AN EXPLORATION OF REFUGEE INTEGRATION:
A CASE STUDY OF KRISAN REFUGEE CAMP, GHANA

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An Exploration of Refugee Integration: A Case Study of Krisan Refugee Camp, Ghana

By

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DECLARATION:

In accordance with Rule G4.6.3, I hereby declare that the above-mentioned treatise/ dissertation/ thesis is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment to another University or for another qualification.

SIGNATURE:_____________________________________________________

DATE: __________________________________________________________
DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to the blessed memory of my parents, Mr. John Kofi Mensah and Mrs. Mary Adjapomaah Mensah, who held the philosophy that “the best legacy a parent can leave for their children is education.”
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply grateful to Dr. Lyn Snodgrass who supervised me on this project. I am thankful for her patience, understanding and expert guidance throughout the course of this research. She remained a great source of inspiration in bringing the study to fruition.

I am forever grateful to my brothers and sisters: Christopher Berkoh, Anthony Agyeman Mensah, Akosua Akyiah, Francis Adjei Mensah, Emmanuel Afriyie Mensah, Michael Asare Mensah, Allen Konrad Mensah and Elizabeth Aso Yeboah for their amazing support to get me through this Masters programme. I am exceedingly thankful for the sacrifices they made and the commitment they kept in ensuring that I studied in a peaceful state of mind. I am confident that their sacrifices would be rewarded abundantly by God our loving graceful Father.

I also express my gratitude to my church community, St. Bakhita Catholic Church, Tema, and the Parish Priests, Rev. Frs. Fred Agyeman, Richard Aziati and F. D. Amenuvor for their constant prayerful and kind support. I am immensely grateful to the Salesians of Don Bosco in Ghana, Rev. Fr. Ricardo Castellino, Fr. Joseph Gyamfi, Fr. Chrisafuli George and Bro. Günter Meier for their fraternal and prayerful support. They continue to be a family to me.

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To God, my everlasting father and friend without whom I could not have done this, I am most grateful.
Conflict in Africa remains one of the continent’s principal development challenges. The human, economic and development costs of conflict are immense. A peaceful and secure environment remains the greatest priority for ordinary Africans across the continent. However, this often remains a mirage for many as violent armed conflicts continue to take its toll on many ordinary citizens, often, displacing them as refugees. Some refugees remain in very deplorable refugee camps that offer them no prospects of decent livelihood for many years. With fear that they would be persecuted upon return to their countries of origin and often the delays in finding solutions to political violence, refugees remain in a protracted situation. A Protracted refugee situation means that refugees have lived in exile for more than five years with no immediate prospect of finding a durable solution to their plight by means of voluntary repatriation, local integration or resettlement.

Thousands of refugees who fled violent conflicts in the West Africa and other parts of Africa have lived for more than a decade in the Krisan and Buduburam refugee camps in Ghana. A situation that can be termed protracted. This paper investigated the perceptions of local Ghanaians, Refugees of Krisan Refugee Camp and Government Official on the integration of refugees in Ghana. Krisan Refugee Camp which was built in 1996, particularly, houses about 1,700 refugees from nine countries: The Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo Brazzaville, Côte d’Ivoire, Chad, Liberia, Sierra Leone and The Sudan. The refugees have lived with the indigenous people of Krisan village for more than a decade and thus offered the best case for the investigation. The researcher used qualitative triangulation method to collect data. That is, he observed the refugees, the local people and supervisors of the refugee camp who made up the sample population. The researcher was able to conduct a face to face in-depth interview and studied necessary documents that informed the study immensely. Thematic data analysis revealed economic and employment opportunities, security, cultural and social networking and finally good counselling on the three traditional durable solutions as the themes greatly impacting on the integration of refugees in Ghana. A number of recommendations are made to inform the management and integration of refugees in Ghana and in Africa in general.
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<tr>
<td>AKUF</td>
<td>Arbeitsgemeinschaft Kriegsursachenforschung (work group on war research, Hamburg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFL</td>
<td>Armed Forces of Liberia</td>
</tr>
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<td>CAT</td>
<td>Convention Against Torture</td>
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<td>CIREFCA</td>
<td>Conference on Refugees of Central America</td>
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<td>CPA</td>
<td>Comprehensive Plan of Action</td>
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<td>CRS</td>
<td>Catholic Relief Services</td>
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<td>CW</td>
<td>Cold War</td>
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<td>COW</td>
<td>Correlates of War Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilization, Repatriation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Congo</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECOVAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECOMOG</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States Ceasefire Monitoring Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLN</td>
<td>Algerian National Liberation Amy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GES</td>
<td>Ghana Education Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>GNLC</td>
<td>Ghana National Labour Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>GOG</td>
<td>Government of Ghana</td>
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<tr>
<td>GRB</td>
<td>Ghana Refugee Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>GRC</td>
<td>Ghana Red Cross</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICRC</td>
<td>International Committee of the Red Cross</td>
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<td>ICR</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displace Persons</td>
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<td>IGA</td>
<td>Income Generating Activity</td>
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<tr>
<td>JHS</td>
<td>Junior High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRRRC</td>
<td>Liberian Refugees Repatriations and Resettlement Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>Ministry of Defence</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPCI</td>
<td>Patriotic Movement of Ivory Coast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCP</td>
<td>Manifest Conflict Process</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCS</td>
<td>National Catholic Secretariat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPFL</td>
<td>National Patriotic Front of Liberia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NVTI</td>
<td>National Vocational Training Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>PDCI</td>
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<tr>
<td>SGBV</td>
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<td>SHS</td>
<td>Senior High School</td>
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<td>NADMO</td>
<td>National Disaster Management Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NDA</td>
<td>National Democratic Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMMU</td>
<td>Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University</td>
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<td>NEWAT</td>
<td>Neighbourhood Watch team</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO/s</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organisation(s)</td>
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<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organisation of African Unity</td>
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<tr>
<td>PKOs</td>
<td>Peacekeeping Operations</td>
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<tr>
<td>PTSD</td>
<td>Post Traumatic Stress Disorder</td>
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<tr>
<td>RUF</td>
<td>Revolutionary United Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPDF</td>
<td>Sudan People’s Defence Forces</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPLA</td>
<td>Sudan’s People Liberation Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPLM</td>
<td>Sudan’s People Liberation Movement</td>
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<tr>
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</table>
TUC     Trade Union Cooperation
UCDP    University of Uppsala Conflict Data Project
UN      United Nations
UNHCR   United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIDO   United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNREF   United Nations Refugee Emergency Fund
UNRRA   United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency
USA     United States of America
WFP     World Food Programme
WISE    Women’s Initiative for Self-Empowerment

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CHAPTER ONE

A SYNOPTIC OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION
Conflicts, particularly armed conflicts involving insurgent groups, guerrilla fighters, tribesmen, militants and government armies have thrived in Africa, and continue to be a huge problem. This has resulted in a massive displacement of people within countries and a flow of refugees across borders, (Deng and Zartman, 1996: 12). A lot of African countries have had problems hosting, protecting such refugees, and finding solutions to the refugee influx simply because their economies are incapable of handling such a huge influx of immigrants, (Deng, 1993:27.). Frequently, the nationals lack knowledge of the refugees, and this result in xenophobic attacks or sporadic attacks and the hostile treatment of refugees.

The lack of security, as well as any political or economic stability in many African countries, prevents ordinary people from going about their normal duties. This means that long-term development simply remains a mirage (Powell, 2005:8).

Conflicts in Africa have very complex structural and root causes which are reflected, not only in conflict behaviour, but also various intractable factors that delay resolutions and transformations in these conflict situations (Zartman, 1985:13). Delay in the resolution of conflict that produces massive refugee outflow has far-reaching implications for the protection of the refugees, (Juma, 2000:27).

The post-Cold War era in Africa has been marked by an upsurge in violent conflict. Dramatic widespread internal armed conflicts on the continent ensued following the end of the Cold War (CW) in Africa, (Winter, 1994:165). Subsequent to the withdrawal of East-West patronage, any support and military assistance fashioned usually results in further instability, as fragile and over-
centralised states in Africa have now become more susceptible to internal dissent.

Governments that depended on West and East support were weakened, and with the lack of support, the build-up of insurgents and rebel factions proved more difficult to overcome. Thus, weak authoritarian regimes lost both internal control and external support. For instance, states like Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Zaire, (DRC) and Angola became the focal point for wider regional instability, as neighbouring countries increasingly intervened and opened their borders to refugees as the conflicts spilled over national borders.

Statistics indicate that by the year 2000, about 20% of the population was affected by conflicts with more than half of the continent’s countries involved in deadly upheavals (DFID, FCO & MOD, 2001). The high costs of these conflicts impacted negatively on Africa’s continuing struggle against poverty, economic and political insecurity. In 2003, 46% of all developing countries affected by conflict were in Africa. During the previous decade over 6 million people died, and over 20 million persons were displaced.

Countries in conflict dedicated much of their revenue to fund the conflicts by the purchase of weapons and armoured vehicles. In Liberia and Sierra Leone, where the diamond trade was one of the causes of the conflict, it also remained the main source of funding for the conflict. Military expenditures soared, though some political analysts argue that a high level of military expenditure in any state, especially in Africa, cannot establish a causal linkage between military expenditure and conflict, indicating that the relationship between military expenditure and an ongoing conflict can very easily become very strong, since a great deal of the state’s resources is diverted to the war effort, [Internet 1].

This stance argues from the premise that “prior to an outbreak of war, a rising military expenditure level or an unusually high level of military expenditure may be a warning sign that something is brewing, but more than a military expenditure figure is needed to explain the emerging situation”, [Internet 1]
Though, a high level military expenditure does not necessarily establish a direct causal link to conflicts, it does point to the fact that certain states have had misplaced priorities that caused them to divert state fund to battling insurgent groups. This, in turn, projected conflicts on the African continent as unavoidably leading to consistent negative economic growth for such countries – at least 2% per year according to the World Bank.

The resultant effect of the conflicts in West Africa in the 1990s, particularly, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Togo, was massive flows of refugees into neighbouring countries. At the same time, sizable numbers of refugees from the Horn of Africa, East and Central Africa also made their way into certain West African countries, defying the great distance of travel by road or by foot. In West Africa, Ghana was one of the countries that hosted large numbers of refugees from Liberia, Sierra Leon, Togo, Sudan, Congo (DRC) and Congo Brazzaville, Rwanda; and later refugees from Côte d'Ivoire joined the refugee population.

1.2 A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF KRISAN REFUGEE CAMP

Krisan Refugee Camp is located in the Western Region of Ghana and it is about 300 kilometres away from Accra, the capital city of Ghana. The camp houses approximately three thousand refugees from Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Sudan, Congo Brazzaville, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Togo, Cote d'Ivoire and Chad. The first refugees to be settled in Krisan Camp, erstwhile known as Sanzuley Refugee Camp, were Liberians who arrived on board a ship in early 1996. These Liberians had fled from armed conflict in Liberia. However, most of them were later repatriated during a second Liberian repatriation programme organised by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1999 and 2000.

