the Buduburam host community. This study will help bring out some hidden challenges of the host community for address by the relevant agencies. It will also, enrich the literature on the impact of refugee camps on host communities and host community-refugee relationships in the field of refugee research.

1.5 The Politics Of The Liberian Conflict And Refugees In Ghana

Ghana's reputation, in the world today, as a generous and hospitable country to refugees can be attributed to the sanctuary provided by Ghana to Liberian refugees created by the bloody conflict in Liberia in the 1990s, which ended at the beginning of the 21st century. The conflict led to the flooding of almost the whole of the West Africa sub-region with Liberian refugees. This chapter examines the politics of Liberia and issues rooted in the country's history that led to the conflict and the many challenges especially the issue of refugees which remains unresolved.

1.5.1 The Land of Liberia

Over five thousand miles across the Atlantic Ocean from the U.S, lies this country in West Africa called Liberia whose history is tied with the history of America. Liberia occupies a space of 43,000 square miles. It is bounded on the South West by the Atlantic Ocean, and surrounded to the north by Guinea, west by Sierra Leone and to the east by Cote d'Ivoire. The country has

vast timber reserves and substantial deposits of iron ore. Liberia has fifteen administrative regions. (World Book Encyclopedia Vol.4, 1987)

1.5.2 The Indigenous Liberian People

According to the 1984 census, Liberia's population was 2.1 million. Out of this, 5% are descendants of freed slaves from America who were settled on the land by a private society in the U.S, the American Colonization Society (ACS) and about 95% indigenous black Africans whose ancestors had lived on the land for many years (World Book Encyclopedia, Vol.4, 1987).

1.5.2.1 Ethnic Groups

There are about 95% indigenous African groups in Liberia which is made up of some sixteen ethnic groups and several tribes. The main ethnic groups and tribes are the Kpelle, Bassa, Krahn, Kru, Mano, Loma, Kissi, Gio (Dan), Vai, Kuwaa, Gbandi, Mende, Grebo, Dei, Gola and Madingo, (Minority Rights Group, World Book Encyclopedia). As is common among societies with ethnic and cultural diversity, sometimes, there existed rivalry and tension between some Liberian ethnic groups and states, compounded by some Liberian stereotypes which are disparaging of some ethnic groups that also breed tension. A few case studies of such conflicts between the aborigines of Liberian society and also with Americo –Liberians are illustrated below. For example in the Lofa county of the country, rivalry and tension between the Loma and the Mandingo is very pronounced and had a profound effect on their relationship up to the outbreak of the civil war, the Loma consider themselves autochthonous to the land and the Mandingo are generally seen as late comers and immigrants (Konneh 1996). This relationship between the Mandingo and the Loma, replicated itself in the civil war with the two groups accusing each other of atrocities (Hubad 1998, Reno 2007, Boas 2007, Ellis 1999).

Some Liberian stereotypes also affect the relationship between some ethnic groups. For example, the Dan ethnic group is derogatorily referred to as the Gio or slave people by another ethnic group, the Bassa (Minority Rights Group). Another example of ethnocentrism that affected Liberia is the general disparaging of the Khran, Doe's ethnic group, as uncivilized and benighted (ibid). The Khran might have for a long time looked forward to some distant future for an opportunity to redeem their soiled image and pride in Liberian society till the "God appointed time" when Sergeant Doe their clansman appeared on the political scene in 1980.

Most of the ethnic groups in Liberia also have their kindred in the surrounding countries. The Dan (Gio) and the Khran are also found in neighbouring Cote d'Ivoire, whilst the Kpelle and Mandingo had their origins in Guinea and maintain links with their Guinea counter-parts from their Liberian diaspora (Ibid).

1.5.3 Arrival of Americo-Liberians and Formation of the Liberian State

In 1816, a private organization in the US, the American Colonization Society (ACS), undertook a project to resettle freed slaves from America in Africa. The ACS was made up of two groups of people, the anti-slavery campaigners or abolitionists notably the Quakers, and some former slave owners. Whilst the motive of the abolitionists could be described as altruism to ensure that former slaves lived in a land far away from the land of their former oppressors to regain their dignity, the motive of the former slave masters, for their involvement in the repatriation programme was purely on grounds of xenophobia. That is, the ex-slave owners were afraid of a possible rebellion from the people they once bought or stole and shipped to America to become their domestic properties and beasts of burden but now free (Duva A.M global connections.liberia.history).

In 1821, the settlement of freed slaves from America began on a land purchased on the Liberian coast around the area which became known as Monrovia. The freed slaves from America were joined by slaves freed from captured slave ships engaged in illegal shipment of slaves from the Congo to America when slavery became illegal there (ibid). Although the original size of the land purchased from local chiefs measured only a few miles, the settlers under the tutelage/aegis of the ACS, and in the post – ACS era carried out a policy of territorial expansion and extension of their political influence over the indigenous Liberian population in the interior. Among the tools and schemes employed for the Americo-Liberian imperialism on the ‘Grain Coast’, as the area was previously named by early Portuguese traders who had earlier contacts with the indigenous people of that stretch of land, were both refined and crude methods of land purchase, treaties with local chiefs and conquests of local tribes among others (ibid).

The Portuguese named the place the Grain Coast because of the abundance of grains of malaguetta pepper in the area (Stamp, 1953). Although the Portuguese and other European traders such as the Dutch and the English did business with the local people, they did not have any political influence over the area and it remained un-colonized till the arrival of the Americo-Liberians in 1821(ibid). On July 26, 1847, the Americo-Liberian settlements along the coast under the aegis of the ACS declared their independence from the control of the ACS and a new agenda of territorial expansion, subjugation and domination of the indigenous populations by the settlers began until 1980 when the status quo changed.

1.5.3.1 Americo-Liberian Rule

Liberia was declared a republic but the indigenous black population were not considered to be citizens. It was not until 1904 that the indigenous were granted the right of citizenship (African

history.com). Initially, the influence of the Republic of Liberia was confined to a few miles from the coast with the vast interior remaining a ‘jungle’ inhabited by indigenous tribes (Stamp, 1953). Gradually, the Americo-Liberian minority became a black colonial aristocracy to colonize the interior of the indigenous blacks. They forced the indigenous people to pay taxes on their huts and to provide free or cheap labour, which were the only two things they thought the indigenous population could contribute towards the building of the nation. In reciprocity, the indigenous people regarded the Americo-Liberians as intruders and imposters who must be ignored (Ibid).

The demand for land resources and cheap labour for nation building compelled the Americo-Liberian minority rulers to extend greater inclusion of the indigenous people in the country, however, certain rights such as the right to vote for the indigenous black population had to be postponed to as late as 1951, and even that only indigenous black property owners became enfranchised initially (Stamp, 1953). Large sums of money donated and loaned to Liberia by the ACS, the US government and some European countries did not benefit the indigenous black population as these were either squandered by the Americo-Liberian ruling elite on luxury or invested in infrastructure along their coastal abode, whilst the hinterland dwelling of the indigenous black population remain impoverished. Along the coast, they built luxurious houses in the style of the Southern States of America, in sharp contrast to the thatch huts in villages a few miles away from the coast (ibid). In spite of the neglect of the indigenous black population, the government continued to invest in the comfort and luxury of the Americo-Liberian oligarchy and elite along the coast, with exploitation of resources from the interior of the country. It leased

out large acres of land to the Firestone Company of America for the establishment of the largest rubber plantation in the world (World Book Encyclopedia Vol.4).

This project became the backbone of the economy, but it did little to improve the lives of the aborigines but rather paid for luxury for the Americo-Liberian elite whilst the majority aborigine population wallowed in deprivation and poverty (Stamp, 1953). Resentment against Americo-Liberian dominance and oppression grew but this was suppressed with the help of the U.S and other western powers. Notable among indigenous black rebellions against Americo-Liberian territorial expansion and domination were the Grebo resistance (1857, 1875), the Kru resistance (1915 – 1916 and 1930s) and the Gola resistance of 1917 to mention a few (Minority Rights Group International).

As the local coastal economy of Liberia boomed whilst the interior lagged far behind, many indigenous black Liberians migrated to the coast in search of jobs as labourers and other menials to the Americo-Liberian elite in their posh homes and offices typical of their American diaspora. Some ethnic groups such as the Vai even became professional domestic servants to the Americo-Liberian elite (Ibid). To the Americo-Liberian elite, the indigenous Liberians are a tabula rasa and an inferior breed of humans, in fact, despicable dredges and it is their turn to oppress them having themselves endured slavery (Stamp, 1953). Everywhere from the rubber plantation to road construction, the black indigenous population provided labour that was either cheap or free and coerced (ibid).

Sometimes, the indigenous people succumbed to the imposition of forced labour because they realized that such projects would open up their areas, at least, for transportation of goods and services to and from the coast (Ibid). The exploitation of indigenous black labour in Liberia came into international limelight when the League of Nations indicted the Americo-Liberian elite of forced labour, worse than slavery, against the indigenous black population. This international indictment of slave labour led to the fall, morally and internationally, of the government of President Charles King and his successor President Barclay faced the task of protecting the Americo-Liberian oligarchy in the wake of indigenous black leaders seeking international cooperation to undermine the legitimacy of their despotic rule. The political strategy of the Barclay government was the enactment of repressive laws to suppress all forms of dissent ([www.onliberia.org/Liberia history.htm](http://www.onliberia.org/Liberia%20history.htm)).

The reign of William Tubman, the successor of President Barclay, witnessed a relative improvement of relations between the Americo-Liberians and the indigenous people with the extension of a qualified universal adult suffrage to the indigenous people who owed property. There was improvement in the provision of social services for the indigenous population too, but his government became autocratic, and discontent of the indigenous majority population against him and Americo-Liberian elitism and hegemony rose rapidly towards the end of his reign. William Tolbert, the Vice-President of William Tubman, took over as President when Tubman died in 1971, beckoned by destiny to end the several decades of political domination by the Americo-Liberians. Tolbert faced many challenges from growing indigenous elite pretensions for political power and demands for political reforms. In addition to this storm of internal pressure, there was high corruption in the Tolbert government linking his family. Stories of sale

of contracts and kickback scandals involving Tolbert's family members and other incidences of malfeasance became public knowledge (Harden, 1990). This, coupled with Tolbert's political dance with African "political rebels" against European imperialism, and his relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the arch-rival of the U.S in cold war politics, created cracks in U.S-Liberia relations and made the political position of Tolbert precarious. Liberia joined other African countries in breaking diplomatic relations with Israel, a strong ally of the US in cold war politics, over the latter's intervention in the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Egypt, an African country. Tolbert also accepted a loan from the USSR. These events eroded Liberia's defence base against internal rebellion as the US withdrew its backing of Tolbert against domestic political forces in Liberia (ibid). The last of the policies of William Tolbert pragmatic and economically prudent although, but which hastened the drift of his government to a ditch and an Armageddon for Americo-Liberian political hegemony, was a decision by the government to increase the price of imported rice, a Liberian staple food, to boost local rice production, but which was misconstrued as a dastardly move to create an undue wealth for the Tolbert family as a cousin was the chief importer of rice in Liberia at the time. The policy of imported rice price increase, led to massive demonstrations in 1979 and Tolbert ordered his troops to shoot at the demonstrators leading to many deaths and several wounded (Okolo, 1981). This was followed by political agitation and insurrection led by black indigenous political leaders (ibid).

1.5.4 Coup D' Etat

In April 1980, a twenty eight-year old sergeant in the Liberian Armed forces, Samuel Kanyon Doe, led a bloody coup against the embattled president William Tolbert. The president was assassinated and many of his supporters killed, including thirteen of his cabinet ministers who

were executed by firing squad for charges of corruption, mismanagement and dictatorship (Harden, 1990). The coup brought an end to one hundred and thirty three years of Americo-Liberian minority rule and the military junta set up a ruling council called the Peoples Redemption Council (PRC) with Doe as the Chairman. The Constitution of Liberia was suspended and Liberia ceased to be a republic. Several supporters of the Tolbert government ran into exile for fear of persecution (ibid). The coup could be described as a patriotic event that ended Americo-Liberian monopoly of political power in Liberia and the restoration of power to the indigenous Liberian population denied of it for several decades. On the contrary, however, the coup brought an end to the “Pax Americana” or American peace imposed on the country by the Americo-Liberian elite for several years and the inauguration of a period of instability and hell for the Liberian state.

A few months after Doe took power, he launched a policy of exclusion and inclusion to consolidate his power. Several opponents of Doe, real and imaginary, were thrown out of his government and important state institutions were replaced by cronies mostly members of his Khran ethnic group. Other favours were awarded to the Khran at the expense of the other ethnic groups resulting in the rise of tension across the country (Sawyer, 1992). In 1985, a former commander of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), and a member of the Gio ethnic group, who Doe dismissed for disloyalty, General Quiwonkpa, attempted a coup against Doe. The Khran dominated AFL foiled the coup, captured Quiwonkpa and brutally murdered him together with several of his supporters. A Nigerian journalist with the *West Africa Magazine* Tunde Agbabiaka (cited in Harden, 1990) narrated the barbaric treatment of Quiwonkpa’s body at a military base in Monrovia. Some of Doe’s soldiers publicly ate Quiwonkpa’s flesh believing that some of the

powers of the great warrior would be transferred to them in that macabre cannibalistic practice (ibid).

The aftermath of the Quiwonkpa coup was the inauguration of hate politics by Doe and his Khran dominated AFL against the Gio and their ally ethnic groups especially the Mano. Khran soldiers and fanatics subjected members of these perceived enemy ethnic groups to a litany of floggings, rapes and murders with the least provocation or suspicion, further heightening ethnic tension in the country (O' Neil, 1993). Meanwhile, the Doe administration gained the support of the U.S in spite of his bad human rights record. Doe's government received more American aid than any regime in Liberian history. Even when he rigged the 1985 election in the camouflage of returning Liberia to constitutional rule, Doe was rewarded with more American aid to buy and rent legitimacy (Harden, 1990). The reason was that Doe proved a stronger cold war ally of the U.S. than his predecessor William Tolbert. For example, immediately after assuming power in 1980, Doe expelled Soviet diplomats from the country to please the US (Ibid).

1.5.4.1 Charles Taylor's Rebellion and Civil War

In December 1989, Charles Taylor, a former procurement officer of Doe, launched a rebellion against the Doe regime from Cote d'Ivoire recruiting members of the Gio and Mano ethnic groups in Nimba County whom Doe had persecuted, into his rebel force, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). Doe launched reprisal attacks on the Gio and the Mano ethnic groups. However, within weeks, the Taylor rebellion gained more support across the country and Doe was besieged in the capital Monrovia (Ellis, 1999). By the end of June 1990, the Taylor forces controlled about two-third of the country and the Khran ethnic group became vulnerable apparently for the nine years reign of terror that they subjected the other ethnic groups to, when their Khran clansman, Doe, was in charge of Liberia. The urgent intervention of ECOWAS in the

conflict which had escalated into civil war was timely in protecting the Khran (World Book Encyclopedia Vol. 4). ECOWAS intervened by sending a ceasefire monitoring group dubbed ECOMOG under the initial command of Ghana and later Nigeria which secured the cooperation of the AFL loyal to Doe and a breakaway faction of Taylor's rebel force, the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), led by Prince Johnson from the Gio ethnic group. The INPFL and the AFL however remained hostile in the battle with the NPFL for control of the capital Monrovia, which led to many people dead and thousands fleeing into neighbouring countries for sanctuary (Ibid). A ship sent by the Ghanaian government "MV Tano River" to evacuate stranded Ghanaians home also brought thousands of Liberians and a few number of other West Africa nationals to be settled as refugees in Ghana. The status of the Liberians and others who arrived in Ghana was difficult to resolve due to the manner of their arrival (Essuman-Johnson, 1996). According to International Refugee Law, a person qualifies to become a refugee when he/she crosses an international border. In the case of the Liberian refugees evacuated from the Monrovia port in 1990, they had not crossed an international border on their own but were brought to Ghana by the Ghanaian government itself to become refugees on its soil. This humanitarian gesture arguably boosted Ghana's unique contribution to human security and political stability in West Africa. The method of accepting Liberian refugees into the country also complicated the granting of asylum to them and the care for them under international law (Ibid).

The ECOWAS intervention in 1990 did not bring the conflict to a halt. The Liberian war machine splintered into several factions with base support in some ethnic groups notably the Khran, the Gio and the Mandingo to name a few. After the death of President Doe who was the

target of the rebellion, the war escalated into civil war. Doe was killed by forces of the INPFL, in a controversial visit to the headquarters of ECOMOG in the capital Monrovia, allegedly to protest against the non-payment of a courtesy call on him as president of Liberia, by the ECOMOG commander Lt. General Arnold Quainoo from Ghana (Harden, 1990). Doe's capture and brutal torture by the INPFL forces before the coup de grace was delivered to him and which was widely circulated in a video tape was one of the horrors of the Liberian conflict. After Doe's death, remnants of the AFL dominated by Khran soldiers evolved into a rebel movement called the United Liberia Movement for Democracy (ULIMO). The fighters of ULIMO were mostly drawn from the Khran and Mandingo ethnic groups (USCR, 1994). ULIMO later splintered into two factions ULIMO-J, led by Roosevelt Johnson, a Khran, and ULIMO-K, led by Alhaji Kroma, a Mandingo (Hubad, 1998).

The emergence of the Mandingo based ULIMO-K rebel group re-ignited an old ethnic conflict over land-ownership and status between the Loma and the Mandingo ethnic groups in Lofa County, and resulted in the formation of a Loma ethnic tribal force, the Loma Defence Force (LDF). The Loma accused ULIMO-K and the Mandingo of attacks on their villages whilst the Mandingo counter-accused the LDF of harassing Mandingos in their villages (ibid). Thus the Liberian civil war was not only a battle for state political power, but also a conflict of ethnic nationalism revolving around land ownership and status based on the contest for legitimacy of traditional authority between rival ethnic groups. This scenario led to a complex transformation of the conflict to engulf almost the entire country in which sections of Liberian society not interested in the contest for state power had issues of ethno-historical contest and animosity to

defend and fight for. In the melee, everyone in Liberia at the time was under the threat of death and beckoned to flee to safety.