The refugees were originally settled at Sanzuley Village in tents which were provided by the UNHCR for over one year. Later they were transferred to the present Krisan camp after permanent housing structures had been completed with the cooperation of the indigenous people. The Krisan camp is designed to host 2 000 refugees.
In 1997, about 250 Sierra Leonean refugees who had fled their country at the peak of the civil war were also transferred to Krisan, and the residual caseload of some 500 Togolese refugees who had opted to remain in Ghana after the final repatriation in 1997 of the Togolese refugees from the Klikor Refugee Settlement in the Volta region. The Togolese refugees who were moved to the Krisan camp were considered to be still in need of assistance, while those who remained in the Volta region opted to integrate with friends and family and they were also engaged in self-employment.

Conflict struck Côte d’Ivoire in 2002 and forced some Liberian refugees to Krisan, whilst others moved down to Buduburam Camp to search for relatives and friends. The Buduburam Refugee Camp, the largest in Ghana, is located close to the capital Accra, and it was home to some forty-two thousand, mostly Liberian refugees. Although it has since been closed since 2006, it still hosts thousands of Liberian refugee caseloads.

The majority of the population in the camp then were the Sierra Leonean refugees, who were later joined by over 200 Sudanese in 2000. Some Sudanese and Sierra Leonean refugees left Krisan between 2001 and 2004 when they voluntarily repatriated and accepted a third country resettlement. In August 2005 a group of Sudanese refugees who were fleeing violent conflict and the grave humanitarian crisis in the Darfur region, arrived at Krisan. Some of them had been detained at Ussher Forte (a prison in Accra) for over five months. Over the years, refugees from other countries of Africa have been settled at the camp, making it very multinational. These include refugees from Burundi, Chad, Rwanda, the Congo’s, Côte d’Ivoire, Somalia and Sudan.

At the time of this research, however, there were no Burundians and Somalis in the camp. It should also be noted that the majority of refugees are males between 18 and 59 years of age. Although the camp has been in existence for 14 years, the population has been very fluid, some leaving for resettlement, repatriation or relocating to other places, [Internet 2].
1.2.1 THE REFUGEE PROFILE

1.2.1.1 THE LIBERIAN REFUGEES
The outbreak of a civil war in Liberia in 1990 displaced about 600,000 refugees across West Africa. About 17,000 of these Liberians sought refuge in Ghana. “Some passed through Côte d’Ivoire by road and others arrived by air. The Buduburam Refugee Settlement in the Central Region was established for them. Their number even increased by 1,732 in May-June 1992, and there was a further influx of about 1,559, who arrived on board a ‘not-so-sea-worthy’ [ship] at Takoradi harbour on the 14th May, 1996. Krisan Refugee Settlement was established for this group in the western region,” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 13).

Over the years spontaneous influxes of refugees increased the number of Liberian refugees. Some refugees reunited with their relatives in Ghana and thus the Buduburam Settlement became densely populated by Liberian refugees. However, as early as 1997 some of the refugees started repatriating from the Krisan Settlement, with the first batch numbering 160; and at the end of 1998 a total of 3,087 had returned. At the end of 2007, “There [were] an estimated 38,000 Liberian refugees in the sprawling Buduburam settlement near Accra and the Krisan settlement in south-west Ghana” [Internet 3].

1.2.1.2 THE SIERRA LEONEAN REFUGEES
Sierra Leonean refugees first entered Ghana in 1997 following a military coup d’etat in Sierra Leone. “The first group of 250 refugees who entered Ghana were brought in by a ship which the Ghana government had sent to rescue Ghanaians caught up in the fighting in Freetown. Others, mostly students, arrived as ordinary visitors to Ghana to process their visas to travel to the United States of America. Some got stranded when their applications were turned down, and they decided to stay in Ghana. They were granted the status of refugee “surplus.” (The status of refugee surplus is explained in Chapter Two.)
However, as the conflict escalated through rebel and ethnic attacks, a further massive influx of refugees increased the number of the Sierra-Leonean refugee population to about 3,000 in Ghana, [Internet 4].

1.2.1.3  THE TOGOLESE REFUGEES
Ghana started recording increasing numbers of asylum-seekers in 1993 from Togo, Liberia, Sierra Leon and the Sudan. “At the peak of the political crisis in Togo in 1993, about 135,000 Togolese entered Ghana at various points along her eastern border. The majority settled spontaneously among the local population with the same ethnic background. About 10,000 were given accommodation at the Klikor Refugee Settlement. This was established for them some 15km from the Aflao border township in the Volta region,” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 14).

When the conflict situation in Togo normalised, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) assisted about 60,000 to repatriate, whilst others repatriated on their own. After the repatriation period had ended, 5,000 residual caseloads were still found in Ghana and the UNHCR together with the Ghana Refugee Board (GBR) considered 1,144 of them as refugees. “Of this number, 312 were transferred to Krisan Settlement in the Western Region” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 15). However, new arrivals or refugees from Togo were also settled in the camp.

1.2.1.4  THE SUDANESE REFUGEES
Decades of conflicts in The Sudan have displaced hundreds of thousands of nationals across African countries and indeed across continents as well. The protracted conflict situation in Sudan worsens the prospect of repatriation for the Sudanese refugees in refugee camps across Africa. This situation poses a great challenge for governments that grant temporary refugee status to those seeking asylum. Sudanese refugees arrived in Ghana in 1995 and early 1996, having traversed more than six countries interspersed with temporal settlements. By 1998 Sudanese refugees numbered about 102 and had been granted refugee status on humanitarian grounds by the Ghana Refugee Board (GBR).
The escalated conflict in the Darfur region in Sudan and the upsurge in violent attacks on civilians and the grave humanitarian crisis resulted in some 400 more refugees entering Ghana. These Sudanese refugees were settled in Krisan, [Internet 5].

1.2.1.5 THE IVORIAN REFUGEES
Côte d'Ivoire had remained peaceful during the 1980s and 1990s; it thus became a home for thousands of refugees who had fled conflicts in neighbouring Liberia and Sierra Leone. In 2002 a 10-month deadly armed conflict struck Côte d'Ivoire. The country had been relatively stable under the one-party (Democratic Party of Ivory Coast – PDCI) system under the late president Félix Houphouët-Boigny. The economic growth of the 1960s and 1970s was accompanied by immigration from neighbouring countries, and these immigrants eventually constituted over one quarter of the population, [Internet 6]. Economic decline in the mid-1980s, and increasing xenophobia from the 1990 elections, with the emergence of the concept of "Ivoirité" in the mid-1990s, coupled with the political power struggles helped to trigger the deadly armed conflict between a Northern rebel group, the Patriotic Movement of Ivory Coast (MPCI) and Government forces. The rebels gained control of the northern regions of the country, whilst government army attacks displaced as many as 120 000 people into neighbouring countries, [Internet 6].

Some of the refugees who were already living in Côte d'Ivoire were forcefully resettled in other countries or returned to their home countries from which they had fled to escape persecution. Ghana registered about 3 860 refugees in 2002, and most of them were settled in Krisan [Internet 7]. Some 235 others also settled spontaneously in the Bole district of the Northern region. Other repercussions of this crisis were the influx of Third Country Nationals (TCNs) from Côte d'Ivoire, who used Ghana as a transit route to their countries. However, not all TCNs eventually left the country, hence increasing the immigrant and refugee population in Ghana [Internet 8].
1.2.1.6 OTHERS
The UNHCR and GRB also protect and assist other refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo Brazzaville, Rwanda and Chad. Protracted Conflict in the Congo DRC between various rebel, civilian factions and the government army caused the expulsion of millions of Congolese from their homes and country. Conflict analysts believe that the conflict was induced by poverty and interest in the control of the mineral rich region. As it is with many other conflict-laden countries, some Congolese refugees fled to other countries for better economic opportunities, whilst others had genuine reasons to ‘fear persecution’. Krisan Refugee Settlement hosts about 56 Congolese refugees, 19 from Congo Brazzaville and 10 from Rwanda and 1 from Chad.

1.3 THE 2005 KRISAN REFUGEE PROTEST
In November 2005 around 800 people at Krisan camp started a riot to protest against their poor living conditions and proposed integration into the local community by the UNHCR. This was also in reaction to a Skills-Training Programme initiated by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), the Ghana Office and the GRB as part of the integration programme. They demanded reintegration into a third country rather than repatriation or integration in Ghana. They set out on foot to the nearby Ivorian border (approximately 45 km). The presence of the refugees at the border became a point of contention between the Ivorian government and the Ghanaian government, until eventually the refugees were made to return to the settlement.

The National Disaster Management Organisation (NADMO), in collaboration with the police, transported the refugees back to the camp. Having been thwarted in their demands, the refugees demonstrated violently in the camp; they burnt the UNHCR Field Representative’s car and destroyed a number of buildings and structures. The Government dispatched 40 regional police to the camp and restricted the movement of Sudanese and Togolese refugees. The police and camp authorities strictly monitored refugees’ whereabouts until mid-2006, when they restored refugees’ freedom of movement.
According to the UNHCR report, “A group of refugees demanding resettlement in a third country were responsible for violent incidents in Krisan camp in November 2005, including the destruction of UNHCR assets and property valued at over USD 100,000. This represented a serious setback in the search for durable solutions for the 1 700 residents of the camp,” [Internet 9]. Perhaps, this indicated that not all the refugees were against local integration.

1.4 DEFINITION AND CLARIFICATION OF KEY TERMS
Key terms and concepts are defined here to introduce the reader to the context within which they are used. Words and terms have various meanings. The definition and clarification of key terms is essential to eliminate any ambiguity in understanding these key items.

1.4.1 REFUGEE
The term ‘refugee’ is used in this research with the specific meaning enshrined in the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the status of refugees; the UN 1967 Protocol relating to the status of refugees; and the 1969 Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Refugee Convention. These are all captured in detail in Chapter Two. Thus, the term refugee refers to any person who: “owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it,” (Hathaway, 2005:1004).

Secondly, the OAU Convention includes any event including generalized violence and disasters that can be considered as a well-founded fear of persecution, and owing to such fear, one is outside his own country.

1.4.2 DURABLE SOLUTIONS
This study uses the term ‘durable solution (s)’ to refer to any/all of the traditional refugee protection methods, namely, repatriation, resettlement in a third country and local integration into the country of asylum. This is associated with the type of status a refugee has at a given time and how that affects his life and
livelihood vis-à-vis the reasons for which he originally departed from his home country.

1.4.2.1 REPATRIATION
Repatriation is used to refer to a type of durable solution whereby refugees choose to return home, voluntarily or under persuasion, on their own or by assistance from an agency. Repatriation has been the most preferred option by the UNHCR, and especially by African States. It is believed that refugees would return to their home countries, once the reasons, for which they are recognized as refugees, cease to exist.

1.4.2.2 RESETTLEMENT IN A THIRD COUNTRY
Resettlement in a third country (third country resettlement) is used to refer to another durable solution by which the UNHCR assists refugees who face serious protection problems or whose lives continue to be in danger in the country of asylum, to resettle in a third country permanently.

1.4.2.3 LOCAL INTEGRATION
The third of the durable solutions, in no particular order, is local integration. It refers to refugees who, owing to fear of persecution or other life-threatening circumstances, avail themselves of the protection of the country of asylum by naturalization or by obtaining a permanent resident’s permit. Local integration, as referred to in this study, denotes that the integration of refugees does not necessarily mean integrating refugees only into the immediate local community of Krisan Refugee Camp, but anywhere else in Ghana.