The various rebel groups were reported to have committed grave violations of human rights especially Taylor's NPFL, such as the drafting of children into small boys units and the execution of civilians in the presence of their family members (Whitman and Fleischman, 1994). Whole villages became empty either through massacres or flight into exile (Joyce, 1996). It was estimated that by the end of 1994, about 150,000 people were killed and over half of the population of Liberia had fled into neighboring countries and other parts of West Africa as refugees (UNHCR, 1994).

The brutal, fratricidal war in Liberia created humanitarian crisis that threatened the security and stability of the whole sub-region. ECOWAS did not only intervene militarily to protect Liberian civilians but also embarked on a diplomatic path to resolve the conflict and restore order in Liberia. Through the establishment of an interim government, a fragile peace was restored in parts of the country although the complexity of the conflict revolving around several militia groups made compromise difficult and the achievement of a comprehensive peace a herculean task. As Liberia moved closer to final settlement through strenuous diplomatic efforts by ECOWAS, renewed fighting broke out in 1996 creating further humanitarian crisis almost derailing the whole peace process (Owusu, 2000). This renewed fighting brought in the second major wave of Liberian refugees numbering about 4,000 into Ghana on board a "Nigerian vessel MV Bulk Challenge", a voyage that made international headlines since many countries refused

acceptance of the refugees but Ghana finally did creating another diplomatic plus for Ghana as a champion for human security and peace and stability in West Africa (ibid).

Peace was finally achieved leading to elections in 1997 in which Taylor, described in local and international circles as the main Liberian warlord, won. The respite was however brief as war broke out again in 1999. The election of Taylor did not heal the wounds of ethnic tension created by the first Liberian civil war of 1989 –1997. Meanwhile, Taylor, during the brief period of peace in Liberia, was alleged to have shifted his war machine into neighbouring Sierra Leone in support of rebels fighting the Sierra Leonean government. This resulted in renewed violence in Liberia in 1999. A rebel group operating out of Guinea and dominated by the Mandingo ethnic group, Liberians United for Democracy and Reconciliation (LURD), attacked the village of Vojama in North Western Liberia in 1999, marking the beginning of a second civil war (Hubad, 1998).

Ironically the LURD with a declared objective of promoting reconciliation and democracy in Liberia, as its name suggests, adopted violence as its modus operandi. The emergence of LURD coincided with the imposition of sanctions against Taylor's government for his support for the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) rebels in Sierra Leone (ibid). The Taylor government under the weight of sanctions and its weakening effect had to contend with the LURD operating with Guinean state support. Unable to hold back the rebels, Taylor controlled less than 1/3 of the country. Taylor's vulnerability in this renewed conflict was compounded by the emergence of another rebel movement, the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), which was controlled by former fighters of the Khran ethnic group and supporters of Doe in the defunct

AFL of the Doe era. There was heavy fighting in Monrovia and parts of the country with more civilian deaths and refugees fleeing into West Africa including Ghana (ibid).

Meanwhile, pressure on Taylor by the international community forced him into exile ahead of the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Accra, Ghana in 2003, bringing an end to fourteen years of brutal civil war in Liberia. At the end of the conflict, it was estimated by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) that about 250,000 Liberians were dead and more than half of the population fled to neighbouring countries as refugees (UNHCR, 2000). The challenges of post-conflict Liberia became more complex, including the repatriation of Liberian refugees in West Africa, re-integration of thousands of ex-combatants back into society and improvement in infrastructure among many challenges if all Liberians are to return home.

1.5.5 War Crimes, Trauma and Prospects of Repatriation of Refugees

Eyewitness accounts and documentary sources speak of a grotesque story of horror in which all tenets of decency and humanitarian law were broken and defied by all sides in the Liberian Civil War. International law and Protocol II to the Geneva Convention, impose an obligation on military units especially troops under the command of a government to protect civilians and to distinguish in their operations between civilians and combatants. Non-combatants are protected in civil wars as in wars between states but all these were violated by the warring factions in the Liberian civil war (Hubad, 1998). Once the rebels gained territory, the AFL attacked and killed civilians in areas where the rebels gained entry into Liberia or gained support. The Gio and Mano in Nimba county and elsewhere became the target of the AFL and had to flee for their lives into exile (Ellis, 1999).

Another act of violation of human rights of the Doe government and army is that, Doe's tribal allies in the army, the Khran and the Mandingo began isolating and killing troops from other ethnic groups in the army perceived to be enemies (Ibid). The status determination of such victims of ethnic hatred as either ex-combatants or refugees facing persecution if they flee into exile, also became another difficult issue to contend with by host countries of Liberian refugees. The AFL also adopted as its strategy, some atrocious practices that violated international law. They attacked, burned and killed the inhabitants of villages deemed to be sympathetic to the cause of the rebel insurgents (New York Times, 11 February 1991). The only option for survivors of the indiscriminate attacks on unarmed civilians is to flee into exile traumatized, if even luck helped them to find escape routes unharmed. The AFL also unleashed a "reign of terror" on the capital Monrovia as rebel incursion into the capital gained more prominence. Civilians disappeared and dead bodies littered the streets, presumably bodies of ethnic groups associated with the NPFL who were the target of the AFL (Ibid). One of such gruesome massacres reported to have been committed by AFL fighters according to a survival's account was the one carried out in the St. Peters Church in Monrovia on July 30, 1990. Many civilians sought refuge in the church hoping that the presence of an altar and the holiness of the place would deter the belligerents from attacking them, but soldiers of the AFL attacked the church sanctuary and killed about 600 inmates, raped women and stole food inside (Hubad, 1998). Of all these atrocities of the AFL, the target was people of the Gio and Mano ethnic groups perceived to be sympathizers of Charles Taylor (Ellis, 1999). As the situation in Monrovia became very precarious as fighting intensified in the capital, people fled into rebel held territory to go into exile in neighbouring countries, including ministers of the Doe regime. Most of them were executed at NPFL check points as they attempted to cross (Africa Watch).

Foreigners, notably those from countries that contributed troops to ECOMOG, were not spared. Nigerians and Ghanaians fell victims to the NPFL check point execution squads as they tried to leave Liberia, ostensibly to send a message to the Nigerian and Ghanaian governments not to intervene in their internal affairs (Hubad, 1998). The killing of five American nuns in rebel held territory in 1992 might also be a strategy to prevent international intervention in the conflict (ibid). Civilians were lined up on parks and selected ones killed at the instance of rebel commanders to obtain body parts for them to eat (Ibid). Cannibalistic ritualistic practices are common in sections of Liberia. Eating body parts, especially the heart of warriors and spiritually strongmen, is believed to boost the spiritual strength of the eater (Harden, 1990). It can be argued therefore that the rampant killings in the Liberian civil war were an issue rooted in Liberian culture and had the motive to protect the combatants. The wearing of amulets and other symbols of spiritual power was a prominent feature of the war, as combatants wore charms, believed to help in the identification of enemies to be killed (Hubad, 1998). Several innocent civilians who tried to escape might have been killed through the application of this crude and superstitious tool of identification of enemies.

Lucky refugees who were not killed, had their money and other belongings not properly concealed, taken away from them or charged fees by Liberal rebel fighters before allowed passage into safe areas. Josephine, a Ghanaian female returnee, narrated to me in an interview, the ordeal of she and her family as they tried to cross several rebel check points at the Liberia – Sierra Leone border in 1990. “We were searched and asked to part away with our money and other valuables of jewelry etc. in exchange for escort through the rigorous check points into the

Sierra Leonian side of the border. We were cautioned to follow our escort guards strictly, to avoid stepping on land mines planted all over the place and shown the decomposing bodies of refugees who tried to cross into Sierra Leone on their own. We were grateful to these villains ironically, for their kindness in helping us to flee Liberia the land of death, for, not everybody who tried to escape the horrors of the war succeeded. We thank God and I will never return, not even dream of Liberia. The nightmare of that month long journey, scenes of people been beheaded by rebel factions and pregnant women having their abdomen ripped open with crude instruments, as they tried to escape, which we sometimes had to applaud in order to save our own lives in that journey of survival and death, was enough a warning to me to avoid that Land called Liberia” (Interview with Josephine April 15th, 2013).

The ordeal of Josephine and her family may not be an isolated case. Several other people might have similar or worse forms of travel experiences as they struggled to escape the horrors of the Liberia conflict between 1990 and 2003. Another survivor in the conflict, Andrews, now living in the Buduburam Refugee Camp in Ghana, narrated his ordeal as the sole survivor of a whole household whose only luck for escape was that he went out to play when rebels entered his household and massacred everybody whilst he hid in the nearby bush watching. “I had to walk through the bush for the whole day and was lucky to be found by some people escaping who took me to Ghana through Cote d’Ivoire in 1990”. Andrews vowed never to go back to Liberia (Interview with Andrews June 22nd 2013 at Buduburam Refugee Camp).

Considering the ethnic dimension of the Liberian civil war as reported earlier in this chapter, it can be argued that the atrocities committed in the fourteen years of conflict cannot be placed

only at the door steps of combatants of the various rebel groups but also blamed on local defense groups of some ethnic groups in some villages that might have launched attacks of self defense or revenge against other groups with whom they previously lived as neighbours. Misinformation and mistaken identity, which are common in any state of confusion and break down of civil rules, might have fuelled the flames of communal violence in the conflict making virtually every community if not every individual a villain or a victim of the Liberian conflict. From the testimonies of the Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, (LTRC) it was revealed that people even killed their close relatives and people could identify those who killed their relations and maltreated them who are still alive (trc ofLiberia.org/press).

This situation, it can be argued, has created an atmosphere of hatred and fear in a post conflict environment. The guns may be down but the memories and the trauma may remain, even if the bitterness dies but a slow death. It can also be argued that total forgiveness and reconciliation will be difficult to achieve in post war Liberia considering the magnitude of the crimes committed and the sufferings endured. The classical case of the refusal of a Liberian family to re-integrate a young man who killed his grand mother and father in a self-confessed testimony to the LTRC supports the argument of the non-attainment of total forgiveness and reconciliation (ibid). Even in the church, forgiveness can be preached today, but reference to the past atrocities and prayers for the souls of those who were victims of the barbaric excesses of the conflict will not vanish from the sermons, especially when no mean members of the church, such as the moderator of the Presby Church in Monrovia, were brutally murdered for their opposition to the violence and gross human rights violations committed during the war (the Christian century 18-25 September 1991). The Roman Catholic community in Liberia and the world at large cannot

forget the five catholic nuns murdered by Prince Johnson's INPFL rebel forces (Hubad, 1998). It will not be surprising if the Catholic Church by papal authority issued in the Vatican decides to canonize the memory of those faithful servants of God and agents of evangelism of the church and declare them saints. If that happens, then, not only the memory of the nuns, but also the bitterness of the civil war in Liberia shall live for ages.

The Mandingo Muslim community in Lofa County in Liberia had set the pace for the immortalization of their heroes of war for others to follow for their martyrs and heroes. Boas (1996) reports that Philip Kamara and Aliyu Sheriff, two leading LURD commanders who died of natural causes in 2007, when the civil war had ended, were eulogized and immortalized as heroes of the Mandingo nation, with their graves next to the burial sites of the founders of the Mandingo nation in Lofa County, whilst their Loma neighbours and arch-adversaries rejoiced over the death of the two, who they described as villains. Boas (1996) further contended that the Liberian civil war is alive in terms of the memory, identity and physical destruction in Lofa County. It can be argued also that refugees from Lofa County, for example, will have the tendency of holding security and safety in their county suspect, if they return home in view of the unabating tension in that community. The search for justice, safety and harmony therefore lies ahead of the ravages of the Liberian civil war.

1.5.6 Conclusion

The section has revealed that the fourteen years of conflict that ravaged Liberia from 1989 to 2003, was a time bomb planted in Liberia's history with the clock set at 1989. The bloody coup d'état led by Samuel Doe in 1980, which brought an end to the Americo-Liberian hegemony, was the catalyst that quickened the detonation of the time bomb, for Charles Taylor to press the

final button. Bad politics of the Americo-Liberian minority which reduced the indigenous Liberian people to the status of slaves and creatures of a lower order, and the buffoonery and bestial rule of Doe resulted in a situation which Owusu (2000) described as the “Liberian state being pushed over the edge and into the abyss”. The gradual state build up of political tension which rose sharply during the era of William Tolbert and the ethnocentric and corrupt rule of Doe needed no strenuous anthropological study and research to have predicted the bloody and devastating events of 1989-2003. Many observers and analysts of the politics of Liberia might have remained silent of forewarnings to avoid the spectre of being branded doomsday prophets, but the inevitable did occur and Liberia was plunged into instability and anarchy.

According to UNHCR and UNDP sources, the civil war in Liberia led to over 250,000 deaths and more than half of the population fleeing into exile as refugees in neighboring countries, most of who experienced or witnessed various forms of heinous crimes of war as they fled to seek sanctuary. It can be argued, that the experience and ordeal encountered by the Liberian refugees before arriving in host countries, and the subsequent trauma they have to endure, coupled with the show of sympathy and hospitality extended to them by host countries, especially Ghana, can adversely affect the willingness of the Liberian refugees to accept repatriation at the end of the conflict.

1.6 Liberian Refugees And The Building Of Refugee Hosting Structures In Ghana

This section discusses the politics of hosting refugees in Ghana, in line with international obligations which Ghana has ratified and also in line with the country’s open door policy of granting asylum to migrants fleeing unfavourable conditions at home but which are not recognized by international law, such as the case of the environmental refugees of the Sahelian

region (Essuman-Johnson, 1996). The core of the issues discussed in here is the country's experience with Liberian refugees, which is the focus of this study.

1.6.1 Ghana and the Obligations Of Hosting Refugees

Ghana is a signatory to many international conventions and protocols, which place lawful and moral obligations on her to grant asylum to people who flee to her from situations of chaos and fear of persecution in their own countries. Notable among these conventions and protocols are the 1951 UN Convention, and its amendment in the 1967 Protocol, the 1969 OAU Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Right (UNHCR, 2011). Ghana is also a member of ECOWAS under whose banner the sub-regional body devoted to conflict management issues ECOMOG operates. The intervention in the Liberian civil war and the management of the issue of refugees became largely the responsibility of ECOWAS members and ECOMOG (Owusu, 2000).

1.6.1.1 Ghana's Experience With Refugees Since Independence

Until the 1990s when conflicts broke out in West Africa in Togo, Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana did not have an experience with mass influx of refugees (Agblorti, 2011). That is not to say that there were no refugees in Ghana since the end of colonialism in the country in 1957. However, that experience was somewhat unique both in terms of the number of the refugees for which there is limited documentation and the geographic location of the country of origin of the refugees (Dick, 2007). The earlier post-independence refugees in Ghana came mostly as freedom fighters against colonial rule mostly from the Southern African states where the agitation for independence from European colonial domination was intense, and they naturally chose Ghana as a place of asylum for two reasons. First, Ghana was the first black African country to attain independence from colonial rule. The second reason is that, Ghana had a liberal pan-African

foreign policy which made it a forerunner in the struggle against colonial rule and a natural ally of those who had to flee from the turbulence of the anti-colonial struggle in their countries. As a result, Ghana attracted a number of those freedom fighters mostly from the southern African – sub region seeking asylum to escape persecution during various stages of the fight for freedom for their countries including notably, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Mariam Makeba of South Africa and Kamuzu Banda of Malawi (Essuman-Johnson, 2003).

The first mass influx of refugees into Ghana occurred in the 1990s as conflicts emerged in West Africa. The stable political environment in Ghana over the past two decades made it a choice destination for displaced populations seeking sanctuary, especially from countries in the sub-region, making Ghana to experience the realities of hosting refugees in large numbers (Ibid). By 2004, Ghana hosted 48, 034 refugees in three designated refugee camps – Krisan Camp in the Nzema East District of the Western Region, near the Ghana-Cote d'Ivoire border; Klikor in the Ketu South District of the Volta Region, near Ghana's eastern border town of Aflao and Buduburam in the Gomoa East District of the Central Region (UNHCR Ghana, 2004). The refugees came from different African countries, some amazingly far away from Ghana. The Krisan refugee camp alone hosted refugees from eleven African countries, Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo, Eritrea, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Congo Brazzaville, Cote d'Ivoire, Chad and Somalia totaling about 1,321 in 2005 (Agblorti, 2011).

1.6.1.2 Liberian Refugees and the Building of Refugee Hosting Structures

In December 1989, civil war broke out in Liberia, which led to an intervention by ECOWAS members to protect human lives and sub-regional stability since the war could spread into the sub-region if left to further escalate. In the intervention process, Ghana dispatched a vessel to

bring home her citizens caught up in the fighting in that country mostly in the capital Monrovia, but ended up bringing Liberians displaced and stranded in Monrovia (Essuman-Johnson, 1996). On arrival in Ghana, the refugees were sent to Buduburam in the Central Region of the country and housed at a site in an abandoned church premise called “Ekwamkrom” (ibid). The numbers were overwhelming but the country lacked the experience as well as the capacity to handle such mass influx of asylum seekers. This necessitated an appeal for assistance and the creation of a refugee hosting institution, PNDC Law 305 and its corollary, the Ghana Refugee Board to be responsible for refugee issues in the country.

1.6.2 Gomoa Buduburam Host Community

Buduburam is a small village in the Gomoa West District of the Central Region of Ghana. Traditionally, it forms part of the Gomoa Fetehe Stool Authority. Previously unknown, except for a location in the village called “Ekwamkrom” (meaning Ekwam’s town), named after one prophet Ekwam who established a church there (Interview with an elder of the Buduburam Host community, April 2014). For some unknown reasons, but probably due to disagreement with the church’s doctrine and practices, which were at variance with the ideology of the Provisional National Defence Council, the regime closed down the church and confiscated the land to the state (ibid). This site was to become the nucleus of the refugee camp for the Liberian refugees in Ghana in 1990 (Interview with an elder of the Buduburam host community, April 192014).