1.4.3 RESIDUAL CASELOADS
Residual caseloads refer to refugees who are unable to realise a programmed and durable solution by the UNHCR, or other agencies, and as a result find themselves in protracted refugee situations. That is, those who decide to remain in exile when other members of the same population have been able to repatriate, resettle or become locally integrated in their country of asylum. For instance, a large number of Liberian and Togolese refugees repatriated when new governments were ushered into office in Liberia and Togo respectively. However, sizeable numbers of the same populations remained in Ghana because of continuing and legitimate fear of persecution, a degree of
destruction in their homelands which might pose survival threats to them, or simply, because they were better off in Ghana.

1.4.4 REFUGEE STATUS
Refugee status refers to the legal identity given to immigrants/asylum seekers who have lost ties with their homeland and thus require a new identity in the country of asylum. The UN 1951 Refugee Convention stipulates that every asylum-seeker requires refugee status, irrespective of their point and manner of entry into the country of asylum. The granting of refugee status is based on the criteria of determination on who a refugee is, as enshrined in the 1951 UN Refugee Convention Article 1, sections A, B, and C.

Registration of a refugee is based on the recognition of the refugee on his or her arrival in Ghana. The Ghana Immigration service temporarily registers refugees at the borders and ports upon the refugees’ arrival. The granting of refugee status is also considered as registration, since it is the only proof of those who are recognised as refugees in accordance with the refugee conventions that Ghana adheres to. By means of such registration, the UNHCR and the GBR are able to keep statistics, and hence plans for the adequate support of such people.

1.5 THE BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY
The West African sub-region has experienced extensive levels of intractable armed conflict for the past two decades. Countries like Sierra Leone, and Liberia were plunged into conflict for more than a decade, whilst Togo and Côte d’Ivoire, experienced armed conflict and insurgencies for over half a decade. The rippling effects of other African countries have also affected the general political, economic and social stability of the sub-region. However, “for the past two decades, Ghana has enjoyed greater stability than its neighbours in West Africa, and is consequently viewed as a haven for streams of refugees fleeing from political persecution or poverty” [Internet 10].

In the sub-region, the influx of refugees into Ghana alone amounted approximately to sixty thousand displaced persons. This number indicates the gravity of the armed conflicts in the sub-region. Fleeing from their homes and livelihoods, refugees become vulnerable persons in any given situation. Weiss (2007: 89-90) indicates that “The most reliable indicator of suffering in a war
zone is usually the number of “refugees”. In terms of the lay concept, refugees are, according to the text of the 1951 UN convention on refugees, exiles who flee across the boarders of their country of origin”. He emphasises further that “physical displacement is *prima facie* evidence of vulnerability, because people who are deprived of their homes, communities, and means of livelihood are unable to resort to traditional coping capacities” (Weiss, 2007: 90).

With such vulnerable groups trooping into Ghana, the government set up three refugee camps in order to shelter and protect all these refugees. With most of the armed conflict-torn countries enjoying relative peace and a certain level of political stability, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) embarked on a voluntary repatriation programme in 2005. However, not all refugees agreed to be repatriated. In November 2005 Krisan had security difficulties after refugees protested against living conditions and proposed integration into the local Ghanaian communities. A large number of refugees fled to the Ivorian border after burning a UNHCR car and the camp manager’s office in the hope of avoiding a forced integration programme put in place by the UNHCR and the Government of Ghana into the surrounding Ghanaian communities.

The Ghanaian government recently announced the integration of refugees (mostly Liberian refugees/settlers of Buduburam refugee camp) into Ghanaian communities again. However, a section of the refugees vehemently and unlawfully protested against the government’s decision, thus incurring the repercussion of forced repatriation, [Internet 11].

The integration of refugees into Ghanaian communities presupposes a certain level of acceptance by Ghanaians and an extensive range of peace-building rehabilitation activities from the government, UNHCR, civil society and other stakeholders. This exercise, being the first of its kind in Ghana, is thus worth researching. Refugees are usually reintegrated into their original communities after repatriation from the refugee camps in their country of asylum (Vincent and Sorensen, 2001: 8). Thus, it is significant to study the perceptions of the refugees and the local Ghanaians on what constitutes integration, in view of the proposed closure of the Krisan refugee camp in 2009.
1.6 AN EXPOSITION OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW
In the second Chapter, the study provides an overview of the literature consulted for the research, and discusses how the research topic fits into the existing literature, its significance and contribution to the knowledge and practice of refugee management.

Social conflicts in their initial stages provide the parties to the conflict the options of destructive or constructive engagement; as well as functional or dysfunctional approaches for managing and resolving the conflict issues. The repercussions of destructive engagement, often involving violence, affect a tremendous and extensive chain of issues, persons, systems, institutions, societies and even countries. Fisher (1997:85) asserts that “within the environment of mutual distrust between groups, a triggering event, which may seem trivial, marks a turning point at which individual grievances become collectively organized. This leads to collective protest, which is typically met with suppression, thus increasing tension and resulting in a proliferation of issues around security, acceptance, and access needs.”

The emigration of refugees, who are fleeing violence or persecution, and many others who get internally displaced, is hence one of the issues that proliferates around escalated conflicts. Why do numerous other issues and events emerge which are not directly related to the conflict, or to the parties actually engaged in the conflict?

1.6.1 SOCIAL CONFLICT: NATURE AND TYPOLOGY
Social environments often provide grounds for conflict. This is because the social context is non-static and changes all the time. “The social context within which potential adversaries confront each other often changes and helps arouse the partisan’s sense of grievance. Changing social context is not only a possible source of actual deprivation, but also helps provide the criteria for judging conditions to be unsatisfactory” (Deutsch, 1973: 73). The nature of the social milieu, within which conflicts arise, and the style with which the parties engage, indicates the type of conflict and its effect. Arguably, conflict within a nuclear family would rarely affect an extensive number of issues and persons. On the contrary, ethnic conflicts have a much greater possibility of affecting an
extended number of issues and a large number of persons; and sometimes they become regionalised.

In Fisher’s view, communal mobilization moves to diverse strategies potentially involving civil disobedience, guerrilla activity, or secessionist movements. Calls for greater autonomy by minority groups typically result in coercive responses, and the weaker party seeks external assistance, usually from ethnic kin in neighbouring countries. Thus the conflict is regionalized,” (1997:85. That is the effect of poorly demarcated borders imposed by colonialism (Furley, 1995: 3). Hence, the larger the social context and the environment within which social conflict is rooted, the greater the repercussions and the effect on issues, events, persons and places.

Refugees and displaced persons are often the result of an extensive social conflict. Conflicts such as genocide or ethnic cleansing, ethnic clashes, guerrilla political warfare, political partisan conflicts, Coups d’etats involving armed conflict, usually displace people, forcing them to migrate internally or externally. However, due to the international, regional and ethnic nature of refugees, governments are usually strict in dealing with the issues surrounding them.

1.6.2 A COMPREHENSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF WHO A REFUGEE IS
Perceptions on refugees vary extensively. At times the identity of refugees is confused with that of asylum seekers. In other instances, refugees are seen as agents of political, economic, social, as well as security instability, (Baxter and Krufeld, 1997: 3). However, this cannot be forthrightly rejected as an untruth, or be instantly accepted as the truth. The international refugee challenges are too enormous to constitute one identity that is consistently true. Firstly, the UNHCR report of 1995 highlighted certain areas of concern that in most cases, are detrimental to host nations. “…mass population movements have the potential to inflict considerable damage on the environment and the infrastructure of the receiving areas, thereby reducing their developmental potential,” (UNHCR, 1995:29).
Secondly, “large assistance programmes may exert a heavy pressure on local roads, bridges and warehouses, while government officials and departments are obliged to divert their attention from developmental activities in order to deal with emergency needs,” (UNHCR, 1995:29).

Thirdly, “tensions and conflict can easily arise between new arrivals and the resident population, particularly if they do not share the same ethnic or linguistic background. In some instances, an influx of refugees or displaced people may alter the demographic balance of a whole region, an occurrence which can easily be exploited by politicians and community leaders,” (UNHCR, 1995: 29). Refugees migrate while yet with their religious, political and ethnic ideological affiliations. Some could still support one party or the other involved in conflict back in their own country. However, refugees have no option to demand separation from the camp within which they are hosted. They usually settle together, in spite of any divergent affiliations. Thus, “refugee populations may themselves be divided into opposing groups or factions, and bring their rivalries and conflicts into the host community,” (UNHCR, 1995:29).

Whilst refugees have been characterised as agents of threat to state security and for creating regional tensions, (UNHCR, 2003:4), the International Law and the 1951 United Nations Convention on Refugees and Displaced Persons (and the 1967 protocol that expanded the temporal and geographic coverage of the Convention) defines a refugee as a person who is outside of the country of nationality (or place of last habitual residence for a stateless person), who has a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, (UNHCR, 2003:20).

Refugees have the right to be protected by being given asylum or refugee status. Therefore refugee protection basically means “life-saving interventions, fair treatment upon reception, compliance with essential humanitarian standards and non-return to a place of prospective persecution (non-refoulement)” (UNHCR, 2003: 11).

1.6.3 THE REFUGEE PROBLEM
The plight of refugees and the impact the refugee problem has on regional and international security has frequently blinded stakeholders to different possible
options for solving the refugee problems. “Because the UNHCR focused almost entirely on repatriation the past decade, it also virtually ignored the possible solutions, often to the detriment of refugees with less donor funding for operations other than repatriation and emergency relief, a range of traditional solutions, local integration projects, educational programs, income-generating projects and the promotion of refugee participation, disappeared from the office’s possible options (UNHCR, 2003:10).

Refugee repatriation programmes face strong opposition by refugees due to a whole array of factors. Though UNHCR declared the 1990s as the ‘decade of repatriation’, more than 60 percent of the world’s refugees did not repatriate. In some cases about 45 percent out-rightly opposed this repatriation programme, (Baxter and Krufeld, 1997:168). Effecting a paradigm shift by moving away from voluntary repatriation to integration, continuously poses a huge challenge to states and the UNHCR, the overseer of the world’s refugee situations. So how do refugees want to solve their problem?

1.7 THE MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

1.7.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT
Hadjor (1990: 218) states that the “crisis that is wreaking havoc in Africa is acquiring monumental proportions. No part of Africa is immune from it. Africa is in danger of disintegration. Civil wars and ethnic conflict are in the ascendancy. Many institutions established since independence are falling apart. For the majority of Africans, life has become a struggle for survival.” Many African countries have been plunged into civil and guerrilla warfare on account of political, economic, developmental and cultural incompatibilities.

In West Africa, Ghana was surrounded by conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo, and Côte d’Ivoire in the 1990s and early 2000s. For eighteen years (18years) Ghana hosted a very heterogeneous group of refugees from the sub-region, as well as from Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Chad and Sudan, [Internet 12].

The government of Ghana considers the integration of refugees, who do not want to repatriate and remain in protracted situations, necessary since the
conditions (such as political persecution, conflict and violence, political and economic instabilities from which they fled) in their home countries are no longer present. This indicates that the refugees would then be able to access basic human needs and services in the communities they are integrated into on their own, without any interference by their status as refugees, as compared with the current condition in which they are supported with food and medical aid by the ICRS, UNHCR, WFP, NCS and GBR, [Internet 13].

However, in both Buduburam and Krisan refugee camps, sections of the refugees are against integration, whilst others demand certain varying conditions in order to be integrated. As part of its peace-building programme, the UNHCR embarked on a voluntary repatriation programme in 2006, but some refugees still chose to stay in the camps.