1.6.2.1 Origins of Buduburam

Oral tradition had it that the village got its name from a well dug by a man called Budu, hence the name of the village, Buduburam, meaning, ‘Budu well’ (ibid). The Budu well or Buduburam was ‘an oasis’ in that vast area without any source of drinking water.

1.6.2.2 The People of Buduburam

The people of Gomoa Buduburam and surrounding areas are predominantly peasant farmers. It had a very small population and located in one of the poorest districts in Ghana. This once obscure village was to become famous both in Ghana and abroad as the site of a famous refugee camp in the world. The people of Buduburam and their kith and kin in the Gomoa East District hold their traditions sacrosanct. A notable aspect of their traditions is the belief in life after death and the practice of ancestral worship. They demonstrate this through their festivals whose cultural significance is the honour of the ancestors. Two of such festivals are the “Akwambo” and “Ahorbaa” which are celebrated in the month of September every year (Kuada and Chackah, 1999). The people of Buduburam have strong traditional institutions, values and norms that rule the society and regulate their conduct to promote unity and stability. Among these strong institutions are chieftaincy and marriage, the extended family system and death ceremonies. Communal life is a strong link that promotes unity among the people. The family is central to the people of Buduburam, since it is their belief that a strong family is the foundation of a strong society. All members of the Buduburam community are enjoined to pay strong allegiance to their families and seek the welfare of the family as a prerequisite of a strong community. Disputes among the people are first referred to a family arbitration, with the chief’s court acting as the court of appeal. This judicial system is rooted in the principles of justice and fairness for the preservation of peace and harmony of the society. Visitors are accorded the highest respect, to preserve the good image of the society (ibid).

1.6.2.3 The Natural Environment of Buduburam

Buduburam is a plain land. There is no river, but the area traditionally relies on a pond whose main source of replenishment is rainfall. The vegetation is treeless grassland, with occasional shrubs and some tall trees interspersed with grass cover and soft woody tree species. The

Buduburam area like other places in the Gomoa District experiences two major rainy seasons. The major one is from April-July with the minor occurring from September-November (ibid).

1.6.2.4 The Economic Life of Buduburam

The traditional occupation of the people of Gomoa Buduburam is farming with limited trading activities. Both food crop farming and animal husbandry are practiced by the people. The dominant system of farming in the Buduburam area and in the entire Gomoa West District is continuous cropping which is followed by crop rotation as a method of protecting the fertility of the land to increase yield. The farming industry of the area is based on subsistence farming with traditional farming tools and methods which affect crop yield. Another challenge to agriculture as the mainstay of the local economy of Buduburam is the over-reliance on rainfall which can sometimes be unreliable (www.ghanadistricts.com/district/news retrieved: 6 May, 2014). There is however a gradual transformation of the economic life of Buduburam. The rise in population and availability of a large market is causing a shift from farming to trade and service delivery which is employing both the local people and refugees. The Buduburam market currently is ranked the biggest in the Gomoa West District and market activities are conducted on daily basis instead of designated markets days, usually twice a week, which is the practice in many markets in the district. Business in the market is dominated by the refugees (Interview with Assemblyman for Buduburam, May 2014).

1.6.3 The Refugee Settlement

The case of protracted refugee situations has become a subject of major concern to the world. Antonio Guterres, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, in a statement to the UNHCR executive Committee meeting on October, 4, 2010 acknowledged the problem of the increase in the number of quasi-permanent or protracted refugee situations confronting the UNHCR

(UNHCR, 2010). The Buduburam settlement fits into the situation of protracted refugee cases according to UNHCR standards (UNHCR, 2004b). Not only the camp, but also the whole of the Buduburam community including the host village has become synonymous with Liberian refugees such that many Ghanaians refer to the place as Liberia. This is because the Liberian refugees have lived in the camp for nearly a quarter of a century and their influence and identity has become grounded in that hitherto unknown environment.

One other significant thing to note about the Buduburam refugee camp is that it is fast developing into an urban settlement together with the local host community, which can boast of modern urban architecture, infrastructure and social amenities that will baffle first time visitors to think that they lost their way into a different location in a plush urban community, but for the assurance of a sign board welcoming visitors to this classic refugee camp, which has been described as Africa's five star refugee camp (Owusu, 2000).

1.6.4 History of the Settlement

The Buduburam Refugee Settlement was established in 1990, to provide residence and protection to Liberians who fled the civil war and threat to their lives. The Ghanaian state mobilized an emergency relief package for the refugees under the aegis of the Ghanaian Ministry of Mobilization and Social Welfare. Several local and later international NGOs joined the emergency relief programme for the refugees. Ghana did not have the expertise and capacity to handle a large influx of refugees at the time. The country's previous experience with refugees and asylum seekers was limited to dealing with small numbers mostly from southern Africa. To accommodate the refugees, the government of Ghana chose the site of an abandoned church premises at Buduburam in the Gomoa West District of the Central Region of the country, about

35km West of the nation's capital, Accra. The majority of the refugees were hosted at Buduburam, and a few of them were sent to Krisan camp near Ghana's border with Cote D'Ivoire (Dick, 2002 a & b).

The initial stages of the refugee settlement at Buduburam faced certain challenges arising from lack of a policy and an undefined mandate to deal with the refugees (Essuman-Johnson, 2003). Meanwhile, the UNHCR and a host of both local and international NGOs, Ghanaian churches, benevolent individuals and the local host community responded to the need for urgent humanitarian assistance to the refugees as the government of Ghana made a request for support. Food rations were given and tents were distributed for shelter. Several relief agencies participated in the emergency relief programme. The Ghana Red Cross set up a clinic, to handle the basic needs of the refugees. The relief operation was well organized such that the basic emergency needs of the refugees were met by 1997 (Dick, 2002b). It was not only the basic necessities of water, food and shelter which were provided; education as was not neglected. From the early 1990s, some education assistance was provided to enable refugee children to acquire basic education.

This effort was complimented by the determination of the refugees themselves to give education to their children. They established a primary school on the camp in late 1990, but it lacked the resources for effective teaching and learning. To improve education on the camp, the UNHCR contracted the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG), a Christian NGO, to oversee the development of education on the camp. It built classrooms, paid teachers some stipend and supplied basic materials to facilitate teaching and learning. Educational development under the aegis of the CCG was quite rapid. By 1991, the Buduburam refugee camp had a Junior Secondary School

and in 1996, Buduburam Secondary School was opened. An international NGO, the International Rescue Committee (IRC), started vocational training for the refugees in the disciplines of building technology, carpentry and fashion. The UNHCR also started an agriculture and micro-credit support programme aimed at promoting self-reliance for the refugees (Dick, 2002b).

1.6.5 Refugee Initiative at the Buduburam Camp

The Liberian refugees themselves deserve a lot of praise for the development on the camp and the transformation which affected the whole Buduburam community. They formed several groups and community based organizations (CBOs) to take care of their welfare (UNHCR Ghana, 2003).

1.6.5. 1 Other Community Based Organisations (CBOs)

There are quite a lot of CBOs on the camp. Some of them are described below. The Refugee Action Committee is an organization set up to protect unaccompanied children in the camp and re-unite them with their parents or surviving relatives. It also addresses the educational needs of refugee children. Women as vulnerable groups need support especially in a life in exile, without the support of husbands or parents. To address this problem, the refugees formed a feminine organization known as the Liberian Refugee Women's Organization (LREWO). This organization initiates projects to improve camp living conditions and to generate income for women. There is also an Educational Board which works in collaboration with the Ghana Education Service, to set standards for schools in the refugee settlement. The Board also acts as a liaison between the UNHCR and the refugee camp on matters relating to education.

The Ministerial Council is a Christian body made up of representatives of different churches and other Christian bodies on the refugee camp. Among the functions of the Ministerial Council

include organization of spiritual programmes such as invitation of evangelists both local and international to preach to the refugees and give them hope. It also grants scholarship to young people to acquire education and skills training (UNHCR, 2003; Interview with a Camp Resident and a Pastor, July 2013).

1.7 The Liberian Welfare Council

This is a self governing council that is responsible for the day to day management of the camp. The Council has a chairman and its membership is made up of members of the refugee community drawn from each of the twelve zones of the camp. The Council also monitors activities on the camp and solicits external funding for the welfare of the refugees. It also performs limited judicial functions such as the settlement of disputes through arbitration, and application of sanctions under a disciplinary committee (Interview with Chairperson of Liberian Welfare Council, July 2013).

1.8 Refugee Hosting Structures in Ghana

In response to the mass influx of Liberian refugees into Ghana in 1990, and the challenges relating to the mandate to deal with them due to their mode of arrival, the government of Ghana passed a law on refugees, PNDC Law 305, and consequently established the Ghana Refugee Board in the country (Essuman-Johnson, 2003).

1.8.1 Ghana Refugee Board

The Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) was established in 1992, in accordance with PNDC Law 305 1992. The board is an agency under the Ministry of Interior. The mandate of the board is the management of all issues of refugees and asylum in Ghana. The mandate of the GRB is in conformity with the dictates of PNDC Law 305, and in conformity with the 1951 UN Convention, and its 1967 Protocol, as well as the AU and ECOWAS Protocols. According to its

mandate, the board monitors and coordinates activities of the protection of refugees and the resolution of refugee problems in Ghana, with the primary objective of ensuring that refugees do not affect the security and stability of the country. The lead partner of the GRB in the pursuit of its mandate and functions is the UNHCR. It has other implementing partners such as the Christian Council of Ghana.

1.8. 2 Composition of the Board

The GRB is composed of the representatives of the following institutions:

1. Ministry of the Interior
2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
3. Department of Social Welfare
4. Ghana Education Service
5. Attorney General's Department
6. Ghana Immigration Service
7. Ghana Police Service
8. Bureau of National Investigations (BNI)
9. National Disaster Management Organisation (NADMO)
10. UNHCR (which has an observer status on the board)

The GRB is headed by a Chairman appointed by the president (www.mint.gov.gh/gha retrieved: 11 May, 2014). The composition of the board shows that the state of Ghana considers refugee situations to have legal and security implications and places responsibilities of general welfare, education and emergency crisis response on host societies.

1.9 Conclusion

The foreign policy of Ghana after independence was devoted to the end of colonial rule in Africa and granted asylum to freedom fighters who fled from persecution of the imperial powers at the time. The country, however, did not have a comprehensive legal framework for refugees and asylum seekers although it ratified the relevant UN and AU conventions and protocols that gave legal backing to the protection of refugees. In 1990, Ghana was overwhelmed by the influx of Liberian refugees which became a catalyst to promulgate a law and create a state agency for refugee hosting. The Liberian refugee situation consequently became protracted and has witnessed the dual development and growth of the policy it gave birth to and the community that has hosted it for over two decades.

1.10 Organisation of the Study

The study is organized into seven (7) chapters. Chapter One (1) dealt with the background to the study comprising introduction, statement of the problem, objectives and justification of the study. The chapter also discusses the politics of the Liberian conflict and refugees in Ghana as well as the contribution of the conflict to the building of refugee hosting structures in Ghana. It ended with the definition of concepts and terms relevant to this thesis. Chapter Two (2) reviewed the relevant literature for the study. Chapter Three (3) focused on the theoretical framework, hypothesis, and research questions. Chapter Four (4) is devoted to the methodology, research instruments and method of data analysis. Chapter Five (5) dealt with the analysis of data and research findings. Chapter Six (6) presented the research findings and the discussion of the findings. The last Chapter Seven (7) is a summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations.

1.11 Definition of Key Concepts

Refugee:

The first official definition of a refugee is the one provided by the 1951 UN Convention, but this has been refined through a series of conventions and other protocols. This study adopts the UN 1951, Convention and its 1967 additional protocol as well as the 1969 OAU Convention to define a refugee.

The 1951 UN Convention Definition

The 1951 UN Convention defines a refugee as a person who having a well founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality or membership of a particular social or political opinion is outside the country or his nationality and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country or return to it (Beinstain and Weiner, 1999).

The convention was adopted in the wake of World War II and focuses on persons who are refugees as a result of events occurring in Europe and a few places before January 1951 (Ibid).

As new refugee crises emerge in the 1950s and 1960s, the 1951 definition proved inadequate in dealing with the crises and that necessitated the adoption of the 1967 protocol to widen its time and geographical scope 2. (Refugee Protection: A guide to International Protection Law No. 2-20).

1967 UN Protocol

The Protocol adopted by the UN in 1967 eliminates the time and geographic limitations of the 1951 UN Convention definition of refugees.

1969 OAU Convention Definition

The 1951 UN Convention and its 1967 Protocol exclude victims of war and generalized violence from the definition of a refugee. This has made it difficult to deal with the upsurge of forced migration of people in the wake of the struggle for Africa in the 1960s, and conflicts arising out of nation building. As a result, in 1969 the sixth session of it adopted its own protocol for refugees. The 1961 OAU Convention incorporated and expanded the 1951 UN Convention and

its 1967 Protocol definition of a refugee. In addition to the UN definition, the 1969 OAU Convention extended the definition of a refugee to include any one fleeing for external aggression, foreign occupation or domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his or her country of origin or of nationality to seek refuge outside of his country or habitual residence (1969 OAU Convention, article 1(2))

Indigenous Host Community

For this study, indigenous host community of Buduburam shall refer to people native to the land and those who are not native to the land but had lived there before the establishment of the refugee camp.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The major concern of scholars and students of refugee studies is the dearth of literature in that field of intellectual enterprise. The situation is even worse in the case of African refugee studies. The little available literature on African refugees is focused on the Horn and Central regions of Africa to the disadvantage of West Africa (Owusu, 2000). This is not to say that scholars have totally neglected the issue of African and especially West African refugees. This section of the research will review relevant works of scholars such as Essuman-Johnson, Naohiko Omata, Maxwell Owusu, Rogge, Kibreab and others, whose intellectual toil has narrowed the literature gap in African refugee research for the past two decades. Although the concept of African refugees can be traced back to colonial and pre-colonial periods, the traditional hospitality and schemes of settlement of refugees in host societies in Africa had masked the spotlight on African refugees (Owusu, 2000; Chambers, 1979).

Some researchers and scholars have delved into the refugee crisis that has plagued contemporary African societies, identifying the causes as weakness in governance, corruption, dictatorship, ethnic rivalry as well as issues rooted in history. Suhrke and Zolberg (1999), Mann (1984), and Cooper (1981) identified weakness of the state and oppression by leaders as the cause of most of the conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa citing the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Central African Republic (CAR), Liberia and Somalia among a host of countries which produced refugees in post-colonial Africa, as examples. Much of the available literature on African refugees is focused on refugee settlement in traditional African hospitality schemes as well as

camp settlements and the relationship between host communities and refugees, and these deserve review. Also reviewed in this thesis is the application of the durable solutions to the refugee crisis. These formed the core of the literature reviewed for this study in addition to other issues in the varied contours of the global refugee crisis.

2.2 Refugee Settlements in Africa

Previous scholarly work has revealed that, refugee settlements in host countries in Africa in the anti-colonial era vary from settlements in contemporary post-colonial times.

2.2.1 The Anti-Colonial Era

In the period of anti-colonial struggles, most African refugees migrated from rural areas in one country and settled in similar rural habitats in another country. In the rural environments of host countries, the refugees found employment in peasant small scale agriculture which was the means of livelihood of their hosts. The absence of comprehensive records obscures information on the actual numbers and percentage of African refugees who settled in rural areas in the period. Rogge (1985 p. 21), however, states that from the mid-1970s, more than ninety percent of African refugees were settled in rural areas. Rural African refugees were settled under land settlement schemes where they were provided with land by local hosts or by the host government to engage in agriculture, or were engaged in self-settlement schemes among locals and tilled the land for subsistence living. The spontaneous nature in which the self-settlement of refugees operated in the anti-colonial era prevented the accuracy of data on the subject.

The 1979 Arusha Conference on African Refugees, however, estimated that 60% of African Refugees settled themselves in rural communities through traditional hospitality networks (ibid). Although this figure is an estimate of the real situation, it is quite clear that most of the self-

settled refugees did not rely on the provision of land in a land settlement-scheme. A study conducted by Robert Chambers explains further the nature of refugee settlement in the anti-colonial era and this is reviewed as a case study. Robert Chambers (1979) conducted relevant research on refugee settlement in Africa. Chamber's field work revealed many of the features of Africa refugees who settled on their own in rural areas (1979:386). This field research of Chambers provides useful enlightenment on refugee settlement in the anti-colonial era in Africa. The sharp contrasts and similarities of Chambers' work with literature on contemporary studies on the subject serve as a valuable source of information for the measurement of the dynamics of African refugee settlement over the last few decades.

According to Chambers, newly arrived refugees faced poverty from the scratch, since they cannot transfer many assets during their flight. They usually leave behind the resources of their existence in their home countries in the form of agricultural equipment or animal resources that boost their personal economy. Some refugees, Chambers noted, were fortunate to encounter people of similar ethnic groups in their countries of asylum, whilst others did not and this category of refugees who settled among people of different ethnic groups often faced challenges of accommodation and hospitality with their hosts. Whatever their cultural and linguistic ties with their hosts, the arrival of large numbers of refugees in host communities with the basic need of land for settlement, cultivation of crops and pasture becomes a source of friction between the refugees and their hosts.

On arrival in the host community, the only marketable commodity and resource to make a living with was their labour, at least before they harvested their first crops. This phenomenon increased

the labour force in the host community over which the local population exercised monopoly before the arrival of the strangers. This results in the fall of the price of labour. This finding of Chambers would naturally attract the anger of the locals and affect their relationship with the local labour force, whilst local entrepreneurs who hired the labour would find relief in the sudden availability of cheap labour. According to Chambers, during the 1960s and 1970s, many areas in Africa had low population densities and so many governments had the luxury of providing land for large scale refugee settlement, but much of this land wasn't good enough for farming and land for farming for the refugees was still a challenge for the refugees.

The refugees unduly suffered various forms of discrimination and persecution of host governments. They could be forced out of their lands or could be arrested under flimsy charges and false pretexts or even deported against the principle of non-refoulement which places legal and normative restrictions on host nations in their relationship with refugees and asylum seekers. In that era according to Chambers, not many countries had comprehensive domestic policies governing refugees and so local government authorities could place the blame of problems in host communities on negative activities of the refugees. Host governments placed the needs of refugees at the bottom of their priority list for vital resources of land, water, food, education and credit. Both refugees and their hosts faced the same problems arising out of declining wages, plummeted prices of goods and services and lack of access to essential services due to the influx of the refugees.

Not all members of the host community suffered a negative impact of the presence of refugees. Rich landowners could benefit immensely from the refugee influx through the sudden

availability of cheap labour for their farms and the renting of land to the refugees in addition to food sales whose price could naturally rise due to high demand. However, in the long run the pressure on available resources as a result of a rise in population due to the refugee presence would affect the whole of a refugee host community.

2.2.2 The Post Anti-Colonial period

Refugee settlement in Africa in contemporary times differs from the settlement in anti-colonial times in some features although some aspects remain the same in Chamber's study of the anti-colonial era refugee situation. Whilst refugees still face poverty upon arriving in exile and also face lack of resources as was the case studied by Chambers, the rise of new refugee migrations in post-colonial Africa has come with a change in refugee settlement and treatment. Kibreab (1985) predicted the end of traditional hospitality in Africa. He argued that the demise of colonialism in Africa and the change in the political economy of the continent, especially the popularity of private ownership of land, are responsible for the erosion of the value of traditional hospitality. The UNHCR, in response to the growing strain on refugee settlement in Africa, now emphasizes camp settlement of refugees. In almost every country where refugees are hosted today, they are confined to camps with limited self-supporting opportunities (Rogge, 1985).

Rogge's argument that self-supporting opportunities are lacking in contemporary refugee camps in Africa can be true in some refugees camps, but does not apply to all refugee camp situations on the continent. Boamah Gyau (2008) revealed that refugees in the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana have little restrictions on their movement in and out of the camp to search for economic opportunities, whilst the many businesses that flourished in the camp ranging from drinking spots to food joints and hair salons that are patronized by both refugees and the locals are owned

by refugees. These businesses can empower their owners and their dependants to be self-supporting.

Another body of literature worth reviewing as a case study which contradicts Rogge (1985) and delineates the distinction line between refugee settlement in the anti-colonial era and the post-colonial era in Africa is Oyowe (1995). In an article published in the No. 150 March-April 1995 edition of "the Courier", titled "Mozambican refugees and their brother's keepers," Oyowe explored the hospitality extended to Mozambican refugees who fled to Zambia and Malawi during the long civil war in Mozambique when the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO) rebel movement fought the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) government in that country in the 1980s and 90s. In Zambia, Oyowe reveals the grand assistance offered to the Mozambican refugees in the Ukwimi Refugee Camp. The host government provided land for the refugees which was developed into a modern agricultural facility to boost food production. The refugees, according to Oyowe, produced enough food for consumption and sold their surplus produce to earn money. The situation at the Ukwimi Refugee Camp in this post colonial era, studied by Oyowe, has some similarities, especially the hospitality and the generosity of host societies, with the anti-colonial refugee situations in Africa revealed in the study of Robert Chambers (1979).

According to Oyowe, Malawi became the most generous host country in Africa in the 1980s and 1990s in her treatment of Mozambican refugees during the period. According to him, Malawi opened its borders and allowed the Mozambican refugees to settle spontaneously on its territory, similar to the treatment of refugees in many African countries in the anti-colonial era which was studied by Robert Chambers (1979). A few refugee camps were set up for the refugees in

Malawi and no restrictions were placed on the refugees who left and came back to the camps at will. Malawi, Oyowe asserted, became the most preferred destination of Mozambican refugees, such that by 1991, the number of Mozambican refugees came close to one million. The refugees saw Mozambique as a real home and those who settled along the Mozambique-Malawi border shuttled between Mozambique and Malawi sharing scarce resources of food, water, health care facilities, schools and agricultural land with the local people of Malawi.

The Malawian treatment of Mozambican refugees described by Oyowe compares with the hospitable treatment given to African refugees in the anti-colonial era described by Chambers (1979). The hospitality and freedom extended by host countries revealed by Oyowe (1995) and Boamah Gyau (2008) debunk the assertion of Kibreab (1985) that African traditional hospitality towards refugees stands at the horizon of oblivion in contemporary times. However, the hospitality extended to refugees in Africa and elsewhere in the world does not mean that host societies totally want to carry the burden of strangers by opening their doors to refugees and other migrants without restriction. Fatigue of being overwhelmed by the influx of migrants can affect the hospitality and generosity of benign societies.

Mitchel (1995: pg 52) is of the view that “host countries to which refugees flee for safety and shelter are coming under more and more strain in trying to provide help. Difficulties are particularly severe in Africa, where the influx from civil wars in several regions has put unbearable strain on neighbouring countries which are themselves suffering from poverty, overcrowding and underdevelopment”.

2.3 Impact of refugee influx/host community- refugee relationships

UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata in an interview with the March- April 1995 edition of “the Courier” admitted that host countries are overwhelmed by massive influx of refugees. She mentioned sudden social disruption, ecological damage and epidemics as some of the negative impacts that large influx of refugees can have on host countries. She was, however, of the view that the influx of refugees can import new skills into a host country as well as become a catalyst for economic development for the host country. Sadako Ogata commended African countries for their generosity towards those forced to flee their homes to seek sanctuary. She lamented that in spite of Africa’s poverty, it has shown more concern to the plight of the world’s refugees than the rich countries of the world.

Ogata assured the world especially host countries that it is the desire of the vast majority of refugees to go back home once the unfavourable events at home turn favourable. She admitted that the UNHCR prefers voluntary repatriation over the other two durable solutions of local integration and resettlement in a third country for handling the global refugee crisis. She said in some cases where conditions in the country of origin do not meet standards for repatriation of refugees, the UNHCR encourages integration into the host society through naturalization. Sadako Ogata ended her interview with another assurance to the world by arousing the sympathy of mankind towards refugees with the words that “refugees are not a threat, they are victims. It is a sobering thought, but any one of us, potentially, could one day be forced into flight” (Ogata, 1995. Pg 4).

Other bodies of literature challenge the suggestion that a vast majority of refugees want to go home and also that refugees are not a threat to the stability of nations. Suhrke and Zolberg

(1999) and Gil Loescher (1992) assert that refugees are powerful actors in inter-state relations especially between host communities and countries of origin of refugees where refugees are used as surrogates to destabilize countries of origin. Some graphic examples of refugee insurgency movements operating from host communities to destabilize governments of their home countries are reviewed in brief. In the Horn of Africa, asylum seekers form the base of rebel movements that exacerbate civil strife in the countries (Kaplan, 1988). Thailand armed Cambodian refugees on her territory during the Khmer Rouge resistance in Cambodia for the strategic purpose of intensifying the Khmer resistance which acted as a buffer between Thailand and the Vietnamese Army (Shacross, 1984). Weiner (1991) narrated the use of refugees and exiles by host states for the realization of their foreign policy towards countries of origin of the refugees and the exiles in the 1980s. For example, the U.S. armed Contra Exiles in Honduras and Costa Rica, to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, while India gave military support to Tamil refugees to oust the Sinhalese government in Sri Lanka. Arab nations supported Palestinian refugees in their territories to wage war against Israel. These few examples illustrate the threat that refugees pose to the stability of states contrary to the claim of Sadako Ogata that they are not.

Refugees have been blamed for some security challenges in host communities. For example, the 'Dinka' from Sudan offered sanctuary in the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya have been accused by the 'Turkana' host community of rape and degradation of their environment through felling of trees for firewood (Aukot, 2003). Liberian refugees in the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana have come under attack for the rapid increase in armed robbery and wife stealing in the host community. In addition, the popular opinion among the Buduburam host community is that the Liberian refugees indulge in prostitution, drugs, robbery and other crimes (Porter et al., 2003).

However, the literature of refugee studies and discourse contains a paradox of refugees being both a benefit and a burden for the host country. In the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, the refugees have a comparative advantage over the locals in access to primary education. Refugees can make a choice between refugee camp schools or schools in the host community but the locals are prevented from gaining access to schools designated for refugees (Aukot, 2003).

On the other hand, at the Buduburam Refugee Camp in Ghana, there are no such restrictions on the choice of locals and refugees between schools in the host community or in the refugee camp (Boamah-Gyau, 2008). The line of distinction between locals and refugees in access to education is very blurred and by and large, access to education has improved in the Buduburam community over other surrounding villages through the building of more schools in the refugee camp and in the host community. The UNHCR even paid the school fees of children in the local community whose parents are too poor to afford that investment (Ibid).

The boost in the local economy of refugee camps is a direct consequence of the location of the camps there with both benefits and disadvantages for the local population. The rise in population in a host community is due to the influx of large numbers of refugees which brings about an increase in the number of buyers. The corresponding demand for goods and services forces prices up to the detriment of some people and a benefit to others in the local community. For example with refugee influx into Western Tanzania from Rwanda and Burundi in 1993-94, prices of food items plummeted, but again the refugees were better off since they received food-aid although inadequate (Alix-Garcia and Saad, 2010). At the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana, the purchasing power of most Liberian refugees is relatively higher than the local people due to remittances some of the Liberians receive from abroad. The prices of commodities are higher at

the Buduburam camp than elsewhere in the community (Boamah-Gyan, 2008). The presence of refugees in a host community also affects the sale and purchase of labour. Excess labour created by refugee influx reduces the cost of labour but the refugees accept the low wage to eke out a living. The locals often reject the low wages offered by employers, most often NGOs and the education sector providing relief services and education to the refugees mainly and the locals.

The Kakuma refugee camp is an illustration of the scramble for jobs between refugees and the local population. In that camp, 78 refugees secured jobs against 21 locals in a local hospital. The refugees also charged or were paid far less than the locals for doing the same job and this results in the local population blaming the refugees for stealing their jobs and reducing wages (Montclos and Kagwanja, 2000). Verwimp and Maystad (2009) and Jean-Francois (2009), however defended the refugees against the accusation of local populations, arguing that the presence of refugees in a community boosts the local economy and benefits the local people as well. They agreed that agricultural workers may be at a disadvantage due to the reduction in their wages when refugees arrive in a locality, but argued that workers in other sectors and local entrepreneurs stand to gain from hosting refugees. For example, they argue further that, the arrival of refugees in Western Tanzania became a catalyst for increased business in the locality which is practiced by both the hosts and the refugees, and the area also became the hub for Tanzanian businessmen and entrepreneurs resulting in an economic boom for the area.

It has also been argued that, there are health implications for a mass influx of refugees for a host community since that refugee influx is accompanied by a rise in communicable diseases, but the rise also goes with more health and sanitation services for the host community. The local community shares health care facilities at refugee camps with the locals citing the case of

Western Tanzania where 30% of the people treated in a health care facility in a particular refugee camp are locals (ibid). However, there are cases of refugees enjoying better health services than their hosts in a locality which results in conflict between refugees and locals. In some refugee camps assessed in countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Nepal, Thailand and Bangladesh, the percentage of under-weight babies born to refugees is below that of the national populations, demonstrating better health delivery to pregnant refugee women than the indigenous women in the same category (Bruijn, 2009).

Another area of refugee-host community relations reviewed is the impact of refugees on the host community environment. The Turkana tribal people in Kenya, for example, had complained about the degradation of their environment by the Dinka Sudanese Refugees cutting down trees for their domestic usage (Verwimp and Maystad , 2009; Jean Francosis, 2009). Fighting and quarrelling sometimes occurred between the locals and the refugees because the host community deemed the activities of the refugees a threat to the survival of their livestock which feed on the tree vegetation (Aukot, 2003). “The impact of the Kakuma refugees on their host community is “quite enormous, the hosts complained of their women walking long distances to fetch water resulting in chest pains and miscarriages”. The pressures on water and damage to the soil and vegetation also affect food production by the locals leading to tension between hosts and refugees. The situation in the Kakuma refugee camp is similar to that in Chad and Dafur, where large congregations of displacements occur in an arid environment placing huge demands on the scarce, local resources and resulting in friction with the local communities (ibid).

Figure 1 Civilians displaced by the Darfur conflict set out to collect firewood from the scrubland surrounding their camp.



Photo Credit: UNHCR (2005).

A study conducted by Adrian (2005), at the Bonga refugee camp in Ethiopia, is reviewed as a case study to highlight the hostility of host-refugee relations, partly caused by burden on the host community and worsened by failed promises by the UNHCR. Adrian identified the destruction of the vegetation of the host community as the main problem of the refugee-host community at the time of the study and although he agreed that the refugee presence in the community is the major factor for the environmental challenges, he found out that the refugees cannot be solely culpable. This is because the process of environmental degradation had started before the arrival of the refugees, but Adrian also agreed that the problem escalated in the wake of the refugee presence due to the rise in slash and burn agriculture by the refugees. The refugees, Adrian noted were mainly engaged in the cultivation of sorghum for consumption and the sale of the excess

produce for income. He observed that for both the refugees and their hosts the source of firewood and wood for building their houses and furniture was the forest. The two groups also competed for forest resources such as hunting for game with the same traditional methods. However, the locals, according to Adrian, accused the refugees of being the bane of their environmental problems, saying there was comparative harmony with the environment and life in general in the era before the creation of the refugee settlement.

The locals also complained of alien and prohibited methods of fishing by the refugees which depleted their water resources of their stock which was hitherto high. They also blamed refugee activities which destroyed the traditional irrigation systems for food production. Pasture for their animals has become scarce and the worst of it is rampant stealing of their farm produce by the refugees. Adrian could not, however, provide evidence for all these charges against the refugees beyond the partisan view of the local population.

Adrian, identified failed promises by the UNHCR to the local population as the cause of worsening relationships between the hosts and the refugees. The UNHCR reneged on its promise to provide some infrastructure such as schools and health facilities to the local community as a compensation for sitting the refugee camp on their land and this made the locals to become hostile to the refugees after some time. Adrian noted the growth of the number of the refugees far above the local population which gave the locals a sense of insecurity especially the fear of cultural domination by the refugees. The refugees according to Adrian, manifestly, regarded their population dominance as an asset to exert their influence in that seemingly hostile environment.

The study however did not state the opinion of the refugees on their relationship with the local population.

The International Refugee Regime (IRR), nurtures return of refugees to their countries of origin as the best solution to the global refugee crisis. According to Omata (2011), the IRR presents repatriation as the most optimal and most feasible of its three prescribed durable solutions to the global refugees crisis namely repatriation, local integration and resettlement. However, interest in research in repatriation is jejune and available literature on the subject is scant (Omata, 2011 and Sepulveda, 1995). This, Rogge (1994) attributed, among other reasons, to the ‘widespread assumption’ that because repatriation is the most desirable outcome of the refugee problem, it is also the least problematic and hence one not generating high research priorities. Crisp (qtd in Sepulveda, 1995) supported the view of Rogge, on the paucity of research material on repatriation by saying that most studies carried out on repatriation have concentrated on the international legal principles and the logistics of the repatriation. Its suitability, dimensions and acceptability to the refugees themselves leaves a big gap to be filled by research. It is not clear whether Rogge has included the refugees themselves in his “widespread assumption” hypothesis regarding the acceptability of repatriation the most durable solution to the global refugee crisis.

Some host nations these days violate the principle of non-refoulement of the 1951 UN Convention for the treatment of refugees who seek sanctuary in their territories (Preston, 1995). They sometimes compel refugees to go home and not by voluntary decision of the refugees. Those who today argue that repatriation is the most durable solution to a refugee problem have not carefully analyzed the psycho-social effects of return to what they call home.

Refugees after a period of exile spanning years or even decades undergo major social and cultural transformations as coping mechanisms to adapt to the imperative of survival. The change of environment such as becoming urbanized in the country of asylum may result in the refugees accepting new roles and identities. Similarly, conditions in the country of origin may change after a period of absence. The suggestion therefore, that a change in status from a refugee to a national will be a smooth process is an illusion (Harrell-Bond, 1986, Rogge 1994). The outcome of this research regarding the attitude of Liberian refugees in Ghana towards their repatriation will determine how they fit into the picture painted of refugees in protracted exile by Harrell – Bond and Rogge.

In opposition to repatriation as the best durable solution, Sepulveda (1995), argued, that returning to one's country of origin is not the same as returning home. Gasarasi (1990) analyses the dichotomy of local integration by naturalization and repatriation. According to Gasarasi, although the post naturalization integration of thousands of Rwandese refugees, in Tanzania looks bright, the future prospects would be undermined by the re-emerging international quest for the repatriation of Rwandese from their countries of asylum around the world.

Omata (2011) conducted a field study of Liberian refugees at the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana undergoing repatriation from Ghana to Liberia between April and May 2009. This study is reviewed as a case study to serve as a comparative study with the findings of my own research. Omata's research paper is titled: "Repatriation is not for everyone: The life and livelihoods of former refugees in Liberia". Omata through telephone interviews with Liberians who were repatriated from the Buduburam refugee camp between April – May 2009, found out that it was

not easy for most ex-refugees to re-integrate into their home country of Liberia. He enumerated many challenges that confronted the repatriates such as access to accommodation and jobs. He found out that, many of those repatriated depended on some friends they made at the Buduburam Camp who were relatively adjusted upon returning to Liberia by securing jobs or other resources of life through family and other relationship networks. However, the support received by these repatriates in Liberia from their Buduburam based networks was short lived and some of them out of frustration, had to come back to Ghana to live at the Buduburam Camp. Omata quoted one female refugee who repatriated to Liberia and who was part of his study team. “I think repatriation is not for everyone. At least, it did not work for me at all. In Ghana, I was not worried about my daily life, so I could somehow visualize my life in a positive way. But in Liberia, I first have to secure daily basics such as food and shelter. It is very hard for me to think about my future here”. Omata’s study shows how the experience of former refugees who repatriated could affect the prospects of future repatriation of Liberian refugees from Ghana and across West Africa.