The study explores the perceptions of local Ghanaians and refugees on the integration of refugees into local Ghanaian communities. It also examines the various roles played by the UNHCR and the government in integration. The study seeks to explore the instances of refugees getting access to basic human needs and services and describes whether the perceptions of the local Ghanaians who interact with the refugees approve of local integration.

1.4.2 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY
“The most reliable indication of suffering in war zones is usually the number of “refugees”- (in the vernacular, or according to the text of the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees, these are exiles who have fled across the borders of their country of origin). Physical displacement is prima facie evidence of vulnerability, because people who are deprived of their homes, communities, and means of livelihood are unable to resort to traditional coping capacities (Weiss, 2007:89-90). Weiss indicates that, “The fastest growing category of war-affected population – “orphans of conflicts”- had, and still has, no institutional sponsor or formal international legal framework. At the same time, any diminishing refugee population, yet alarming, continues to benefit from well-developed institutional and legal efforts by UNHCR,” (Weiss, 2007:91).

Ghana has hosted refugees drifting in from the sub-region and other parts of Africa for almost two (2) decades. A section of the refugees have rejected a
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee’s (UNHCR) repatriation programme, which made some incentives available for voluntary repatriation. Sometimes their violent protest in demand of certain conditions puts the security of the nation and the immediate community at stake. The constant search for a solution to minimise protracted refugee situations has focused on repatriation and resettlement.

The 2005 UNHCR report indicates that an avenue which has not been developed to manage the refugee problem is the integration of refugees into local communities. However, whenever the Ghana government announced a programme of integration of refugees, it faced a certain degree of opposition from these refugees. It is therefore significant to research and explore the motivations behind the integration of refugees.

1.8 THE AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.8.1 THE PRIMARY AIM
The primary aim of this study is stated as follows:

to explore the perceptions of Ghanaians, refugees and government officials on the integration of refugees of Krisan Refugee Camp into local Ghanaian communities.

1.8.2 THE OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH
The chief objectives of the study are as follows:

- To understand and describe the perceptions of Ghanaians, refugees and officials of the camp on the integration of refugees into Ghanaian Local communities.
- To understand the preparedness of the refugees in terms of skills and expertise to adequately fit into local Ghanaian communities.
- To understand the Ghanaian government’s approach towards the integration of refugees into Ghanaian local communities.
1.9 AN EXPOSITION OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Chapter Three discusses the research design and methodology used in the study in detail and highlights the difficulties, limitations and errors encountered. Two major distinctions have been set as bedrocks for any social research, because credible findings in social research do not exist in a theoretical and/or methodological vacuum (Babbie and Mouton, 2007:72). Neuman (2006:50) indicates that “people often use theories without making them explicit or labelling them as such”. Defining theory as a “system of interconnected ideas (concepts) that condense and organize knowledge about the social world”, (Neuman, 2006:50) suggests that the findings of a researcher and the organization of the knowledge produced through his or her research, can both be incorporated into an already organized body of approaches to research.

The researcher is well versed in the knowledge of these two major distinctions and he would therefore conduct his investigations on the benchmarks of the ontological and the epistemological positions of both the theoretical and methodological paradigms of social scientific research.

1.9.1 THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH PARADIGM

Ernest Burgess argues that, “the objects of social service research, as persons, groups, and institutions, must be studied, if at all, in a laboratory of community life” (in Babbie and Mouton, 2007:56). The researcher paid attention to the preliminary casual and unstructured interactions made with the participants to assimilate himself among the people and establish a trusted and legitimate rapport with the people. In the researcher’s view, this erased any mistrust and discomforts during the period of unstructured investigations by in-depth interviews, participant observation and document sourcing. In doing this, the researcher managed to capture the perspective of the interviewees (Babbie and Mouton, 2007:55).

A qualitative paradigm is preferred for the study, in order to provide an in-depth description and understanding of the perceptions of the refugees and the local Ghanaians on the programme of integrating refugees into the Ghanaian communities. Flick et al. (2004:3) subscribe to qualitative research, as describing life-worlds from within, “inside-out” from the spectrum of the participants. This research design has sought to uncover valuable materials and
valid information on the perceptions of refugees and the indigenous people of Krisan.

This has provided the researcher with a “hands-on” approach by which personal interaction with the participants may generate valid and workable information. This, therefore, contributed to a better understanding of the social realities, and it also draws attention to processes, meanings and structural features. What processes would the refugees go through during integration? What meaning would that accord the processes? What structural features would necessitate proper integration?

The researcher believes that, qualitative design was appropriate to describe and analyse the perceptions of the refugees and Ghanaians on the questions posed above. The integration of refugees, who hail from different backgrounds and have different aspirations, is indeed a complex social phenomenon. Qualitative research design thus offers the researcher the ability to scratch beneath the superficial aspects of a complex social reality, and provide in-depth descriptions and explanations that are detailed enough to reflect the complexity of their social world (Denscombe, 2003:15).

1.9.2 QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN: A CASE STUDY
A case study is an intensive investigation of a single unit (in Babbie and Mouton 2001:281). Denscombe, indicates that the focus of a case study is just one instance of the thing that is to be investigated within its context, (1998:30). It takes multiple perspectives and attempts to understand the influence of multilevel social systems on the subjects' perspective and behaviour (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:281). The researcher is thus illuminated by that one part of the social system on the whole. It is a holistic approach through which the researcher reveals the manner in which a multiplicity of factors has interacted to produce the unique character that is the subject of research (Thomas, 2003:35).

The researcher meticulously kept the contextual detail unimpaired, so as to maintain the usual conditions within which factors in the environment were embedded. Babbie and Mouton indicate that the “surrounding”, “ecology” or “environment” with its notions of multiple interacting contextualised systems, helps to conceptualize the context in which the unit of analysis is embedded.
Thus the researcher pays particular attention to factors that affect the unit of analysis within its own environment.

Through the case-study method the researcher has the advantage of using multiple sources of data and methods/techniques to achieve replication or convergence. This approach, “triangulation”, helps the “thick” description of the converged data. It allows multiple sources of evidence to be brought to bear on valuables or interest, either by using multiple methods, such as interviews and participant observation, or by interviews on the phenomena of interest, in slightly different ways and on different interview occasions (Babbie and Mouton 2006:282).

1.9.3 SAMPLING
Having stated that the purpose of this research is to explore the perception on integration of refugees into local Ghanaian communities by taking insights from the refugees themselves and the local community members with whom they interact daily, intensive and purposive sampling of participants was crucial. It was thus critical that the researcher employed a non-probability purposive sampling method, which is usually used in an exploratory research.

According to Neuman (2006:222), purposive sampling is valuable in special situations, and exploratory researchers use the judgment of experts in selecting cases with a specific purpose in mind. Babbie and Mouton also indicate that the choice of purposive sampling could be based on the knowledge of the researcher on the population, its elements, and the nature of the aim of the research (2006:166).

The researcher interviewed refugees who had been residents of the camp for five years and longer. In total, fifteen persons formed the sample population: eight refugees comprising four adult men and four adult women; two community leaders: a man and a woman; two community youths between the ages of eighteen to thirty five years, and three officials of the camp comprising UNHCR and government employees. These were the participants the researcher observed as they interacted with the refugees and went about their routine duties.
1.10 DATA COLLECTION
In Krisan, unlike a university or organisational setting where respondents could easily be organised into focus groups, and with the problem question being an uncommon social phenomenon, an array of qualitative techniques were needed to yield coherent and reliable data. Thomas suggests that a qualitative research should be multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive and naturalistic approach to its subject matter (2003:1). Creswell (1998:63) elaborates this by indicating that data should be gathered from extensive multiple sources of information, such as interviews, simple observation, documents, archival records and audio-visual materials.

Stake (2000:44) posits that triangulation is considered a process of applying multiple perceptions to clarify meanings and verify the clarification of observations and the repeatability of an interpretation. The data were analysed by using a well-structured coding system that assisted in conceptualising themes and analytical categories.

1.11 OBJECTIVITY, VALIDITY AND THE INTEGRITY OF THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH
Neuman contends that the quantitative researcher regards the checking of elements as a tool for objectivity, integrity and validity, but the “qualitative researcher emphasises the importance of intimate first-hand knowledge of the research setting. They avoid distancing themselves from the people or events they study… taking advantage of personal insights, feelings, and human perspectives to understand social life more fully” (2006:152). Whereas, quantitative research emphasises the importance of objectivity on the basis of objective technology, the qualitative researcher emphasises trustworthiness as a parallel idea to objective standards in quantitative research design. This makes the research dependable and credible (Neuman, 2006:153).

The qualitative researcher employs methods and techniques to verify the authenticity of the sources of evidence; such as a great volume of detailed and extensive written notes, commentary by the researcher, quotes, photographs, maps, diagrams, paraphrasing, etc, (Neuman, 2006:153).
The researcher, in ensuring reliability and objectivity, would approach the study by the use of multiple methods, referred to as triangulation. The researcher should thus combine the data collected from interviews, participant observation and documents to produce the final analysis of the findings. “The best way to elicit the various and divergent constructions of reality that exist within the context of a study is to collect information about different relationships from different points of view. This means asking different questions, seeking different sources, and using different methods,” (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:277).

1.12 DISSEMINATION OF THE FINDINGS
Neuman asserts that a “major norm of the scientific community is to publicly distribute knowledge. Powerful groups or institutions can impinge on social research by limiting the flow of information, restricting publication, or silencing researchers,” (2006:510). The researcher is required by the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) to make a copy of the findings, developed into a treatise and available at its libraries. Copies of the findings would also be given to The Ghana Refugee Board, UNHCR through whom the participants would have access to the findings. The researcher’s contact details would also be made available to participants who might require copies of the findings.

The recommendations of the research would be beneficial to NMMU’s Department of Political and Governmental studies for teaching in the Conflict Management and Transformation programme; the Ghana Refugee Board and the UNHCR for their policy formulation and the management of refugee situations. It would be particularly helpful to local government officials when handling the challenges of the integration of refugees into local communities.

1.13 RESEARCH STRUCTURE

1.13.1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND THE RESEARCH OVERVIEW
This chapter introduces the research topic under investigation and highlight the sectional order of the entire research project. That is, the problem statement, the background of the study, the aims and objective are all critically discussed.
An in-dept description of the environment and the establishment of the Krisan Refugee Camp are also discussed in this section.

1.13.2 CHAPTER TWO: THE LITERATURE REVIEW
In the second chapter, the study will give and discuss a detailed account of the necessary literature sourced for the research and how the research topic fits into the existing literature, its significance and contribution to knowledge and the practice of refugee management.

1.13.3 CHAPTER THREE: THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
This chapter discusses the research design and methodology used in the study in detail and highlights the difficulties, limitations and errors encountered.

1.13.4 CHAPTER FOUR: THE RESEARCH FINDINGS
This chapter discusses the findings of the research and interprets the thematic categories of the data collected.

1.13.5 CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION
Recommendations are made on the integration of refugees into local Ghanaian communities on the basis of the research findings. A conclusion is drawn on the entire research project, indicating the salient thematic discussions in the research.