It is obvious that host countries want to shed the burden of hosting refugees by reducing the numbers as donors want to reduce the burden of providing assistance. Therefore Harrell – Bond’s question of whose interests are being served by repatriation? (Harrell-Bond 1986) is very significant.

The literature reviewed for this thesis leaves a gap to be filled on how refugee settlements contribute to the socio-economic transformation of host communities and the expectations of local hosts from their government and the international refugee regime for their magnanimity in

hosting refugees. Another literature gap to be filled is how refugee hosting promotes cooperation between host countries and sending states. These will be addressed by this thesis.

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CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 The Theory of the Distribution of Burdens and Benefits among Local Hosts

The theory which underpins this study is the theory of the distribution of burdens and benefits among local hosts propounded by Berth Whitaker. Whitaker (2002) argues that the burdens and benefits associated with the presence of refugees are not distributed evenly among local hosts. Some communities stand the chance of benefiting from the presence of refugees and international relief agencies to a large extent, while others struggle to maintain access to even the most basic resources. According to Whitaker, the impact of refugees varies within host communities and is based on factors such as gender, age and class. Whitaker has also observed that, the host experiences can also be different from one area to another depending on settlement patterns, existing socio-economic conditions, and nature of the host-refugee relations. In the end, hosts who already had access to resources, education, or power are better poised to benefit from the refugee presence, while those who were already disadvantaged in the local context become further marginalized.

Brees (2010) argued like Whitaker that refugees are both a blessing and a curse to host communities, in a study he conducted on the effect of Burmese Refugees in camps in Thailand.

Whitaker's theory however applied the burdens- benefits concept to a categorization of the host community according to age, gender, occupation and socio-economic class, but did no such categorization of the refugees who move into the host community. Brees on the other hand argued that the ability of the refugees to impact on the host community depends on similar categorization of the refugees such as the potential to become labourers. He argues further that the presence of refugees "attracts international attention to regions that are normally ignored by

the public” and this is a benefit to the whole host community and not only to a particular group based on gender, age, occupation and class as Whitaker argued. Brees while agreeing with Whitaker, that the needy in the host community, especially, benefit from refugee presence, in the form of NGO allocation of resources such as mosquito nets, blankets and rice etc., also argued that the whole host community benefit from the “upgrading of “deplorable roads with international aid money” and access to refugee camp infrastructure such as clinics, certainly not with regard to age, gender, class or occupation.

Bascom (1998) and Chambers (1986) agree with Whitaker that the effects of economic challenges, which can benefit or, place a burden on a host community will be different for different groups. Whilst some groups in the host society will be marginalized, others will benefit but in different proportions. They argue this as Whitaker argued, obviously because host communities are not economically homogenous. Jacobsen (2002) is, however, of the view that when refugees do not live in camps, but live amongst the host community, they make economic contribution to the host community in the form of new technologies and skills, entrepreneurship or needed labour which results in the expansion of the host community’s capacity and productivity. Thus, the host community receives a collective benefit and not only groups within it. Dick (2002) also noted that the entrepreneurship of refugees can benefit a whole host community and not just groups, citing the case of Liberian refugees in the Buduburam camp in Ghana, where the refugees have set up small businesses such as the mobile telephony business which have served the whole local community and not only groups within it. Refugees pose security problems especially at border posts with conflict-ridden neighbouring states. These

security challenges affect all groups within the affected host communities without discrimination (Jacobsen, 2002).

Vicary (2003) also argues that the presence of refugees in a host community is a collective boost for the local host economy and their contribution to the Gross Domestic Product of the host country. Vicary however agrees with Whitaker, that, the poor, lowly educated and unskilled labour in the host community face the threat of unemployment as a result of refugee influx and consequent competition with the refugees. Crisp (2003) also argues that the presence of refugees in a host community can initially have a disruptive effect on the whole host community without discrimination but in the long term, it can have a positive impact on local trade, business, transport and agriculture. This positive impact may however benefit some sections of the host community more than others, in the argument of Whitaker. Thompson (2003) also argues that the presence of refugees in a host community promotes urbanization of a whole village and improves its infrastructure to the benefit of the whole host community.

Whitaker's assertion that hosts benefit from refugee presence depends on factors such as gender, age, and socio-economic class, whilst it can be true in certain respects, may have some limitations to it. For instance, according to Whitaker's argument, women may turn to be disadvantaged in the rural community overwhelmed by a refugee influx when it comes to the provision of domestic needs of the family. This is because it is the responsibility of women to fetch resources such as firewood and water from the stream and other sources in the rural setting. These same resources become objects of competition with the refugees when they arrive in the host community. This is not to say that women are completely disadvantaged by the refugees'

presence. Women can equally benefit from a sudden boost in, for example, the cooked food and fruits and vegetable industry due to an expanded market resulting from the presence of the refugees. They can also learn new skills such as hair plaiting which the refugees might bring to the host community.

Also, it may be true in Whitaker's argument that benefits and burdens for the local hosts associated with the dynamics of a refugee situation depend on age and physical health of individuals within the community. For instance, young adults may take advantage of the changing dynamics such as availability of schools to acquire education or receive negative impact such as competition with refugee youth for the sale of their labour, whilst the elderly will suffer hardships, such as having to contend with possible price escalations due to increase in demand for goods and services, since it is their responsibility to provide for their families. But even in this situation, the elderly can benefit from certain areas such as good market for their farm produce and other services to the refugees or have access to facilities such as clinics and banks that may establish in the host community, sometimes as relief facilities provided by aid and humanitarian agencies.

Whitaker also observed that host communities' socio-economic class can influence the impact of refugee presence on the community. In line with his argument, it can be said that individuals within the host community, who have resources such as money, land and other forms of capital, can use their resources to benefit from the presence of refugees in their community whilst those without any such resources will be disadvantaged. However, driven by the sense of hospitality,

wealthy individuals within the host community may be over-burdened by trying to provide humanitarian service to the refugees.

Thus, although, the burdens and benefits to communities hosting refugees may depend on factors such as gender, age and socio-economic class, the boundaries between the various categories in the gender, age and socio-economic class distribution within the community and the issue of burdens and benefits may be quite blurred, and may depend on other factors as well.

3.2 Hypothesis

This research hypothesized that the hosting of Liberian refugees at Buduburam has been beneficial to the local host community.

3.3 Research Questions

Among others, this research sought answers to the following questions:

1. What significant challenges had occurred in the socio-economic and cultural life of the Buduburam host community?
2. What were the burdens and benefits of the refugees' presence to the Buduburam host community?
3. What has been the relationship between the indigenous host community and the refugees?
4. What was the indigenous host community's perception of the refugees on their land?
5. To what extent has the hosting of Liberian refugees at the Buduburam camp promoted West African Integration?

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CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

This section presents a description of the procedure adopted in conducting the investigation. It includes the research design, sources of data, the population, sample and sampling procedure and the research instrument that was used in collecting the data. The chapter also discussed the data collection procedure and how the data were presented and analyzed.

4.2 Research Design

In this study, the researcher finds it prudent to apply the mixed method of research as postulated by Creswell (2007). This concept mixes both the Quantitative as well as the Qualitative methods of information to validate the data. The methodology adopted does not only ensure that the process of data collection is convenient, systematic, and unbiased but the process of data collection, analysis and report writing become reliable and conclusions valid. The research relied mainly on primary and secondary data.

4.3 Sources of Data

The sources of data for the study were both primary and secondary. The primary sources of data employed were structured questionnaires, and in-depth interviews. The Secondary sources included books, magazines, reports, and bulletins from the Balme and the Political Science Department libraries at the University of Ghana. Useful information was also obtained in this regard from the Legon Center for International Affairs and Diplomacy. The internet was also used immensely.

4.4 Population

The population is the entire group of people or objects with one characteristic in common. The target population for this study was all adults of 21 years of age and above within the

Buduburam hosts community. The age category for the study was started from 21 years and above because, the refugee situation started in 1990, and so respondents need to be of a certain age to be able to have knowledge of the refugee situation. In the survey, questionnaires were also administered on 120 respondents. In addition, 4 in-depth interviews were conducted. The sample size was carefully selected to represent the entire demographic status of the community. This implies that respondents were selected taking into consideration gender balance, different occupations, religious and age distribution. By this means there is no need to have a very large population since the information that came from the 120 respondents reached the saturation point of the study. That is interviewing more people did not bring anything different or new information from what the sampled population said.

4.5 Sampling Technique

A simple random sampling technique was used in selecting the research sample. Thus, indigenous host community members were selected to respond to the questionnaires.

4.6 Survey Instruments

The main instruments used for data collection were structured questionnaire and a semi-structured interview guide for in-depth interview. A questionnaire was used to solicit data from a sample of 120 respondents, administered by trained field assistants. In addition, qualitative interviews were conducted on key personalities in the host community including the Chairperson of the Liberian Welfare Council in Buduburam, assembly member for the area, the chief of Buduburam community and a NADMO representative at the camp.

4.7 Data Analysis Technique

The completed questionnaires were edited, coded, keyed into a template prepared for the purpose and analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). Frequency tables were run

for all data points and interpreted accordingly but not forgetting Yin's (2003) model of looking for common themes that transcend the cases. Some of the issues were highlighted using descriptive statistics generated by Excel for easy and clearer understanding.

4.8 Interpretation of Data

Yin (2003) stated that, "Data analysis consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, or otherwise recombining both quantitative and qualitative evidence". Data obtained from the two main instruments were analysed together. Data from the questionnaire was analysed with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software. The data was analysed using descriptive statistics. After transcription, a cross-case analysis procedure (Patton, 1990) was used to analyse the interview data. In this approach, responses to a common question from all interviewees in each category were analyzed together through constant comparative analysis.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data analyzed from the field report which were interpreted. The Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) was used to generate frequency tables and interpret them accordingly. This was done using one hundred and four completed questionnaires which were retrieved from the local host community of Buduburam.

5.3 Data Interpretation

Table 1: Age of Respondents

	Frequency	Valid Percent
21–30	17	16.3
31–40	25	24.0
41–50	24	23.1
51–60	17	16.3
61-70	14	13.5
Over 70	7	6.7
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

About a quarter of the respondents are aged 31-40. Similarly, 41-50 form 23.1% of the total respondents. 21-30 years of age and 51-60 also form 32.6% altogether. 13.5% are aged 61-70 and the least is over 70 years who formed just 6-7% of the respondents.

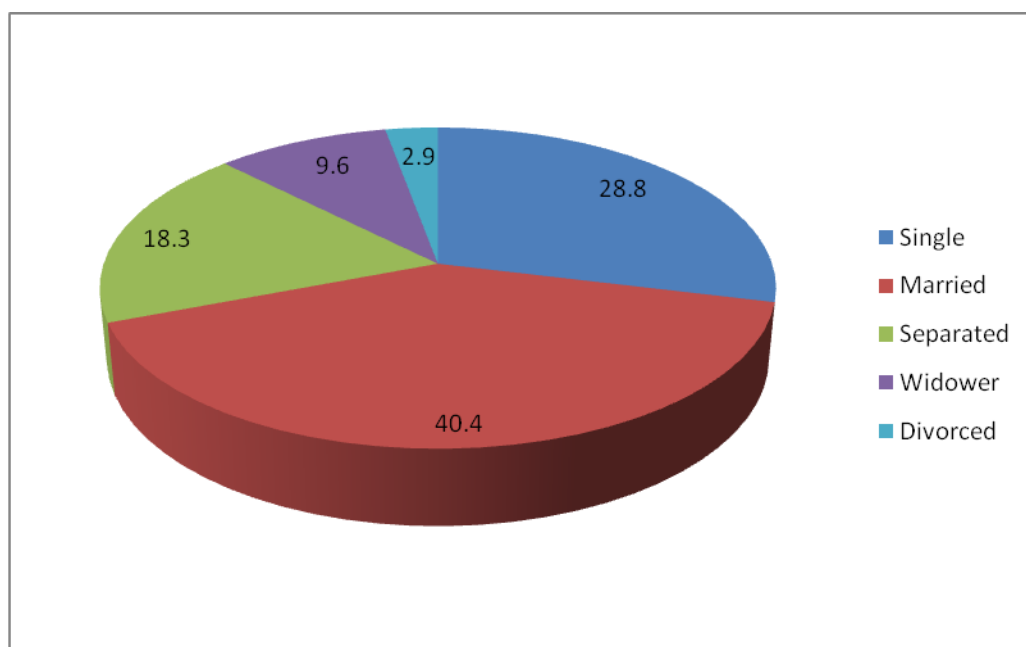
Table 2: Gender of Respondents

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Male	54	52
Female	50	48
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

Males form 52% of the total respondents whilst females form 48%.

Figure 2: Marital Status of Respondents



Source: Field data, 2014

Almost half (40.4%) of the respondents are married. About a quarter (28.8%) of them are single and 18.3% being separated. 9.6% are widowed and a minority 2.9% are divorced.

Table 3: Educational Background of Respondents

	Frequency	Valid Percent
None	24	23.1
J.S.S/Middle School	30	28.8
Senior Secondary School/SHS	29	27.9
Tertiary	21	20.2
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

About a quarter (28.8%) of the respondents are J.S.S or Middle school leavers. 27.9% are senior secondary school leavers and 23.1% have no educational qualification. Tertiary products formed 20.2% of the respondents.

Table 4: Nationality of Spouses of Respondents

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Liberian wife	69	66.3
Liberian husband	10	10.37
Other	25	23.33
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

66.3% have the nationality of their spouse being Ghanaians whilst 10.37% have theirs being Liberians. 23.33% indicated otherwise.

Table 5: Occupation of Respondents

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Farmer	41	39.4
Trader	28	26.9
Public Servant	14	13.5
Teacher	8	7.7
Technician	3	2.9
Student	7	6.7
Clergy	3	2.9
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

About 40% of the respondents are farmers. 26.9% are traders and 13.5% public servants. Teachers formed 7.7% of the occupation of respondents; 6.7% are students and technicians with clergy forming 5.8%.

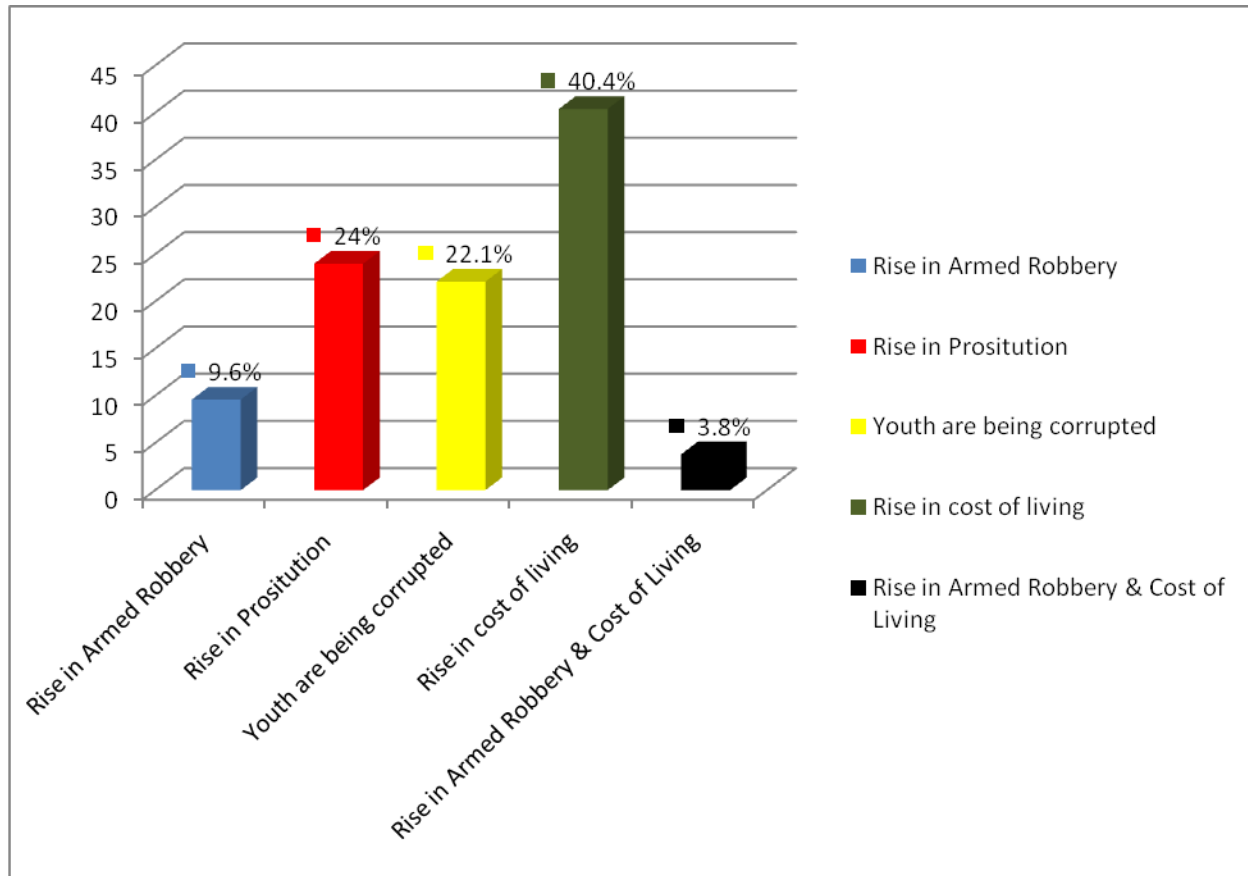
Table 6: What is the positive effect of urbanization on the host community?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Value of land has appreciated	46	44.2
Large market and boost for business	58	55.8
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

55.8% indicated that the positive effect of urbanization on the host community is the creation of a large market for their goods and 44.2% said the value of land has appreciated.

Figure 3: What is/are the negative impact(s) of urbanization on the host community?



Source: Field data, 2014

The negative effect of urbanization has been identified by respondents as rise in cost of living (40.4%), rise in prostitution (24%), the corruption of the youth (22.1%) and rise in armed robbery (9.6%). 3.8% point to rise in cost of living and armed robbery jointly.

Table 7: What is/are the burden(s) of the refugee camp on the host community?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Support to the refugees	25	24.0
Migration to the community/ pressure on our land	62	59.6
Security challenges	13	12.5
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

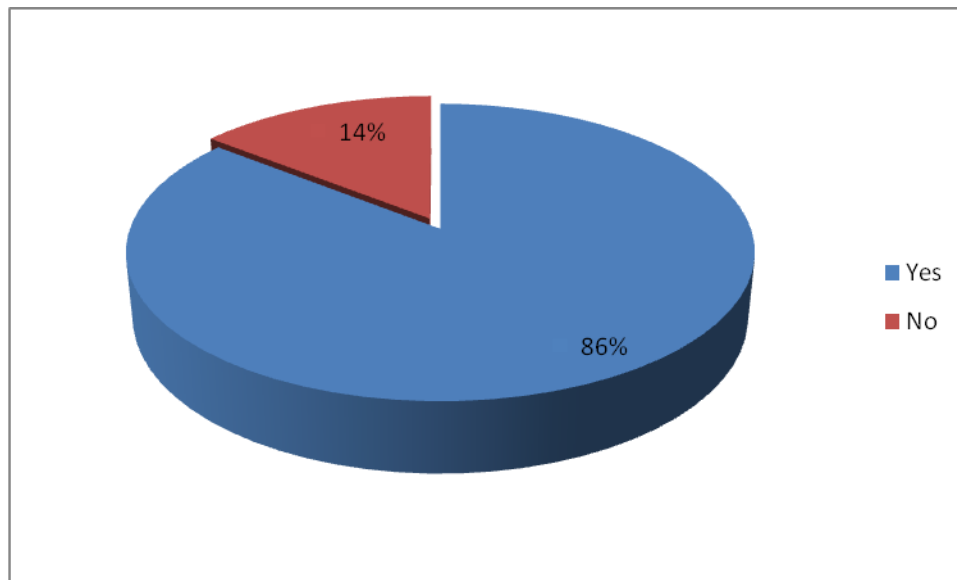
The burden of the refugee camp on the host community is migration to the area putting pressure on land (59.6%), support given to the refugees (24%) and security challenges (12.5%)

Table 8: What is the positive impact of the refugee settlement on your locality?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Rapid urbanization	71	68.3
A boost for the international image of Budubram	33	31.7
Total	104	100.0

The positive impact of the refugee settlement on the indigenous host has been rapid urbanization (68.3%) and boost for the international image of Budubram (31.7%)

Figure 4: Has the refugee settlement been beneficial to the local host?



Source: Field data, 2014

The overwhelming majority (85.6%) indicated that the settlement of the refugees have been beneficial to the host community whilst 14.4% indicated otherwise.

Table 9: Ways in which the refugee settlement benefited the local host community

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Have modern urban infrastructure	32	30.8
Improvement in social amenities	10	9.6
Boost for the image of the village	26	25.0
Large Market for trade	17	16.3
It has fostered unity between the Ghana and Liberia	4	3.8
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

The benefits of the presence of the refugees on the host community are the development of modern infrastructure (30.8%), boost for the image of the village (25%), large market for goods

(16.3%) and improvement in social amenities (9.6%). 3.8% said it has fostered unity and co-operation between Ghana and Liberia.

Table 10: Have you personally suffered from the refugee settlement?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	36	34.6
No	37	35.6
None of the above	15	14.4
No response	16	15.4
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

Almost the same percentage of respondents have indicated that they have suffered (34.6%) as a result of the refugee settlement with 35.6% indicating otherwise.

Table 11: Negative effects of the refugee settlement on respondents

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Theft	10	9.6
Encroachment on family lands by the migrants	15	14.4
Migration to the area raising standard of living	8	7.7
Not available	27	26.0
No response	44	42.3
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

For those who have suffered, 14.4% indicated that their lands were being encroached upon with 9.6% suffering from theft cases and 7.7% not being able to cope with living standards as a result of the migration to the area and rising population.

Table 12: Have you personally benefited from the refugee settlement?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	38	36.5
No	36	34.6
Not available	4	3.8
No response	26	25.0
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

36.5% of the respondents have benefited personally from the settlement of the refugees whilst 34.6% think otherwise.

Table 13: Ways in which respondents benefited personally from the refugee settlement

	Frequency	Valid Percent
NGOs paid the school fees of my junior brothers/sisters	4	3.8
NGOs paid the schools fees of my wards	3	2.9
UNHCR paid schools fees for us	10	9.6
Teach children of refugees on part-time basis	4	3.8
Growth of the church	3	2.9
Business is booming	10	9.6
Proximity to modern facilities	4	3.8
Not available	16	15.4
No response	50	48.1
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

Those who benefited, had the fees of junior brothers/sisters (3.8%) and wards (2.9%) paid by NGOs. The UNHCR paid for the fees of some children (9.6%). Others had booming business (9.6%), accessibility to modern facilities (3.8%) and growth of church (2.9%).

Table 14: What in your view is the real contribution of the host community to the refugees since 1990?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Warm reception and continuous friendship to the refugees	36	34.6
Material support to the refugees	46	44.2
Moral support to the refugees	3	2.9
Volunteerism to support the refugees for their economic/ social needs	8	7.7
Support for refugees for income generation	11	10.6
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

Almost half (44.2%) of the respondents indicated that they gave material support to the refugees. 34.6% point to the warm reception and friendship offered the refugees as their real contribution to them. Others (10.6%) have supported refugees in income generating activities and volunteerism (7.7%) supported the refugees for their economic needs whilst 2.9% of the respondents gave moral support to the refugees.

Table 15: Do you have a refugee friend(s)?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	76	73.1
No	21	20.2
No response	7	6.7
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

The majority, (73.1%) of the respondents indicated that they have refugee friends whilst 20.2 indicated otherwise.

Table 16: Do refugees participate in host community functions such as games etc and vice-versa

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	97	93.3
No	3	2.9
No response	4	3.8
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

Almost all, (93-3%) of the respondents indicated that there is mutual participation in community events and functions as against 2.9%.

Table 17: Which of the following is the cause of tension (if any) between the local host community and the refugees?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Land dispute	25	24.0
Competition for jobs	23	22.1
Ghanaian men stealing wives of Liberians	43	41.3
Refugee women stealing Ghanaian husbands	13	12.5
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

The major cause of tension is some Ghanaian men stealing wives of some Liberians (41.3%). 24% point to land disputes and 22.1% attribute tension to competition for jobs. 12.5% said the cause of tension is some refugee women stealing some Ghanaian husbands.

Table 18: What has been the general relationship between the host community and the refugees?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Very cordial	27	26.0
Cordial	55	52.9
Normal	22	21.2
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

About half (52.9%) of the respondents said the relationship between the hosts and the refugees is cordial. 26% said it is very cordial and 21.2% indicated that it is normal.

Table 19: What has been the relationship between the host community and the camp administration?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Good	15	14.4
Bad	74	71.2
Quite normal	4	3.8
No response	11	10.6
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

The relationship between the host community and the camp administrators is however not healthy (71.2%). Just 14.4% said it is good and 3.8% indicating quite normal.

Table 20: Specify the nature of relationship between the host community and the camp administration

	Frequency	Valid Percent
They have been selling our lands	23	22.1
Their flamboyant lifestyles and snobbish character infuriates the host community	6	5.8
They do not respect the host community	24	23.1
They misapply aid meant for the community	14	13.5
Not available	12	11.5
No response	25	24.0
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

On the nature of relationship between the host community and the camp administration, the host said camp administrators do not respect them (23.1%); 22.1% said they have been selling their lands and 13.5% indicating that they have been misapplying aid meant for the community. 5.8% of respondents said the camp administrators live flamboyant lifestyles.

Table 21: Has there been any self-settlement of refugees with you/your relations in the host community?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	94	90.4
No	7	6.7
No response	3	2.9
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

Virtually, all the respondents (90.4%) indicated that there has been a form of self-settlement of the refugees in the host community with only 6.7% indicating otherwise.

Table 22: What type of self-settlement scheme of refugees has taken place in the host community?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Offer of free accommodation	13	12.5
Offer of rental accommodation to refugees	49	47.1
Sale of land to refugees to build	19	18.3
Offer of land for farm/ business to refugees	13	12.5
No response	10	9.6
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

Almost half of the respondents (47.1%) agree that the settlement scheme in the host community is the offer of rental accommodation to refugees. 18.3% indicated sale of land to refugees. 12.5% offered free accommodation and same number offered land for farm and business.

Table 23: Would you marry a refugee or allow a refugee to marry your son/ daughter?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	82	78.8
No	19	18.3
No response	3	2.9
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

As many as 78.8% said they will marry refugees and allow their children to do same. Only 18.3% disagreed.

Table 24: Should the refugee camp be closed down?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	23	22.1
No	78	75.0
No response	3	2.9
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

The majority of respondents (75%) indicated that the refugee camp must not be closed down with 22.1% thinking otherwise.

Table 25: What is your opinion of the future of the refugees?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
They should go back to Liberia	12	11.5
They can live in the camp forever if they choose to	74	71.2
They must integrate with the local host community	12	11.5
They must be relocated to various destinations in Ghana	3	2.9
No response	3	2.9
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

The majority (71.2%) think that the refugees can live in the camp forever if they choose to. 11.5% said they must return to their homeland and the same percentage of respondents said they must be integrated. Only 2.9% think that they must be relocated.

Table 26: What are your expectations of the Government of Ghana and the International Community for the Buduburam Host Community?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Need financial support to do business and farm	22	21.2
They must support the community to improve livelihoods	22	21.2
They have to support the local host to be able to cope with the pressures of urbanization	19	18.3
They have to improve infrastructure	13	12.5
They must return land taken from us for the refugee camp	4	3.8
They must compensate us financially	18	17.3
They must build factories to employ our youth	3	2.9
No response	3	2.9
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

As regard expectation from the government of Ghana and the international community by the host community, 21.2% need financial assistance to trade and farm; 21.2% of respondents think they must support the community to improve livelihoods and 18.3% think the support must enable them to cope with pressures of urbanization. 17.3% think they must be compensated financially 12.5% support improvement in infrastructure. 2.9% think factories must be set up to employ the youth.

Table 27: What future relationship do you want between the Buduburam host community and Liberia?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Continuous friendship and co-operation	85	81.7
No defined relations	19	18.3
Total	104	100.0

Source: Field data, 2014

The overwhelming majority of respondents (81.7%) want a continuous friendship and co-operation with Liberia whilst 18.3% do not know what kind of relationship should exist between the two in the future.

5.4: Chi Square Test

Figure 5: Has the refugee settlement been beneficial to the local host?

	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Yes	89	52.0	37.0
No	15	52.0	-37.0
Total	104		

Figure 6: Test Statistics Chi sq. results

	Has the refugee settlement been beneficial to the local host?
Chi-Square	52.654 ^a
Df	1
Asymp. Sig.	.000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected frequencies less than 5. The minimum expected cell frequency is 52.0.

Null Hypothesis (H_0): Refugee settlement has not been beneficial to the local host

Alternative Hypothesis (H_A): Refugee settlement has been beneficial to the local host

The results from the figure (fig. 3) signify statistical significance. With a Chi-Sq. value of 52.654 and an Asymp. Sig. (p) of 0.000, there is a significant difference between the answers obtained for the various categories. This is because statistically, Asymp. Sig. should be < 0.05 . In this scenario, since the Asymp. Sig. $0.000 < 0.05$, there is a significant difference. Specifically, majority of the respondents answered Yes (fig. 3). The chi-sq has also proved there is a

significant difference. On the basis of this, we reject the Null Hypothesis (H_0) and accept the Alternative Hypothesis (H_A) that “The refugee settlement has been beneficial to the local host.”

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of both the quantitative and qualitative data analyzed in the previous chapter.

6.2 Bio Data

The age distribution of the sample population for this study shows that the Buduburam local host community is a vibrant one. Over 70% of the population is in the productive age group of 21-60 according to the statistics obtained from the field study. The analysis of the statistics gives a breakdown as follows: about a quarter of the population is aged 31-40 whilst the 41-50 age category constitutes 23.1% of the total respondents. The 21-30 and 51-60 age categories together form about 32.6% of the sample population. The age category of 61 and above, the pension age in Ghana is about 20% of the sample population. This means the age below 21 years of the sample population is a little below 10%. From this population dynamics, the local host community is expected to benefit from the rapid urbanization of the host community agreed upon by the respondents. This is because the respondents also agreed that the urbanization of Buduburam has resulted in an expanded market for business for the community (table 6) and because the productive age group which forms the majority can take advantage of the expanded market to do more business. Urbanization in the local host community and the result of an expanded market is beneficial to the productive age group. This is in line with Whitaker's argument that the host community members benefit from refugee hosting according to certain factors including age, socio-economic status, gender and class (Whitaker, 2002). Other authorities on benefits and burdens to host communities such as Vicary (2003) and Crisp (2003)

argue that the benefits and burdens for host communities are shared by the whole community. In line with their argument, the benefits from the expanded market and boost for the productive age group which forms the majority for the sample population for this study, will benefit the whole community. This is because those producing will earn more money to spend on their dependants such as children and the elderly and also contribute to the rate of urbanization through the putting up of more buildings to improve access to accommodation in the community.

The study also shows that the male population is slightly higher than females. From the statistics, there is a 4% more males than females in the sample population surveyed for the host community. It has also been revealed that there is quite a high rate of marriage in the host community compared to the other marital status categories such as single, divorced and separated. It is expected, that the married in the community should have separate accommodation for themselves and their spouses which is a burden on them whilst the other categories can manage with shared rooms to cope with the pressures of urbanization. Thus Whitaker's argument that the burden of refugee hosting depends among other factors on the status of the individuals in the host community, becomes relevant in this regard. The educational background of the respondents is quite balanced in terms of the categorization used for the study namely no education, primary, JSS/Middle school, SSS/SHS and tertiary from the records in the statistics. What is interesting from the statistics is the fact that the number of respondents with tertiary educational qualification is fairly high and impressive. It can be argued that urbanization of Buduburam has improved access to secondary education which has facilitated access to tertiary schools. This can also be attributed to the urbanization and boom for business which has

improved the income levels of the community members to afford higher education for their wards or for themselves.

Inter-marriage between the local host community and the Liberian refugees has also been investigated. The result shows that the number of local host men married to refugee women is far higher than local host women to refugees. This is a boost for the relationship between the host and the refugees. This can also be a catalyst for the local integration of the refugees with the host community.

Farming represents the leading occupation of the host community according to the results obtained from the study (40%). This is followed by trading 26.9%, public service 13.5% and teaching 7.7%. Other occupation records in the host community which are in the minority are artisanship (technicians) and pastoral work. A small percentage (about 6%) of the respondents has been identified as students.

Some factors could be responsible for this. The first is that the age category for the study, 21 years and above, might have excluded majority of the students in the host community because they are below 21 years. Also at the time of the field study, students in secondary and tertiary institutions in Ghana were still in school and it is possible that most of the students were in schools outside the host community. If this is the reason for the low percentage recorded for students in the community, then it can be argued that there is an improvement in the performance of JSS and secondary school students which has enabled them entry to the good secondary schools and universities abundant in the towns not far away from Buduburam, notably, Cape Coast, Winneba, Accra and elsewhere.

Thus the establishment of the refugee camp in the Buduburam village and the consequence of urbanization of the village have led to improvement in education in the community which has benefitted the youth. The argument of Whitaker (2002) and Chambers (1986) that the benefit of the refugees to hosting communities depends on age and other factors becomes relevant. However, the argument of other authorities that refugee hosting benefits the whole community is also true in the sense that the young people who receive higher education due to the developments of the host community associated with the refugee presence are an asset and a catalyst to the further development of the whole community, and therefore the whole community benefits.

6.3 Impact of Refugees on the Buduburam Host Community

On the issue of the impact of the refugees on the Buduburam host community, 55.8% of the respondents believe that the refugee settlement has led to the creation of a large market for the community whilst 44.2% said the positive effect is the appreciation of the value of land in the community. For this, it is most probable that the majority of respondents for the idea of a large market as a positive impact of the refugee settlement are the farmers and the traders and those engage in service delivery who are expected to benefit directly from the large market for their goods and services. On the contrary, those who said that the positive effect of the refugee settlement on the community is the appreciation of the value of land might be mostly the landowners in the community. Occupation and social status thus becomes a determining factor as Whitaker (2002) and Chambers (1986) argue for the assessment of the benefits of refugees to the host communities. The negative impact of the refugees on the host community is widely varied. Majority of the respondents pointed to the rise in the cost of living as the most negative impact, followed by rise in prostitution. Also, mentioned as the negative impact of the refugees on the

host is corruption of the youth and this concern likely refers to the same issues like prostitution and proliferation of hotels, night clubs and drinking spots in the community which are normally associated with urbanization. Others also pointed to armed robbery and high cost of living as the negative impacts of the refugee settlement on the host community.

On the issue of cost of living which majority of the respondents identified as the most negative impact on the Buduburam host, it can be argued that the poor in the community who are likely to be affected most are those who selected that issue. Again, the argument of Whitaker (2002) and Chambers (1986) that factors such as status, determine the benefits and burdens of refugees on host communities becomes relevant. Majority of the respondents believe that the most serious burden of the refugee settlement on the host community is migration to the area and the consequent pressure on their land. For this, it is quite clear from the visible transformation of the area into an urban settlement dotted with modern buildings that the demand for land for such building projects are obviously by the migrants from other parts of Ghana, who wield financial power and can acquire large tracks of land for private and commercial ventures. In that situation, most small holder farmers, especially those who farm on rented land, will suffer since landowners will prefer selling or leasing out their land to the highest bidders instead of the poor farmers who will pay very little for the use of the land for agricultural purposes. It is not surprising, therefore, that the respondents, most of who are farmers, identify migration and pressure on their land as the most serious burden on their land; as Whitaker (2002) and Chambers(1986) argue.