CONCLUSION
This section has sought to provide a general background to the phenomenal causes that have arisen in the drift of refugees across the West African sub-region. A specific background and a historical overview of Krisan Refugee Camp are discussed to give the reader an overview and understanding of the entire research context. The next chapter, the literature review, introduces the reader to a wider context of literature on conflict and conflict transformation. It exposes the reader to the rich literature that has been compiled on some of the conflicts and the strategic management methods employed to settle refugee problems.
The literature review also provides a profound literature base for this study and thus, keeps the study focused by avoiding any deviation.
2.1 INTRODUCTION
Of the world’s nearly 11 million refugees, more than 7 million have languished in refugee camps or segregated settlements in situations lasting over a decade, and produced second and third refugee generations. Analysts have envisaged three major (traditional) durable solutions to refugee outflows: voluntary repatriation when conditions in the country of origin change; local integration in the country of first asylum; or a third-country resettlement. Refugee warehousing, however, has emerged as a de facto fourth and all-too-durable solution, perhaps with the hope that conditions would return to normalcy in the country of origin.

This section attempts to define and describe the general causes of the conditions from which individuals and groups flee their homes and the effect of such a decision for one to ‘run for his life.’ It attempts to describe the challenges facing the refugee protection regime, with a special focus on the local integration. Finally it attempts to explore the various roles that need to be played by all concerned stakeholders for a possible local integration.

There are various standards for what constitutes a “protracted” situation for refugees. Some authorities use more than five years in exile, with no end in sight as a benchmark. The 1951 Refugee Convention’s Article 17(2): (a) requires States Parties to grant refugees the same treatment as nationals regarding employment, if they have spent three years in a country of first asylum. Article 7(2) also puts a three-year limit on legislative reciprocity restrictions. Otherwise the Convention specifies no delays in the enjoyment of its rights. Indeed, the key feature of warehousing is not so much the passage of time, as the denial of rights.
The UN High Commissioner for Refugees’ (UNHCR) Global Consultations on International Protection provides that: a protracted refugee situation is one where, over time, there have been considerable changes in refugees’ needs, which neither UNHCR, nor the host country, have been able to address in a meaningful manner, thus leaving refugees in a state of material dependency and often without adequate access to basic rights (e.g. employment, freedom of movement and education), even after many years spent in the country of asylum, (UNHCR, 2002:1).

Such protracted refugee situations demand stringent measures for the avoidance of forceful repatriation (refoulement), or refugees moving from one State to another for adequate protection and assistance.

2.2 CONFLICT DOMAIN AND TYPES IN AFRICA
The African continent has undergone much turmoil from destructive armed conflicts for several decades, and there still exist, quite a high number of current fierce conflicts and violence in certain countries. The chain of conflict situations, the typologies and the domain within which some conflicts in Africa mature, necessitate strategic classification and distribution for conflict management and resolution approaches on the continent. Violent armed conflicts on the African continent have involved very complex issues and many of them escalate pass a minimal qualification mark of what constitutes a violent armed conflict.

Certain antecedent processes and their outcomes account for the conflict developments in Africa. Militarised groups, who outmarch the capacity of domestic police control, are often ready to engage in combative conflict. In characterising combative conflict as violent armed conflict, much of the literature considers the number of combat-related deaths or human casualties, whilst others confine it to several other correlations of conflict, (Miall et al., 2005: 56).

It is essential therefore, to analyse the nature, type and sphere of influence which characterise conflict situations on the continent. Globally, interstate conflicts have declined markedly to a position where quantitatively, violent engagement between two or more states seems non-existent, as compared with intrastate violent conflicts, after the Cold War in the late 1980s. Until 2002,
the United Nations (UN) had undertaken 20 international peace-keeping operations in Africa, with a combination of five countries attracting well over half their attention. Boulden argues that, “Except for the very small-scale operation to oversee the withdrawal of Libyan personnel from the Aouzou strip area in Chad in fulfilment of an International Court of Justice decision, and the recent operation to monitor the cessation of hostilities between Ethiopia and Eritrea, all UN operations in Africa, including ONUC in the 1960s, have dealt with internal conflicts,” (2003:13).

Most of the UN peace-keeping operations in Africa dealt with post-colonial and/or post-Cold War conflicts, which were transitional struggles for power among different groups in the country, arising from the political and belligerence vacuum created in these periods.

The resultant vacuum in the post-colonial and post-Cold War periods exposed states to internal conflicts. The nature of conflict, arguably, has changed from interstate to intrastate, involving civilian, religious and government groups in guerrilla, terrorist and banditry styles. It has ushered in an “era in which conventional armies, states, and frontiers have diminished in importance, and wars were waged by groups that in the past were called terrorists, guerrillas, or bandits.

The distinction between soldiers and civilians fades, and a population base is more important than a territorial one…War becomes a more direct experience for most civilians…Civilians, rather than soldiers, are tactical targets, and fear, brutality, and murder are the foundations on which control is constructed,” (Van Creveld in Jett, 2001: 27).

With the United Nation had the mandate to intervene in interstate conflicts, unilateral intervention of superpowers in countries of their interest diminished. This led the UN to tackle conflict situations it hardly envisaged. Again Jett has it that:

The growth of peacekeeping and the decline of war, as a conflict between states can both be seen in the statistics: only one of the five PKOs [Peacekeeping Operations] in existence in early 1988

Thus in the post-colonial and post-Cold War eras, Africa witnessed more intrastate than interstate armed conflicts, all with varying conflict situations and causes. However, shifting from colonial and imperial oppression; and the Cold-War influence to more State assertiveness, establishing the domain of intrastate conflict situations is appropriate and necessary for understanding the post-Cold War conflict paradigm. The Correlates of War (COW) Project takes a realist state-centric approach to relate the onset of war to the development of capitalist societies, whilst the Hamburg University Projects (AKUF) see conflicts as the result of the new of forms of production, the monetarization of the economy and the resulting dissolution of traditional forms of social integration (Wallensteen, 2002b:22).

The University of Uppsala Conflict Data Project (UCDP) however, views conflict as having issues to do with incompatibility, (Wallensteen, 2002b:24). In other literatures, terrorists and guerrilla strategies are considered, (Gurr, 1995:5; 2000), and others still include humanitarian emergencies closely associated with the generality of armed conflict, (Weiss and Collins, 1996).

In any case, “armed conflict is considered as prolonged combat between the military forces of two or more governments, or of one government and at least one organized armed group [thus ruling out spontaneous violence and massacres of unarmed civilians], and incurring the battle-related deaths of at least 1 000 people for the duration of the conflict,” (SIPRI Yearbook, 1997:17).

In this domain of intrastate violent armed conflict, and the transformed nature of post-Cold War’s conflicts; that is, from government-to-government regular armed forces battles; to government-to-civilian, separatist or secessionist movements, and insurgencies in guerrilla and terrorist style battles; significant emphasis is placed on neutral factors, such as unrelated battle casualties, loss of property, related human rights abuse, humanitarian emergencies and the politics of the conflict, to outline a few, (Gorlick, 2006:67).
It is also significant to comprehend in this domain, at least, the involvement of a government as a constant party to an intrastate armed conflict. The table below elaborates the involvement of governments as parties to various conflicts; and the nature and period during which some of the armed conflicts in Africa occurred.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>INCEPTION</th>
<th>PRINCIPAL CONFLICTANTS</th>
<th>DEATHS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Government vs. FIS, GIA, etc (Islamic)</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Government vs. UNITA</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Government vs. Hutu militia, etc</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo Brazzaville</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Government vs. Ntsiloulous, etc</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC/Zaire</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Government vs. RCD, RCD faction, MLC, Rwanda and Uganda</td>
<td>1.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Ethiopia vs. Eritrea</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Government vs. OLF, ONLF</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Government vs. ALiR and FDLK</td>
<td>800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Government vs. MFDH</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Government vs. RUF, AFRC, ECOMOG, Kamajors</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Government vs. SRRC</td>
<td>400,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Government vs. SPLA, NDA</td>
<td>1.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>1194</td>
<td>Government vs. LRA, WNBF, ADF</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. The involvement of government as parties to armed conflicts involving militant groups. Source: (Miall et al., 2005:58)

As illustrated above, the involvement of governments in most of the conflicts on the continent thus infers a profound political motivation for armed conflicts in Africa. Politically motivated conflicts are usually deep-seated in countries that have bad governance, economic non-performance, bad human rights records, a proliferation of arms, ethnic and religious intolerance, mismanagement of natural resources, and so forth. These, inter alia, tend to be the main causes of conflict on the African continent. Even if they are not portrayed as the initial conflict-causing factors, they somehow, creep in to assume the centre stage as the conflict escalates.
Political violence is thus, in this way, the ensued outcome and manifested effect of such conflict situations on the continent, if democratic governance dialogue and negotiations have failed.

2.2.1 POLITICAL VIOLENCE
According to Ted Honderich, (1976:9), “Political violence, roughly defined, is a considerable or destroying use of force against persons or things, a use of force prohibited by law, directed to a change in the policies, personnel or system of government, and hence also directed to changes in the existence of individuals in the society and perhaps other societies.” In Dennis Sandole’s view, violence comprises perpetrated acts of aggression: “actions which, whether international or not, have the effect of physically damaging or destroying something; or psychologically injuring, destroying, or otherwise forcibly eliminating somebody,” (1999:16).

In both definitions, the specific consequences of violence, as a means to destroy, injure, damage, oppress and possibly eliminate persons or groups of persons or something are unambiguous. According to Sandole, violence and conflict are not necessarily mutually inclusive. Violence can occur without a manifest conflict process; just as conflict can be manifested without violence, (1999:16). “Conflict is defined here as a dynamic phenomenon, a manifest conflict process (MCP), comprising phases of initiation, escalation, controlled maintenance, abatement, and termination/resolution,” (Sandole, 1999:16).

Accordingly, a violent conflict can be considered as “a situation in which at least two actors, or their representatives...try to pursue their perceptions of mutually incompatible goals by physically damaging or destroying the property and high-value symbols of one another, and/or psychologically injuring, destroying, or otherwise forcibly eliminating one another,” (Sandole, 1999:17).

Given the above definitions of violent conflicts, violence is thus considered as a means to achieve an end already preconceived or premeditated. It is a mute question therefore, that in democratic conditions, whether the use of violence by states to defend the populace from armed conspiracies in order to prevent a
descent to barbarism perpetrated by either individuals or an enemy state would necessarily amount to the definitive outcome of violent engagements.

Corner Cruise O’Brien, posits that “the defence of the democratic state against terrorists involves a certain kind of political violence - violence, that is to say, used in defence of a political system against people attempting to substitute for that system, by violence, another system,” (1978:77). This is indeed violence in all its pejorative senses, because, “even democratic and welfare states and their legal structures maintain and defend institutions and practices which involve very substantial inequalities both of rewards and opportunities. Since the state is prepared to defend these inequalities by force if necessary, the whole system is often characterized as being one of institutional violence,” (O’Brien, 1978:77).

Inequality in societies is bound to create incompatible situations, because, certain groups of people tend to benefit from the unequal opportunities, whilst others become disadvantaged by the same social system.

In the choice of violence for the pursuance of goals considered to be mutually incompatible among two or more conflict parties, parties thus plan to achieve an intended outcome. In other words, conflict parties show signals of intent to employ violence to either punish or deter one another. The purpose and mode of violence by conflict parties can be categorised into repressive, combative, reactive, and structural or vertical violence.