Another burden identified, next to the migration to the area and pressure on their land, is support to the refugees. It has come out in this study that many of the respondents have refugee friends and therefore it is not strange if many of the Ghanaian host community who are friends to the refugees become supportive to them, considering their socio-economic situation. Many of these local philanthropists may not be wealthy people but people moved by sympathy and also the Ghanaian spirit of hospitality to offer assistance to their brothers in need. Therefore, naturally, they will feel the burden of their humanitarian gesture. There may be others who are quite wealthy to offer material assistance to the refugees, but will equally feel the burden on assistance since they may have diverse responsibilities especially in the local environment of extended family responsibilities. Others also mentioned security challenges for the community, obviously the issue of armed robbery which has been mentioned by some respondents earlier in this study as a negative impact of the refugee settlement on the Buduburam host community.

The assemblyman corroborated the view of the respondents and said that some time ago, the community witnessed an upsurge of crime, mostly armed robbery, allegedly perpetrated by some refugee youth in collusion with some notorious youth from some parts of Kasoa, and Accra mostly Nima. Because of idleness and frustration, some youth in the refugee camp have turned to the use of drugs and they become easy prey to some notorious gangs who come around to recruit some of them to engage in armed robbery on the Kasoa - Cape Coast highway along which the host community is located. However, with the presence of the police in the community and highway police patrols, the assemblyman said the incidence of armed robbery has drastically reduced. Another negative impact of the refugee settlement that he identified on the host community like the respondents is prostitution. Some young Liberian refugee women according

to him are compelled to engage in prostitution which they practice around Accra and Kasoa. These developments cause concern to parents in the community since the youth can be corrupted, especially with a lot of hotels and night clubs springing up in the community. The Assemblyman, was however, of the opinion that these are common problems associated with urbanization and the community must work hard to deal with them. On the whole, the assemblyman agreed with the respondents that the siting of the refugee camp has benefited the Buduburam community more than being a curse.

When the opinion of the Chairperson of the Liberian Welfare Council was sought on what account for the labeling of the Buduburam refugee camp as a Five star refugee camp in Africa, she has this to say:

“The camp is first close to Accra and the arrival of the refugees attracted many relief agencies and organisations and individuals who set up relief projects which eventually attracted commercial ventures to the area. Some Liberian refugees are also fortunate to receive remittances from relatives abroad and started small businesses which helped the transformation of Buduburam from a village to sub-urban centre.”

On the subject of the burden and benefits of the refugees to the community, the representative of NADMO expressed this opinion that: Refugees are naturally a burden. A refugee situation can be likened to a large number of visitors overwhelming your home or a small village all of a sudden, and there will be a natural pressure on the host but sometimes the visitors will come with some benefits. The Liberian refugees according to him are somehow a burden to the host community because their presence has brought pressure on the community's land. He also confirmed that some refugees have moved into the host community due to congestion in the camp and some of them also received various forms of assistance from the host. However, the refugee settlement in

his opinion has helped the community a lot, because it has led to the development of the village. “At first, the site of the camp and even the village was a bush but now it is becoming an urban centre with modern facilities such as banks, clinics, hotels and thriving businesses. According to him, it would have taken Buduburam village many many years, if at all, to get to its present level of development.”

An overwhelming majority (85.6%) of the respondents agreed that the hosting of Liberian refugees have been beneficial to the Buduburam host community with 14.4% dissenting with their counterparts who answered in the affirmative. They were however sharply divided on what constitute benefits of the refugee presence to the host community. The majority, however, said, the society transforming into an urban centre is the benefit the host community has derived from the hosting of the refugees. This was followed by a boost for the image of the host community as the benefit for offering the refugees protection on their land. Coming close to the percentage of the image boost opinion is that which says that the availability of a large market for their goods and services is the benefit the host community has made from the presence of the refugees in their midst. Still others believe that improvement in social amenities in the Buduburam community is the benefit package. Others however are looking beyond domestic benefits and said that improvement in relations and trading links between Buduburam and for a larger extent Ghana and Liberia is the benefit the host community and Ghana as a whole has gained from hosting the Liberian refugees for over two decades. These respondents revealed that essential items which are scarce in Liberia as a result of the civil war in that country from which it is now recovering are traded from Ghana to Liberia by land with Buduburam acting as the warehouse. This opinion partly answers the question, to what extent has the hosting of Liberian refugees

promoted sub-regional integration posed by this researcher after his problem statement. This revelation by some of the respondents that the hosting of Liberian refugees has led to trade between Ghana and Liberia is a boost for West African sub-regional integration in the area of trade. It is even possible that the ongoing trade between Ghana and Liberia facilitated by the hosting of Liberian refugees in Ghana has its ripple effects to other West African countries especially Cote d'Ivoire, through which goods from Ghana pass by land to Liberia, and possibly Guinea and Sierra Leone which share borders with Liberia, due to a possible cross-border trade between Liberia and those countries. From this, it can be argued that the hosting of Liberian refugees has been a boost for Ghanaian trade and GDP and a boost for the international image of the hitherto obscure village of Buduburam. This supports the findings of Vicary (2003) and Crisp (2003) that refugee hosting benefit host communities in generality.

The assemblyman for Buduburam also accepted that the refugee settlement has led to rapid urbanization of the community. He gave the population of the community to be over 50,000 but less than 3000 being natives. He said that over 40, 000 are refugees and the rest are newcomers from other parts of Ghana, especially Cape Coast, Winneba, and even Accra who find life there too expensive especially accommodation. According to him Buduburam is a community that is fast developing and they want to take advantage of that to settle there. When the researcher enquired from the chief of Buduburam village what factors are responsible for the transformation of his village into an urban centre and whether he was happy with the new status of his area, he said that the refugee settlement and the rising population of the area are responsible for the rapid urbanization of his village. He stated that the village is strategically positioned between Accra and Cape Coast and not far away from Accra and so the rising population of the village attracted

urban dwellers who feel the heat of urban life in Accra and other urban centres to move to his area to create a modest and less turbulent urban centre, and expressed his satisfaction with the rapid development going on in his village.

This is the Chief's response to the question of whether the refugee settlement has been beneficial to his community:

“Certainly yes, but it has also given us some challenges such as the pressures of urbanization, rising cost of living and road traffic congestion on the main Accra – Cape Coast road because of people coming in and going out of this community. However it has also helped us in many respects, including access to good education for our children, health care and a good market for our goods especially farm produce and also for services. We will encourage more businesses and industries to come here even more than human settlement.”

The assemblyman agreed with the respondents that the refugee settlement has benefitted the local host community. He also accepted that the refugee settlement has led to rapid urbanization of the host community and has also attracted some projects to the community such as The Trust Bank, a Senior High School and some private schools which are also springing up. He mentioned also the Western Union Money Transfer facility which is helping the Liberian refugees to receive remittances from abroad as one of the important urban facilities that has located in the host community. He cited also a clinic, run by the Catholic Church, and an ultra modern police station built for the community by the UNHCR to improve security. The assemblyman mentioned too that the people in the Buduburam host village have taken advantage of the urbanization of the community to improve themselves. Most people have migrated from farming to business according to him, and some have either acquired loans using land as collateral or sold part of their land to put up low cost buildings which they rent out at quite high prices to the refugees and the migrants to the area. Some, especially, the women are into the sale of food, and clothing

while some operate provision shops. Others are also operating drinking bars and some youth have also opened barbering and hair dressing salons which receive high patronage, especially during weekends when people come from Accra, Kasoa and other nearby towns and villages to enjoy the serenity of the place.

The NADMO representative at the camp confirmed what the respondents said that the refugee settlement has promoted co-operation between the Ghanaian host community and Liberia. One of the areas is trade. “A lot of goods which are scarce in Liberia are sent by both Ghanaian and Liberian traders from Ghana to Liberia, with Buduburam serving as the center of this international trade between the two countries. There is direct transportation link between Buduburam and Liberia today.”

About 70% of the respondents said they either suffered personally or benefited almost in equal proportion from the hosting of the Liberian refugees in their community. Of the sufferers from the refugees’ presence, some complained of losing their land for farming purchased by both migrants to the area and refugees from the landowners who previously rented or gave those parcels of land to them free for their small holder agricultural ventures, but now have to sell those lands at higher prices to outsiders. Others also complained that their land was confiscated. The original land on which the refugee camp was established was alleged to have been confiscated by the PNDC government from one prophet Ekwam who used it as a church ground (Interview with some indigenes of the study area, May 2014). Some of the complainants speak of their land being seized from them for the establishment of the refugee settlement. The people who said they benefited personally from the refugee settlement mentioned schools fees paid for

them, their junior brothers and sisters or wards by the UNHCR and some NGOs. Others also stated that their businesses boomed and to others they benefited directly from modern facilities in the community such as clinics and banks which became available, due to the refugee settlement in the area. A respondent mentioned an expansion of her church in the community as a result of the refugee settlement in the community.

The chief of the Buduburam host community, when asked which other contribution his community has made towards hosting the Liberian refugees on their land for over two decades, mentioned the traditional hospitality of welcoming visitors by his people as their contribution to the refugees. He specifically stated the package of this hospitality as accommodating those who opted to live with them in the host community rather than the refugee camp in addition to material support to take care of the needs of the refugees. He gave the broad self-settlement state of the refugees in the host community that the refugees can be found all over from the Buduburam village to Gomoa Fete, the traditional capital of the people of Buduburam, as well as other surrounding towns and villages such as Awutu, Kasoa and other places where he said they live normal lives.

The highest number of respondents, almost half of the total number, said that the most significant contribution of the Buduburam host community to the Liberian refugees is the material support the community has extended to the refugees. This is followed by the warm reception and the hospitality extended to the refugees as the Buduburam host community's greatest contribution to the refugee settlement on their land. Some respondents, in smaller numbers to the first and second categories of respondents, on the subject of the host community's real contribution to the

welfare of the refugees, also stated that, the most significant contribution of the Buduburam host community to the Liberian refugees, is the support of the host community to the refugees in self-income generation. A very small number of the respondents who assessed the local host community's contribution to the refugees stated that volunteerism is the host community's real contribution to the refugees. The Chairperson of the Liberian Welfare Council in Buduburam camp made her own assessment of the contribution of the government of Ghana and the local host community towards the upkeep of Liberian refugees in this camp apart from the provision of land. According to her the refugees owe the government and people of Ghana a great debt of gratitude, especially President Rawlings. She said the refugees have not forgotten the help he gave to them. Rawlings according to her, defied international law that they were not yet refugees in 1990, and voluntarily brought them here in Ghana's own vessel. She said Rawlings quickly organized an emergency medical care for them because some of them were very sick and weak after weeks of starvation and deprivation. The government of Ghana used and continue to use its resources for their welfare, she said. She confirmed what the local host community said that the refugees received a warm reception and various forms of assistance from the local host community. In addition, she said, several civil society organisations like the Christian Council of Ghana, ADRA, the Catholic Secretariat etc and benevolent individuals from the Ghanaian host community gave them tremendous assistance although those forms of assistance have reduced now. Another remarkable thing which she said they have not forgotten was the issue of the Liberian refugees on board the 'MV Bulk challenge vessel' which was rejected in 1996 by many countries but to which Ghana gave entry and accepted to host the refugees.

On the question of whether the government of Ghana is still contributing to the refugee settlement, a representative of NADMO, the organisation which administers the Buduburam refugee camp and all other refugee camps in Ghana on behalf of the GRB, said this:

“The state still makes contribution to the refugee settlement but in a reduced form currently. At first, the feeding, health needs and general welfare of the refugees was the sole responsibility of the government, until the UNHCR and NGOs, sympathetic Ghanaians, Churches and other Ghanaian benevolent organizations mobilized support for the refugees. But still, the government of Ghana spends quite substantially on the Liberian refugees and other refugees in Ghana. They pay the camp management staff and provide security, as well as infrastructural maintenance on the camp.”

6.4 Host Community – Refugee Relations

An overwhelming majority of the respondents (73.1%) said they have refugee friends whilst the rest said they did not have. Also, almost all the respondents (93.3%) stated a mutual participation in host community and refugee events. This is a revelation of friendship and communalism between the host community and the refugees, which is a healthy relationship that will, no doubt, promote peace and development of the area. This is not to say that there is total absence of instances of friction between the two neighbours, the local host and the refugees in the Buduburam community. The most frequent cause of tension between the refugees and the local host has been identified by the respondents as the incidence of some Ghanaian men stealing the wives of Liberian men. This incidence if it is true can be attributed to the economic situation of the Liberian men which places them at a disadvantaged position in competition with the Ghanaian men in the community over the women there.

Other incidences that cause tension at times, between the refugees and the local host community have been stated to be land disputes between Ghanaians and refugees, competition for jobs,

which may be mostly in the informal sector such as local trade and sale of labour since the informal sector is easy to enter in the Ghanaian socio-economic environment. Another incidence that some respondents attribute to the cause of occasional tension between refugees and the local host is husband “stealing” by some refugee women from Ghanaian women. Again this can be attributed to the socio-economic condition of extreme need of some of the refugee women which can make them gravitate more to some of the men in the local host community with financial resources and become prey to their notorious philandering.

On the general relationship between the refugees and the local host community, a little over half of the respondents rated it to be cordial. About 26 percent of the respondents rated it to be very cordial and the rest said the relationship is normal. It can therefore be said that, generally, there is harmony between the refugees and the host. On the subject of the general relationship between the host community and the refugee camp, the Chairperson of the Liberia Welfare Council at the Buduburam camp supported the view of the host respondents that they have good relations. She indicated that they go to the host community and come out without restrictions. “They understand our plight and sympathize with us although it is normal to hear a few anti-refugee sentiments being expressed by some host community members at times” she said.

On the question of whether the movement of the refugees is restricted on the camp, a NADMO representative on the camp spoke of a liberal treatment to the refugees as follows: “Although we monitor compliance to rules and regulations on camp, they are free to move in and out at will. They receive visitors as they wish. In fact the camp is a free society.”

Strangely, the relationship between the host community and the refugee camp administration has been generally rated as bad by the respondents. Over 70% of the respondents think so whilst the rest are divided over it, describing it as good and normal. This is an issue that requires further investigation although the respondents have given some reasons for the unhealthy relations between the camp administration and the local host community. Among the reasons given by the respondents for their claim of a bad relationship between the local host community and the refugee camp administration are that the camp administrators show disrespect to the host community, and are engaged in the sale of refugee camp land to outsiders. They also mentioned misapplication of aid packages meant for the local host community and an infuriating flamboyant lifestyles of the camp administrators which respondents obviously believe has been acquired through corrupt practices.

Responding to the statement made by the respondents that the relationship between the camp management and the host community is bad and the allegations leveled against the management, the NADMO representative said the allegations are untrue, and blame it on their lack of understanding of the mandate of the camp management. He said that the camp management is responsible for the affairs of the camp and not the host community but they also try to maintain some co-operation with the host community. The representative said some of the allegations come from the host community being ill informed about many issues.

Over 90% of the respondents say there is a self-settlement of the refugees in the local host community with them or with their relations whilst about 7% percent of them said no such self-settlement of the refugees in the local host community or have any links with them or with their

relations. It is quite clear from those statistics from the responses that quite a number of the refugees have already integrated with the local host community through various schemes identified by the host respondents as offer of rental accommodation to the refugees in the host community which is the highest of the responses, almost 50% in that regard. Other local integration scheme of the refugees in the local host community identified by the respondents are sale of land to the refugees, offer of free accommodation and land grant to the refugees for the establishment of business. This finding from this research is an indication that a self-settlement and integration scheme of refugees into the local host community has long already been ongoing. This means that Buduburam has virtually become a Liberian Diaspora and is likely to persist for a long time, if not forever. The Chairperson of the Liberia Welfare Council at the Buduburam camp also confirmed that some refugees have already integrated with the local host community and that some have even gone to live at Kasoa and other nearby places and even in Accra. “Well, the government of Ghana and the UNHCR are working on the modalities. They are in the process of issuing Liberian passports to the refugees and then possibly, some package will be given to them to integrate locally in any part of Ghana,” she said.

The assemblyman for the Buduburam community confirmed that some refugees have bought land to build, especially, those who receive remittances from abroad. He also said that some non-refugee Liberians who live abroad who find Ghana to be peaceful have also acquired land in the Buduburam village to build to enable them settle permanently in Ghana. The NADMO representative said that some refugees have undergone self-integration with the Buduburam host community whilst others have gone to other places such as Kasoa to live there. He said they have friends in the community and they know how to integrate locally. The willingness of the hosts to marry refugees or allow their sons and daughters to do so is very high from the responses, with

only a few dissenting. This is quite a positive sign for the local integration agenda being pursued by the UNHCR and the government of Ghana as a durable solution to the Liberian refugee problem in Ghana. In an answer to a question posed by the researcher to the Chief of Buduburam on whether there is inter-marriage between his people and the refugees and whether he was married to one himself, the chief laughed and said unfortunately he was already married before the arrival of the refugees and couldn't have married another woman but was quick to state that quite a number of his people are married to the refugees and this according to him is promoting unity and friendship between the two communities.

6.5 Expectations of the Buduburam Host Community and the future of the Refugees

The expectations of the Buduburam host community from this study shows great prospects for local integration of the Liberian refugees into the Buduburam host community as part of a durable solution to the refugee problem. About three-quarters of the respondents whose views were sampled on their expectations regarding the refugees, said that the refugee camp must not be closed down forever; whilst less than a quarter think the camp must be phased out, with a very small percentage passive about the future of the refugee settlement.

As the highest traditional authority of the Buduburam community, the Chief's opinion and expectations on the future for his community are very important. The researcher therefore posed a question to him to that effect and this is what he said:

“I think the government and the international community must support the Buduburam town or village as you people prefer to call it. We are traditionally farmers, but very soon housing will take away our land, so they need to support us to adjust to an urban life. We must acquire skills and the resources to do business so that we don't suffer from the harsh economic realities of urbanization and be forced to migrate to the outside world as economic migrants, because loss

of means of livelihood and poverty is as dangerous as the conflict that has caused the refugee situation in our community. They must continue to keep the international attention on Buduburam by establishing things here that will continue to boost our image so that our people and also the refugees will get jobs to do.”