2.2.2 REPRESSIVE POLITICAL VIOLENCE
Repressive political/non-political violence refers to acts or forms of violence by the state or non-state actors, such as political assassinations, torture, disappearances, detentions, kidnapping, and harassment, (Fisher, 1993: 247-250). For instance, the break of the Liberian Conflict on the eve of Christmas 1989 by the Charles Taylor-led rebel group, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, (NPFL), had followed decades of embedded social and political inequalities. Shortly after Samuel Kanyon Doe emerged as the country’s head of State through a bloody coup d’état against President Tolbert, he implemented
repressive policies which sidelined other ethnic groups and subsequently surrounded himself with his cronies.

“Doe began to surround himself with members of his Krahn ethnic group. His reign was characterized by gross abuses of human rights. The Doe regime is remembered for its atrocities against Liberian citizens, largely conducted through the AFL [Armed Forces of Liberia], which was responsible for looting, rape, arson, flogging, arbitrary arrests, and summary executions,” (Olonisakin, in Bouldung, 2003:113).

“The rules of war and international humanitarian law were flagrantly violated as conflicting parties used civilians as the primary war objectives and the focus of violence...It is estimated that more than 200 000 lives were lost in the Liberian war. By October 1990, refugees in neighbouring states had numbered over 600 000” (Olonisakin, in Boulden, 2003:113-114).

This instance of repressive political violence demonstrates the abuse of incumbent government power directed towards individuals or groups who, ideologically, are perceived as having incompatible goals with the incumbent government. It is essential to comprehend that political repressive violence could be initiated by any of the conflicting parties. Victims of political repressive violence are not necessarily, the conflicting parties, but also other human beings who, are merely used as shields and scapegoats to pressurise the opponents with whom they are affiliated in one way or another.

In Sierra Leone, whilst the rebel force, the Revolutionary United Front, (RUF) called the various governments corrupt and accused them of the mismanagement of diamond and mineral resources, they themselves committed horrendous abuses [Internet 14]. Women and girls were raped; others had their limbs and arms amputated to avoid using their thumbs to vote a party into power and more, (Ofuatey-Kodjoe, in Boulden, 2003:133-136).

2.2.3 COMBATIVE POLITICAL VIOLENCE
Combative political violence refers to the engagement of combatants representing conflicting parties or, at least, one of the parties, in an exchange of ammunitions designed to cause physical harm to human persons or their
possessions in order to persuade the other (opponents) to yield to the political demands of the other, (Fisher, 1993: 247-250). Combative political violence is a means for conflict parties to move towards a desired goal, (Kriesberg, 1982:115). By virtue of a potential reciprocal cost in humans or property, combative violence is thus a choice by which conflict parties employ given factors that influence and constrain their easier access to achieving their goal.

Parties may not necessarily weigh all the alternatives, and after due consideration decide on combative violent engagement, since the use of violence too comes with its factor of superiority to the stronger conflict party.

Combative political violence usually involves processes of rigidification, crystallization and hardening what is construed as self and not-self by militarizing conflicting parties. In these processes, conflict parties have less regard for information about their opponents, and thus, they make an effort to separate the human self from coercion through the process of dehumanization, (Northrup, in Kriesberg et al., 1989:72).

Militarization involves the establishment of group cohesion. The stronger the assertion of a conflict party, the stronger the polarization, hence the stronger the dehumanization, because the parties now identify themselves as enemies, the “us” and the “them”. According to Northrup, “when some other group is dehumanized, its members are not only perceived to be separate and different from the self-group, they are also evaluated as being “bad” or “evil,” somehow less valuable than the self-group,” (in Kriesberg et al., 1989:72).

He indicated that, dehumanization is a process which itself makes violence more tolerable. “It is more difficult to harm something or someone who is like-self, and easier to harm something or someone construed as not being human or inhuman (i.e., not-self),” (in Kriesberg et al., 1989:74). “Several writers (As 1975; Caldicott 1984; Gilder 1973; Roberts 1984) have noted that a core aspect of military training is a process of teaching the soldier to dehumanize others...people become targets, and the soldier is cut off from his own feelings of connectedness (like-self-ness) to a whole category of people, the “enemy” whomever they may be,” (Northrup, in Kriesberg et al., 1989:74).
One of the major characteristic factors of violent armed conflict on the African continent is the militarization of rebel groups. Opposition parties or anti-government groups easily turn into militant groups and recruit mostly, young men, and in many other cases children, to fight the government and/or the other rebel group. This process of militarization is further fortified by access to weaponry. The sub-Saharan Africa region is said to be the highest importer of small arms, (Amankwah, 1996:4).

On the ascendancy of conflicts in Africa in the immediate post-Cold War era, the British American Security Information Councils Project on Light Weapons indicated that, “easy access to weapons is encouraging militant groups to consider armed rather democratic opposition,” (Amankwah, 1996:4). As conflict escalates the demand for arms too increases; hence lucrative markets are created for arms dealers. The massive proliferation of arms during and after the Cold War from the former Soviet Union, United States of America, China, France, and Belgium, among others, to countries such as, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo (then, Zaire) and Burundi, etc, made the populace in these countries to be predisposed to weapons. As such, any trivial political belligerence had enough capacity to degenerate into violent armed conflict.

Perhaps it is better unsaid, that a number of African governments, at one time, spent half of their total budget allocation on military reinforcement/military spending. “The Angolan government is on record as purchasing between $2.5 and $3.5 billion worth of arms, mortgaging between 5 and 7 years of its oil production, whilst the Rwandan government benefited from a $6 million Egyptian arms deal made possible by a French National Bank credit facility, (Amankwah, 1996:4).

Thus, the accessibility and availability of weaponry jeopardise the institution of democracy, the rule of law and good governance, as the collective system of conflict prevention and management. The diagram below shows the major importers of arms and the trend of arms transfer.
Table 2: Diagram 1 Major arms transfer to Africa between 1987 and 2007.  
(Source: http://www.sipri.org/)

The US is the top supplier of weapons to other countries, accounting for around 35% of worldwide weapons sales, followed by Russia, Britain, Germany, France and China. The main buyers of arms are Africa, China, India, and the United Arab Emirates.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Foreign Military Sales</th>
<th>Commercial Sales</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31,000</td>
<td>31,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>74,000</td>
<td>312,000</td>
<td>386,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>21,767,000</td>
<td>24,677,000</td>
<td>46,444,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>15,151,000</td>
<td>218,000</td>
<td>15,369,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>2,311,000</td>
<td>1,934,000</td>
<td>4,245,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>324,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>324,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>30,258,000</td>
<td>1,815,000</td>
<td>32,073,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>1,517,000</td>
<td>9,903,000</td>
<td>11,420,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>567,000</td>
<td>828,000</td>
<td>1,395,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>71,969,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>39,718,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>111,687,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Post-Cold War U.S. Arms Transfers to Governments Involved in the Congo War, 1989-1998 (in constant 1998 dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>IMET $ Value</th>
<th>No. of STUDENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>177,000</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>1,324,000</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>1,968,000</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>1,229,000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>1,589,000</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>1,425,000</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>154,000</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>3,856,000</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4: Post-Cold War International Military Education and Training (IMET) to Countries involved in the Congo War, 1989-1998 (constant 1998 dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>IMET (constant 1998 dollars)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>2,661,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>14,383,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


#### 2.2.4 REACTIVE POLITICAL VIOLENCE

In relation to combative violence, reactive political violence remains the main contributor to the rise in the number of refugees and their internal displacement (Norwegian Refugee Council *et al.*, 2002:75). Violence against the state in the form of coups d’état, revolutionary force and post-cold war guerrilla warfare, insurgencies, secessionist movements, is referred to as reactive political violence (Fisher, 1993: 247-250).

As stated above, when militant groups are well equipped with weapons and human fighters, they embark on, through violent combat, either to unseat a ruling government, or they just use violence to achieve their political aims. Reactive violent conflicts have the tendency to be intractable, or protracted. Most of the intractable conflicts on the continent that have caused thousands of people to flee their homes and countries were the results of reactive political violence. Sometimes, militant groups identify themselves and their values in the conflict and thus their bellicose aspirations become very difficult to relinquish.

Reactive political violence, in a sense, is the introduction of a conflicting relationship by one party signalling the state/government, through violent attacks, to surrender. Sometimes, however, governments hide behind their responsibility to protect the state and the citizenry and, instead, deploy national armed forces to counter militant groups, insurgents or their detractors in a combative violent conflict, partly, for their own interest.
In such conflicting relationships, parties employ strategies and styles to overpower their opponents, (Rubin et al., 1994:33). The conflict behaviour takes centre stage and the parties’ sole objective is to maintain the conflict. According to Northrup, “during this stage, parties to the conflict acquire an interest in maintaining the conflict because the conflict or salient aspects of the conflict, in a sense, become a part of their identity. Further, their “secret agreement” may, over time, be manifested in formal social, political, and economic structures within and between parties. In effect, the conflict becomes institutionalized in both obvious and subtle ways,” (in Kriesberg et al., 1989:75).

In Liberia, the opposition groups to Samuel Doe's regime were brutally oppressed and certain members of the media were intimidated. Using the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) to consolidate political power, characterised by members of his ethnic group, the Charles Taylor-led NPFL reacted by battling the AFL with the particular aim of unseating the government. The violence escalated into a vicious civil war, (Olonisakin in Boulden, 2003:113). A significant instance of conflict on the African soil is the Sudan conflict. “Erupting in 1955, a year before independence, the conflict pitched the government against a group of Southerners, the Anyanya, the precursors to today’s [Sudan’s People Liberation Movement/Army] SPLM/A. In the course of time, parties to this conflict had multiplied remarkably,” (Juma in Boulden, 2003:187).

Whilst some of the anti-government groups sought secession, others supported Sudan’s territorial integrity. As this intractable conflict escalated, many others issues and parties were drawn into it, (Rubin et al., 1994:89). Whilst the SPLM/A called for the unity of the Sudan, it was a source of belligerence and bellicosity for some marginalised African communities in the East, Nubia and the Darfur regions who sought complete independence. This resulted in the proliferation of militant groups, such as the Sudan People’s Defence Forces (SPDF), in the above-mentioned regions. At the same time in the North, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) emerged as the veritable challenger of the government.

Fresh issues crept into the conflict and also served as causes of violence. “What was initially defined as a North-South conflict …evolved into a series of
conflicts, buttressed by varying elements, including religion, race, lack of the rule of law, geopolitical and strategic interests,” (Juma in Boulden, 2003:188). In response to the insurgencies and rebellion, the government of Sudan decided to contain the conflict militarily. “Convinced that it could defeat the rebellion militarily, the government intensified the war within its borders. Citing security concerns, it decided to deal with the “Southern problem by military means and increased its acquisition and stockpiling of arms from its global suppliers,” (Juma, Boulden, 2003:188).

2.2.5 VERTICAL CONFLICT
The most common type of conflict in the world today is vertical in nature. This involves ‘low intensity conflict’, which is based on deep-seated racial, ethnic and religious hatreds combined with structural cleavages and political oppression that result in the victimisation of one or more groups through a denial of their fundamental needs, (Fisher, 1993: 247). Given the vast multi-ethnic and multicultural identity of the people of Africa, political governance is always in the limelight of ethnocracy, tribalism and sectarianism.

Many African heads of state tend to favour members of their own ethnic groups, political parties, race, or religion with political appointments and prestigious bureaucratic positions; and also execute more developmental projects in their own regions than those areas from which they do not hail. Sometimes, these actions are calculated attempts to marginalise certain groups and individuals to extinction, (Hamilton, 2006:67). In its acute nature, this amounts to violence. Denial of good drinking water, good health service delivery, access to food, etc, can expose a whole population to epidemics and subsequently cause their annihilation. This amounts to the planned neglect of human rights issues, and hence, can be the basis for a “well-founded fear of persecution” of a particular group, (Beyani, 2006:275).

It is general knowledge that ethnocentrism and other forms of favoured treatment are causes of conflict. However, it needs to be said that, in one way or the other, elements of preferential treatment caused either by tribalism, racism, political ‘partisanism’, ‘religiousism’, etc., are present in the formation of various African governments. These, in the long term, become causes and
triggers of violent conflicts. In Rwanda, the perceived oppression of the Hutus by the Tutsis resulted in the infamous Rwanda Genocide in 1994, (Prunier, 1992 and 1995; Human Rights Watch /Arms Project, 1994). Similarly, the civil war in Burundi, in which around half a million people died and thousands were displaced in October 1993, stemmed from conflicts over political participation and a scarcity of resources, compounded by regional imbalances and the militarization of society.

However, the prominent cause was decades of Tutsi military and political dominance, which prompted the Hutus, who felt marginalised in political affairs, to react, (Khadiagala in Boulden, 2003:216).

2.2.6 ETHNIC CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE
People are divided in any number of ways. Some divisions are biological and hence intrinsic; male and female sexes, for instance. Again, another intrinsic division is race, tribe/ethnic background, hence, Spaniards, Black Africans, White Europeans, Asians, etc. “Ethnicity has come to signify the organisation of cultural diversity within the modern state…Thus, an ethnic group can be defined as a collective of people who share some pattern of normative behaviour, or culture, and who form a part of a larger population, interacting within the framework of a common social system,” (Cohen 1974 in Agnew, 1989:43).

Taking these two intrinsic divisions, conflict can and has ever erupted over the gender roles of males and females; the apartheid regime of South Africa and elsewhere in Africa witnessed quite a number of conflicts over racial cleavages. Africa is continually plagued by ethnic conflicts, (Bozeman, 1976:47).

Other forms of division, such as political affiliation, religion, geographic backgrounds, and organisational/associational affiliations are all examples of divisions which embody potential conflicts. “Almost any division of people into two or more sets can be the basis for collective identification and organization into conflict groups,” (Kriesberg, 1982:28).

However, Kriesberg asserts that, “some divisions are well established; they pre-existed the emergence of any special social conflict,” (1982:28). The argument here is that, divisions have the potential for conflict, albeit, some divisions rarely
erupt into conflict. “People make socially recognized distinctions, although consensus about the term may not be great, and no generally accepted organizations exist to represent them in conflict,” (Kriesberg, 1982:28). Conflicts, thus, over divisions are understood within the generality of their context. “Whatever the division to which we give attention, it can have meaning only within the context of a social system. […] This means, noting the complex interdependencies of many institutions and social structures and the power of the State in channelling conflicts,” (Kriesberg, 1982:29).

No matter the division, whether racial or ethnic, the cleavages are only social constructs. “The boundaries between relevant social categories are not inherent in those categories. The divisions that are particularly important depend in part upon the social definitions of the partisans,” (Kriesberg, 1982:29). One of such social construction is the interdependence and fusion of ethnicity and politics, especially in Africa, a land of multi-ethnic people.

Agnew is of the view that, “because of the process of social interaction groups form geographically and differentiate themselves from one another. In this process, certain patterns of behaviour and systems of symbolisms are selected as identifying markers in order to distinguish “we” from “they”, as clearly as possible,” (Agnew in Kreisberg et al., 1989:42). Within a state, political governance and ethnicity have proven to be inseparable, and thus ethnic conflict situations are inevitable.

In Agnew’s view, three factors account for this. Firstly, “the degree of geographical-economic differentiation within a country and its relationship to ethnic divisions,” may set the economically disadvantaged ethnic group into protest and disapproval of the members of the economically advantaged group. “A second factor is the increased bureaucratization of the state and the growth of the welfare state. Ethnic identity can become the basis for collective action against the intrusiveness of the modern state and its destruction of particularity,” (Agnew in Kreisberg et al., 1989:43).

Many African governments have been accused of nepotism, which in effect, is a protest against ethnocentric favouritism. Thirdly, “the growing
internationalization of economic and political activity…the shift of power and control over local economies to ever-more distant locations provides an incentive for local counter-mobilization,” (Kreisberg et al., 1989:44).

Conflicts are, after all, part of daily life in a democracy and of course, in any kind of society. Subsequently, the absence of it in society would suggest that democracy itself has been lost. Ethnopolitical conflicts differ from other forms of political conflict in several critical ways. The fundamental distinction is that the conflicting parties often resort to violence because they see it as the only means of resolving their grievances with other ethnic communities, usually those ethnic groups which rule or have an affiliation with the political ruler, (Sandole, 1999:3).

Ethnopolitical violence is prevalent in Africa. Most conflicts on the continent have elements of ethnopolitical conflicts, even if ethnocentrism is not the main source of the conflict. For instance, the 1980s and the 1990s witnessed various conflicts in the West African sub-regions, such as, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d’Ivoire, Guinea, and Senegal. These conflicts began as internal strife and later spilled over the various borders to neighbouring states. According to Steve Tonah, “A significant feature of these conflicts is that, irrespective of their root causes and the motives of the various protagonists, ethnicity has eventually played a major part in the conflicts. Even where the ethnic factor was initially not relevant to a particular conflict, it eventually became a dominant factor, as the conflict and internecine war progressed,” (2007:3). Africa experienced ethnopolitical conflict in Kenya recently (2007/08), where members of the Luo ethnic group descended on the Kikuyus, turning a post-election contention into tribal dispute.

It is particularly worthy of notice, that ethnic mobilisation in times of conflict has the potential to escalate into conflict or accelerate resolution and transformation. Nonetheless, the former is much more pressing an issue than the latter. This is so, because, “social identity may in some contexts function almost to the exclusion of personal identity…this is particularly the case in situations involving inter-group conflict and discrimination,” (Northrup in Kriesberg et al., 1989:66). It follows that group identity takes centre stage at any threat of danger and
disrepute. According to Deutsch, the constant presence of threats, danger, discrimination, or potential harm is likely to heighten the importance of maintaining and protecting a person's social identity, (1974:54).

Hence, a person falls on the support of members of his group in protecting their joint social identity. But according to Tonah, most of the political leaders, rebel warlords and disgruntled solders at the centre of conflicts in the West African sub-region were quick in mobilizing members of their own ethnic and/or regional group to their cause. “It was from amongst their own ethnic group that they recruited most of their adherents, fighters, and financiers. It is this ease with which leaders recruit supporters from their own ethnic groups, and the fact that many conflicts in the sub-region finally end up being fought along ethnic or regional lines,” (2007:3).

2.2.7 RESOURCE CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE
It is irrefutable that the continent of Africa is endowed with colossal natural and mineral resources to the point that, at the mention of a country, one thinks of its economic value in terms of its mineral assets. Liberia, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic Congo, Angola, and others are famous for the good quality diamonds they mine; Ghana, Tanzania, South Africa, and others are known for gold; Nigeria, Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Sudan, and still others are known for the production of crude oil; South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, and others produce uranium, nickel, coal, and other equally valued minerals. Whilst these mineral resources, inter alia, are tremendous national assets, in many African conflict cases, they have been the cardinal sources of the conflicts. Other valuable resources such as farming lands and estate lands, water, and others, have also formed the basis of conflicts among groups and individuals with resulting devastating repercussions.

“Social conflict normally occurs where groups of peoples compete for scarce resources,” (Rhoodi, cited in Bradshaw, 2007:13). Scarce resources vary in types. There are material resources as mentioned above, positional resources like, the president of a country. The chief executive officer or a company/organisation, and even nationality could be added here. In this era, the Third World is disadvantaged to the point that nationals of developing
countries are suspected of non-return whenever they seek clearance to enter a First World country. Thus, becoming a US national, in a way, is prestigious and honourable, so some African would like to naturalise whenever they get the opportunity in order to enter the United States of America.

However, this section concerns the first two, conflicts over material and positional resources. Ho-Won Jeong describes conflict as "a contentious process of interpersonal or inter-group interaction that takes place within a larger social context...thus inter-group conflict is often embedded in a political framework, and its meaning can be socially interpreted and constructed...conflict entails material bases of social life as well psychological," (1999:3). The materials which form the basis of conflict are most of the time bases of survival and prestige.

Because one’s life or worthwhile existence is dependent on such resources, in the social context, there is a clear struggle over any scarce resources. Having access to scarce resources is, in turn, seen as another valuable resource; hence the possession of particular scarce resources puts a value on the possessor. Therefore, within the social context, there will be “purposeful struggles between collective actors who use social power to defeat or remove opponents and to gain status, power resources and other scarce values,” (Himes, cited in Bradshaw, 2007:13).

The purposeful struggles highlight the bone of contention. Oftentimes, the actions of the purposeful struggles are as a result of frustration of human needs, values, and interests. According to John Burton, “in addition to the more obvious biological needs for food and shelter, there are basic human needs that relate to growth and development...the important observation is that these needs will be pursued by all means available. In ontological terms the individual is conditioned by biology, or by a primordial influence, to pursue them. It follows that unless satisfied within the norms of society, they will lead to behaviour that is outside the legal norms of the society,” (1990:36).

Thus, the mismanagement of resources by political elites, which disadvantages others and generates inequalities in society, can create a conflict situation when
a certain group is frustrated over the scarcity and mismanagement of the resources. It is therefore essential, that when those resources, whether at national or societal level, provide for the basic needs of the frustrated groups or individuals, there will inevitably be a clash of interests. As mentioned above, ethnocentrism creeps into conflicts to take centre stage; so it can also be said of resources, especially mineral resources. Some conflict situations in sub-Saharan Africa have caused mayhem and displaced hundreds of thousands from of their homes.

2.3 THE RESULTANT REFUGEE PROBLEM
The cost and the humanitarian consequences that ensued from each political violent conflict in the West-African and sub-Saharan African sub-region were unnecessarily grievous. Whilst member countries of the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS), through their military wing, ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) have made an effort to resolve the conflicts in the sub-region in the 1990s, they have also faced the massive influx of refugees into their countries.

Those who made it to neighbouring countries became refugees encamped there and waited hopefully for a return of peace to their homelands. However, massive numbers of other citizens who could not cross borders into neighbouring countries became internally displaced persons.

2.3.1 INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT
Literature on humanitarian concerns indicates that, the internally displaced are the single largest at-risk population in the world. They are beset by hunger, disease, and the lack of adequate shelter. They are abused both by governments and insurgent forces and suffer mortality rates of epidemic proportions. Tens of millions of people on all continents, driven from their homes, have been caught within the borders of their own countries with no international authority to which to turn for assistance and protection, (Korn, 1999:2).
The commission on Human Rights’ analytical report of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons in 1992, defined internally displaced people, as “Persons who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers, as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters, and who are within the territory of their own country,” (Korn, 1999:11).