Again on whether the refugees can live forever in the camp if they choose to do so, almost three-quarters of the respondents answered in the affirmative whilst only about 10% each of the respondents want the refugees to return to Liberia or integrate with the local host community. A small number, less than 3%, want the refugees to be relocated to other parts of Ghana for camping or local integration. These views of the respondents on the future of the refugees’ settlement in Ghana also support their local integration into Ghana whether in the Buduburam camp, the local host community or elsewhere. With regards to the expectation of the local host community from the government of Ghana and the international community, views are sharply divided. Majority of the respondents constituting about 40% either said the local host must be given financial assistance to improve farming activities or trading or they must be supported to improve their livelihoods. Others think that urbanization is a threat to their livelihoods and so a coping support mechanism must be instituted for the host community to confront its pressures.

When asked what the future of the refugee camp will be after the end of the repatriation and the local integration process prescribed by the UNHCR and the government of Ghana as the durable solutions to the Liberian refugee problem in Ghana, the NADMO representative of the camp said he wouldn’t know. The Chairperson of the Liberia Welfare Council at Buduburam spoke extensively about the future of the refugees and the refugee camp at Buduburam. According to her, the UNHCR, the government of Ghana and the government of Liberia in a tripartite agreement have adopted only two of the International Refugee Regime’s three durable solutions

to deal with the Liberian refugee situation in Ghana and these are repatriation back to Liberia and local integration. According to her, they have not received any information about how these two options will be implemented as at the time of this study.

To the question whether the refugees have accepted the two durable solutions presented to them in the tripartite agreement, the Chairperson said:

“Not really. Although some people have accepted to repatriate or chosen local integration, it is because we are being denied the third option of resettlement in a third advanced country. Out of the two options, some have opted for exemption from both local integration and repatriation.”

Her answer to the question of why the majority of the refugees have chosen local integration is that it is better to live in Ghana than to go back to Liberia because Ghana is peaceful and the refugees have enjoyed the hospitality of the local and Ghanaian host community. On her assessment of the situation in Liberia which is preventing a lot of people from going back home, this is what she said:

“I don’t think Liberia is completely safe. There are still pockets of violence in some parts of the country. Some mysterious killings are still going on in some parts of the country because some people have not totally put the memories of the war behind them. The trauma of the civil war is still alive in the minds of some people and they wouldn’t voluntarily send themselves into danger. Lack of opportunities back in Liberia is another factor. Some people have lost their homes. Their homes have been taken over by different people after over 20 years in exile. Where are they going to, she asked?”

Another group almost equal to those who demand coping mechanism asked for direct financial compensation for the local host community for hosting the refugees. A smaller group of respondents demanded improvement in infrastructure and the smallest group of respondents think factories must be set up to give employment to the youth in the host community. Thus on

the whole, the local host community expects some form of compensation package for hosting the Liberian refugees for over two decades.

6.6 Conclusion

To conclude, an overwhelming majority of respondents are asking for a continuous friendship and co-operation between the local host of Buduburam and the host country of Ghana on one hand, with Liberia to maintain the links the host community has established with Liberia as a result of hosting refugees from that country.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study from the field research based on both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection at the Buduburam host community. Several findings have been made from the studies including a proof of the hypothesis. Based on the findings, a general conclusion is drawn for the study and recommendations given to help address most of the useful observations made from the study.

7.2 Summary of Findings

This study which investigated the contribution of Ghana to the stability of West Africa in the area of refugee hosting based on the experience with Liberian refugees has produced some useful findings. The information gathered has made a broad understanding of the real contribution made by the local host community and the state of Ghana for hosting the Liberian refugees. The real impact of the refugees on the host community has also been made known by the findings of this study. At the end, much speculation and myth about the Liberian refugee settlement in Ghana has to a large extent been replaced by facts. It came out that, the local host community has made useful contribution to the refugees. The community has offered material assistance, in cash and kind which include free accommodation, land for building and farming to the refugees. Other forms of assistance given to the refugees are the warm reception and friendship offered them on their arrival and during their period of exile. The host community supported many refugees in income generating activities to be self-reliant. Another contribution of the host community is the

offer of voluntary service and moral support to the refugees which enabled them to deal with the tragedy of becoming refugees.

The real contribution of the host country to the refugees has been identified as the material assistance in the area of provision of food, water, shelter and healthcare especially at the early stages of their exile. The government of Ghana continues to contribute to the refugees through maintenance of law and order, camp infrastructure and effective administration and security and protection of the refugees. Many Ghanaian NGOs and benevolent and civil society organizations have also contributed materially to the Liberian refugees during the period of their exile in Ghana. The impact of the refugees on the host community has been both positive and negative. The key negative effects of the refugee settlement on the local host community has been identified to be the rise in cost of living, armed robbery, prostitution, pressure on the host community land, and traffic congestion in the community.

One of the positive effects of the refugees to the local host community has been identified to be rapid urbanization of the host community and availability of modern social amenities, services and infrastructure. Also, the emergence of a large market for goods and services for the host community and a boost for local trade and business has been cited as a positive impact of the refugees on the host community. Another positive impact is the boost in the local and international image of the local host community. Also cited as a positive impact of the refugees on the local host community and by and large the whole Ghanaian host community is a boost in international trade between Ghana and Liberia with the net importation of Ghanaian goods to Liberia and Buduburam serving as the headquarters of that trade. Another benefit identified that the host has received from the refugee presence is improvement in social services, especially

education. The UNHCR and NGOs supported education of children in the host community. The result of these developments, respondents agreed is the rapid transformation of Buduburam from an agrarian to a trade and business community.

One other important finding made by the study is that there is a cordial relationship and friendship between the two communities, that is, the local host and the refugees. To this effect, there is inter-marriage between the host and the refugees, with the statistics showing that more Ghanaian men are married to refugee women, as compared to refugee men marrying Ghanaian women. One other finding made from this study is that, there is self-settlement/ integration of the refugees with the local host community. The friendship and co-operation between the local host community and the refugees does not mean the total absence of tension between the two communities. It has come out that, one of the major causes of tension between the local host and the refugees is the rampant 'stealing' of wives of refugees by some host community men. The host community advocated a non closure of the refugee camp and that the refugees be allowed to live there forever if they choose to, or integrate locally with the host community.

7.3 Conclusion

The right response of Ghana to the large scale influx of Liberian refugees saved lives and promoted the stability of the West African sub-region and also encouraged co-operation between her and Liberia. The humanitarian gesture of Ghana has not the least, rewarded a little village on her soil to gain an international image and boost its development. The findings of this study have proved that the hosting of Liberian refugees by Ghana has been beneficial to the Buduburam local host community, which is a confirmation of the hypothesis for the study. Although refugees produce burdens on host nations, they are not as heavy as the burden those who flee in search of

sanctuary would have suffered if they are not permitted entry and assisted. The findings of this research have proved that refugee situations can help communities that host them if the right response is given to their plight. The international community must as well give the right response not only to refugees but also to communities that host them to encourage others to open their doors to those who find themselves in the circumstance similar to what happened to the Liberians that forced them to flee into exile.

7.4 Recommendations

1. The Buduburam host community must be developed into a modern model village to house the local host community and the remnants of refugees who might want to integrate locally with their host. This will insulate the local host and the integrated refugees against the rush for acquisition of land in the community as a result of the rapid urbanization that the host is going through.
2. The UNHCR and aid agencies must set up some local industries in the Buduburam host community to employ members of the local host community and the integrated refugees. The host community and refugee farmers can then be supported to produce crops like fruits and vegetables as raw materials for the industries. This will be a more direct compensation package to them to improve their lives. The lack of proper compensation and integration packages for the local host community and locally integrated refugees has the potential of disrupting the harmony between the local hosts and the integrated refugees similar to the problem between the Americo-Liberians and who were settled on the land and the indigenous Liberians.
3. The UN and the international refugee regime must build an international center for refugee research and studies at Buduburam, considering the fact that this little village has gained

international reputation as a remarkable host community for refugees in Africa described by Owusu (2000) as a five-star refugee camp in Africa.

4. There must be intensification of police patrols in the communities to control armed robbery.

5. The government of Ghana must give support to members of the local host community to control the booming international trade between Buduburam and Liberia.

6. The government must acquire land in the Buduburam community and compensate the owners.

This will protect the land for the development of the recommended projects.

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APPENDICES

1. Questionnaire for Buduburam Indigenous Local Host community
2. Interview Guide for the Chairperson of the Liberia Welfare Council at Buduburam Refugee Camp
3. Interview with The Assemblyman Of The Buduburam Host Community
4. Interview with a NADMO Representative At The Buduburam Camp
5. Interview with The Chief Of Buduburam

APPENDIX I

Department Of Political Science
University Of Ghana

Thesis Title: Ghana's Contribution to West African Sub-Regional Stability: The Issue of Hosting Refugees

Questionnaire for Buduburam Indigenous Local Host community

Introduction

This researcher is a final year student of the Department of Political Science at the University of Ghana, conducting investigations for the above course and thesis title. The project is solely academic and not for the government of Ghana, any political party, the UNHCR or anybody or institution with a vested interest in refugees in Ghana. All information provided in this questionnaire is therefore for the purpose of this thesis project only and is highly protected under an absolute seal of confidentiality. It is however hoped that the report of this investigation will help the UNHCR and the government of Ghana in policy formulation. It will also to a larger extent help the International Refugee Regime in the formulation and modification of policies that would aid both host and refugees. Your co-operation is therefore highly needed.

Questionnaire ID

Please kindly answer the questions below as sincerely as possible by making circles around as many answers as you find applicable to you. If you wish to comment on any question, please kindly use the space at the back of the questionnaire sheet.

SECTION A - Bio Data

A1. Age

1. 21-30 2. 31-40 3. 41-50 4. 51-60 5. 61-70 6. over 70

A2. Gender

1. Male 2. Female

A3. Marital Status

1. Single 2. Married 3. Separated 4. divorced 5. Widow 6. Widower

7. Other (specify)

A4. Educational background

1. None 2. Primary 3. J.S.S/ Middle School 4. Senior Secondary School/ SHS

5. Tertiary

A5. Nationality of spouse

1. Liberian wife 2. Liberian husband 3. Other specify.....

A6. Occupation

1. Farmer 2. Trader 3. Public servant 4. Teacher 5. Technician

6. Health Practitioner 7. Businessman/Woman 8. Student Other (specify)

.....

SECTION B

Impact of refugees on the Buduburam Host Community

Q1. What is the positive effect of urbanization on the host community?

1. Value of land has appreciated. 2. Large market and boost for business.

Q2. What is/are the negative impact(s) of urbanization on the host community?

1. Rise in armed robbery 2. Rise in prostitution 3. Youth are being corrupted.

4. Rise in cost of living 5. 1&2 6. 1&3 7. 1 &4 8. 2&3 9. 2& 4

10. 3&4 11. All of the 1 to 4

Q3. What is/are the burden (s) of the refugee camp on the host community?

1. Support to the refugees 2) migration to the community / pressure on our land

3. Security challenges

Q4. What is the positive impact of the refugee settlement on your locality?

1. Rapid urbanization of Buduburam 2. A boost for the international image of Budubram

Q5. Has the refugee settlement been beneficial to the local host? If no move to Q 7

1. Yes 2. No

Q6. If yes to the above, what are some of the benefits?

.....

Q7. Have you personally suffered from the refugee settlement?

1. Yes 2. No

Q 7(a) If yes, specify?

Q8 Have you personally benefitted from the refugee settlement?

1. Yes 2. No

Q8(a) If yes, specify?.....

Q9. What in your view is the real contribution of the host community to the refugees since 1990?

1. Warm reception and continuous friendship to the refugees
2. Material support to the refugees
3. Moral support to the refugees
4. Volunteerism to support the refugees for their economic / social needs
5. Support for refugees for income generation

SECTION C - Host Community – Refugee Relations

Q10. Do you have a refugee friend(s)?

1. Yes 2. No

Q11. Do refugees participate in host community functions such as games etc and vice versa?

1. Yes 2. No

Q12. Which of the following is the cause of tension (if any) between the local host community and the refugees?

1. Land dispute
2. Competition for jobs
3. Competition over social amenities e.g. water, toilet etc facilities.
4. Ghanaian men snatching wives of Liberians
5. Refugeemen snatching wives of Ghanaians
6. Ghanaian women snatching husbands of Liberians
7. Refugeewomen snatching Ghanaians husbands

Q13. What has been the general relationship between the host community and refugees?

1. Very cordial 2. Cordial 3. Normal 4. Not too cordial 5. Hostile

Q14. What has been the relationship between the host community and the camp administration?

1. Good 2. Bad 3. Specify(if any).....

Q 15. Has there been any self-settlement of refugees in the host community.

1. Yes 2. No.

Q16. What type of self-settlement scheme of refugees has taken place in your host community?

1. Offer of free accommodation to refugees 2. Offer of rental accommodation to refugees
 3. Sale of land to refugees to build 4. Offer of land for farm / business to refugees.

Q17. Would you marry a refugee or allow a refugee to marry your son / daughter?

1. Yes 2. No

SECTION D - Expectations of the Buduburam Host Community

Q18. Should the refugee camp be closed down forever?

1. Yes 2. No

Q19. What is your opinion of the future of the refugees?

1. They should go back to Liberia 2. They can live in the camp forever if they choose to
 3. They must integrate with the local host community 4. They must be relocated to various destinations in Ghana
 5. Other (specify)

Q20. What are your expectations from the Government of Ghana and the international community for the Buduburam host community?

.....

Q21. What future relationship do you want between the Buduburam host community and Liberia?

1. Continuous friendship and co-operation 2. The relation should end after solution of the refugee problem
 3. No defined relationship. 4. Other (specify).....

APPENDIX II**INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE LIBERIA WELFARE COUNCIL AT BUDUBURAM REFUGEE CAMP****SECTION A – PERSONAL INFORMATION**

A 1. Age

12-30 2. 31-40 3. 41-50 4. 51-60 5. Over 60

A 2. Sex:

Male 2. Female

A 3. Marital Status

Single 2. Married 3. Widow 4. Divorced 5. Separated 6. Widower

7. Other (specify)

A 4. Educational Background

Secondary 2. Vocational/Technical 3. Polytechnic 4. Professional

5. University Diploma 6. University Degree 7. Other (Specify).....

SECTION B

General Information

1. What is the current state of the refugee camp? (I mean the structure and general atmosphere on camp)
2. Have you refugees accepted the 2 durable solutions presented to you by the trio per the tripartite agreement?
3. Why have majority of the refugees chosen local integration?
4. What is the general relationship between the host community and the refugee camp?
5. To what extent have some refugees already integrated with the host community?
6. It is the contention of the UNHCR and the government of Ghana that there is peace in Liberia and that Liberian refugee must either go home or integrate locally. From your observation is this policy popular among the refugees?
7. What in your opinion has been the major contribution of the government of Ghana and the Buduburam community towards the upkeep of Liberian refugees in this camp apart from the provision of land?
8. The Gomoa Buduburam refugee camp has been described as a 5 star refugee camp in Africa. What do you think accounts for the development of the camp to that reputation?

APPENDIX III
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE ASSEMBLYMAN OF THE BUDUBURAM HOST COMMUNITY

SECTION A – PERSONAL INFORMATION

A 1. Age

12-30 2. 31-40 3. 41-50 4. 51-60 5. Over 60

A 2. Sex:

Male 2. Female

A 3. Marital Status

Single 2. Married 3. Widow 4. Divorced 5. Separated 6. Widower

7. Other (specify)

A 4. Educational Background

Secondary 2. Vocational/Technical 3. Polytechnic 4. Professional

5. University Diploma 6. University Degree 7. Other (Specify).....

SECTION B

General Information

1. What is the general atmosphere in this community regarding the refugees and the host community?
2. Who do you refer to as the newcomers?
3. What about the refugees, do they also own property in this community?
4. Has the refugee camp benefited the community?
5. On the whole, how do you assess the siting of the camp on your land? Is it overall beneficial or a curse?

APPENDIX IV**INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE NADMO REPRESENTATIVE AT THE BUDUBURAM CAMP****SECTION A – PERSONAL INFORMATION**

A 1. Age

12-30 2. 31-40 3. 41-50 4. 51-60 5. Over 60

A 2. Sex:

Male 2. Female

A 3. Marital Status

Single 2. Married 3. Widow 4. Divorced 5. Separated 6. Widower

7. Other (specify)

A 4. Educational Background

Secondary 2. Vocational/Technical 3. Polytechnic 4. Professional

5. University Diploma 6. University Degree 7. Other (Specify).....

SECTION B

General Information

1. Is the government of Ghana still contributing to the refugee settlement?
2. Are the refugees movements restricted on camp?
3. What will be the future of the camp after the end of the repatriation and the local integration process?
4. What is the relationship between the refugees and the host community?
5. What is the relationship between the camp management and the host community? Because there are some allegations that you isolate them.
6. Do you think the refugees are a burden or a benefit the community?
7. To what extent has the refugee settlement promoted co-operation between this community and Liberia, the country of origin of the refugees?

APPENDIX V
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE CHIEF OF BUDUBURAM

SECTION A – PERSONAL INFORMATION

A 1. Age

12-30 2. 31-40 3. 41-50 4. 51-60 5. Over 60

A 2. Sex:

Male 2. Female

A 3. Marital Status

Single 2. Married 3. Widow 4. Divorced 5. Separated 6. Widower

7. Other (specify)

A 4. Educational Background

Secondary 2. Vocational/Technical 3. Polytechnic 4. Professional

5. University Diploma 6. University Degree 7. Other (Specify).....

SECTION B

1. Nana, your community has hosted these Liberian refugees for over two decades, what has been your other contribution to their welfare apart from your hosting them on your land?
2. So, how is the refugee presence in the host community?
3. We see that this community which was a village is now booming urban centre. What do you attribute to it and are you happy?
4. Nana, I hear there is a lot of inter-marriage going on between your host community and your guests, the Liberian refugees, are you married to one?
5. Nana, what is your expectation of the future of this community and your relation with the refugees?
6. So Nana, has the refugee camp been beneficial to your community?