However this definition limits the scope of internally displaced persons to those who have been forced to flee their homes “suddenly and unexpectedly in large numbers”. It excludes other serious cases. In Ethiopia, under the Mengistu regime, hundreds of thousands were forcibly moved, at times without even the consideration of advanced notice. And in Sudan, the internally displaced persons, who were mostly the rural settlers, fled in small numbers in the hope of being inconspicuous. Thus, a more encompassing definition became compelling in order to protect those displaced persons who would not qualify under this definition, (Deng, 1993:64).

In 1992, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali appointed Francis M. Deng, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and former Sudanese ambassador and minister of state for foreign affairs, as his representative on internally displaced persons (IDPs). He developed a definition that sought to include those who flee and those forced out in the face of armed conflict or natural or man-made disasters. He defined internally displace persons as those “who have been forced or obliged to flee, or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of, armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border,” (Zard, 2006:20).

Observations made on the internally displaced persons indicate that, displacement knows no racial, class, educational, political, or economic boundaries. One can find among the IDPs those of varying economic status and educational background. It is observed that the overwhelming majority of the IDPs are women and their dependent children, (Hamilton, 2006:242). Men join or are forcibly conscripted into fighting ranks of either side, killed or disabled
or escape to avoid recruitment, (Korn, 1999:16). However, the common plight of all IDPs is horrific suffering. Apart from predictable cases of lack of shelter, food and drink, medicine and health care delivery, instances of displaced women being raped and their children forced to become child soldiers are common, (Weiss and Korn, 2006: 37).

Prolonged displacement has its own consequences. It “often leads to widespread loss of skills. Craftsmen lose or sell their tools and find no use for their skills in new areas with limited markets,” (Sorensen and Vincent, 2001:10). Displacement can cause the depopulation of one area, overpopulation in another, thus, creating population imbalance. “As a community loses population, is also loses skills, and both its economic and its social equilibrium are affected. Sometimes entire communities or regions have become depopulated. Neglected agricultural land becomes uncultivatable. Uncared for trees cease to bear fruit and wither. Homes and other buildings deteriorate,” (Korn, 1999:17). At times, returning displaced persons also find their homes and agricultural land being occupied by others; and this breeds renewed conflict.

2.3.2 INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT AND REFUGEES: CLOSELY LINKED PHENOMENA
Internal displacement and the refugee situation are two inseparable phenomena of which one cannot speak without speaking of those refugees in a state of neglect as a result of being internally displaced. Of course, every refugee was once an internally displaced person in the generality of the conditions of the definition that qualifies both phenomena. In reiterating the 1951 definition of the term “refugee,” article 1 of the convention defines a refugee as, “A person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution,” (UNHCR, 2005:6).
Whilst the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) convention that governed the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa in September 1969 defined the term “refugee” as,

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

In addition to the above, the African convention also expanded the term “refugee” to include “every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing the public order, in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence, in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country or origin or nationality,” (UNHCR, 2000:104).

With this second provision, all persons who flee their homes because of fear of violence, either by political, man-made or natural disaster, is partly covered, but he/she qualifies as a refugee with the crossing of an international border. This is the deviation from the 1951 UN convention on refugees and the distinction between a refugee and an internally displaced person, (Sichel, 1966:16). “Refugees are people who have crossed an international border into a second country seeking sanctuary. Internally displaced persons (IDPs) may have fled for similar reasons, but remain within their own territory, and thus are still subject to the laws of that state,” (UNHCR, 2005:11).

Refugees and IDPs share similar characteristics, and hence face similar problems. Lack of economic opportunities, inadequate basic necessities of life and loss of national identity, to highlight a few, is a common plight of refugees and IDPs, (Zard, 2006:56).

The persistence of violence and/or reasonable fear that might cause people to flee their homes and become internally displaced persons has serious implications for refugee situations. The internally displaced persons continually seek better living conditions, within or outside their country of nationality. Thus,
IDPs are potential refugees that serve to add to the refugee populations. When a family is divided into IDPs and refugees, the former seeking to join the latter is a probable case in point. But a much more serious scenario is the continuous increase of the refugee population by IDPs, (Jacobsen et al., 2001: 95). “Beyond its obvious humanitarian and human rights aspects, internal displacement also raises serious problems for the international economic and political order. Only infrequently do the crises that generate this displacement remain confined to a single country. More commonly, massive internal displacement becomes the spark that ignites refugee flows,” (Korn, 1999:3).

Ruud Lubbers, High Commissioner for Refugees, briefing the UN Security Council on refugee situations indicated that, “wherever there was displacement there were movements across borders. Therefore, by definition, conflicts that generated refugee movements necessarily involved neighbouring states and thus had regional security implications. As most vividly seen in the Great Lakes region and more recently in West Africa, the lines of conflict frequently ran across state boundaries, due to the various ethnic and cultural ties of the affected communities, (Security Council, 4973rd Meeting (AM). Thus, refugee population can be in a state of constant increase if the antecedent of displacement remains unresolved, and the IDPs cannot return, sooner rather than later, to their habitual place of residence, (Baxter and Krulfeld, 1997:9).

2.4 THE ATTAINMENT OF REFUGEE STATUS
The crossing of an international border to seek refuge makes anyone in such a situation a refugee. There are people who seek political asylum, but might not consider themselves refugees. Sometimes, political asylum is granted in order to enhance certain political processes. A political leader, for example, Charles Taylor was granted political asylum by President Obasanju of Nigeria, for the greater purpose of enhancing the peace agenda in Liberia. Such persons, prior to their asylum, had no “well-founded fear of persecution”, since they had control over their sovereign states.

Secondly, economic migrants are not covered under the provisions of the refugee conventions. “Millions of ‘economic’ and other migrants have taken advantage of improved communication in the last few decades to seek new lives in other, mainly western, countries. However, they should not be
confused, as they sometimes are, with bona fide refugees who are fleeing life-threatening persecution and not merely economic hardship,” (UNHCR, 2005:9). In situations where the host country is economically better-off, scores of other people might present themselves as refugees just to acquire residence permits in the country. “An economic migrant normally leaves a country voluntarily to seek a better life. Should he or she elect to return home they would continue to receive the protection of their own government. Refugees flee because of the threat of persecution and cannot return safely to their homes in the circumstances then prevailing,” (UNHCR, 2005:10).

One attains refugee status, either on an individual basis, or as part of a mass exodus, because of political, religious, military and other problems in their home country, that objectively culminate in a fear of persecution, (Carlier, 1999:39). The question is how a host country determines the existence of a “well-founded fear of persecution, owing to his/her affiliation social group, religion, etc.,” for each and every refugee. The 1969 African Convention on Refugees indicated that one qualifies as a refugee when, “owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing the public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality…” This widens the scope of the definition for refuge taking, of which other forms of violence, other than political, can induce refugees to flee their homes, (Cunliffe and Pugh, 1999:180).

However, Article II, paragraph 3 indicates that, “No person shall be subjected by a Member State to measures such as rejection at the frontier, return or expulsion, which would compel him to return to or remain in a territory where his life, physical integrity or liberty would be threatened for the reasons set out in Article I, Paragraph 1 and 2,” (UNHCR, 2000:105). This indicates the difficulty in determining who has a well-founded fear of persecution at the frontiers, and thus also, the many different categories of people claiming to be refugees who enter countries to seek asylum (Weiss and Minear, 1993:78).

In order to determine this, countries develop regulatory measures to register and document asylum seekers, and even house them, at times, for security and
diplomatic reasons. The Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) grants \textit{prima facie} refugee status en masse.

Those who arrive unlawfully can be motivated by a number of concerns or conditions, including: a need for international protection (to seek safety from persecution and/or generalized violence); economic interests (to improve their quality of life); social reasons (family reunification); and/or a combination of these concerns, (Loescher, 1993:29). Stringent and effective refugee status determination procedures are able to identify refugees within the wider spectra of migration flows, (Loescher, and Monahan, 1990:15). This is associated with the high cost of supporting inefficient refugee status determination and funding any social services afforded asylum seekers.

The African OAU convention Article VI, paragraph 1 enjoins all Member States to “issue to refugees lawfully staying in their territories travel documents in accordance with the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the Schedule which is an Annex thereto, for the purpose of travelling outside their territory, unless compelling reasons of national security or public order otherwise require it. Member States may issue such a travel document to any other refugee in their territory,” (UNHCR, 2000:105).

In consequence, once one is defined to be a refugee, he has right to move to another country and that right must be supported by the host country. With this, refugees can reunite with families in other countries, but more seriously, combatant refugees can network between host countries, thus providing information and other resources which can perpetuate an ongoing conflict or which has the ability to ignite a new one.

\section*{2.5 THE NOTION OF THE PROTECTION OF REFUGEES}
Integrated refugees who do not return to their home countries become a minority group in the host country. History has shown that, sometimes such minority groups have been the subjects of discrimination. In the 1930s large movement of refugees fled fascist governments in Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain. These totalitarian governments, considering minority groups as threats to internal control, demanded their total alliance to the State. This
notwithstanding, they adopted state policies that forced out those they considered inassimilable. “In a radical attempt to create a homogeneous and ‘racially pure’ society, the Nazis purged the country (Germany) of unwanted elements. The main targets were political opponents, such as Communists, Social Democrats, anti-fascist intellectuals, and pacifists but also members of ‘racially inferior’ population groups—mainly Jews, Slavs and Gypsies,” (Loescher, 2001:28).

Consequently, a great number of refugees ensued after the takeover of the German government by the Nazis in 1935; and the process of the purification of the German society culminated in the holocaust attempt to exterminate Jews and any Germans of Jewish origin.

With the rise of fascism across Europe, refugee movements increased, and around 20 to 49 million people moved across Europe alone. However, many governments adopted policies that restricted emigration. “Refugee movements during this period would have been far greater had it not been for the exit controls and emigration restrictions imposed by a number of governments,” (Loescher, 2001:28).

There were also huge displacements of people in Asia and the Pacific. With less control, the political and diplomatic powers by the International Refugee Organisations, as well as very incoherent refugee policies and a lack of commitment to solving the refugee problems at the time, resulted in international frontiers being closed on fleeing refugees. Very few groups of refugees could find refuge in Europe. This triggered a tremendous flow of refugees, especially Jews, to America, Canada and Australia which accepted refugees of only certain selected nations, (Cassel, 2006:502-503).

Hannah Arendt described the plight of such refugees of the era as, “Once they had left their homeland, they remained homeless; once they had left their state, they became stateless; once they had been deprived of their human rights, they were without any rights, the scum of the earth,” (cited in Loescher, 2001:29). With the growing sense of nationalism, “restrictionism was exacerbated by
deepening worldwide economic depression and massive unemployment,” (Loescher, 2001:30).

The depressing plight of refugee emphasised the urgency that required responsibility and commitment from governments. The formation of the International Committee on Refugees (ICR) outside the League of Nations in 1946 could not exercise its responsibility fully to solve refugee problems, especially Jewish refugees exiting Germany, and hence finding a resettlement for them; no effective steps were taken to alter a Western policy towards refugees which was based on rigid barriers to immigrants (Loescher, 2001:33).

The looming refugee crises continued to catch the attention of the International Community and the commission of a number of interventions. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA), set up in 1943, sought to support all manner of displaced persons, with fugitive combatants, (Nichols, 1988: 108-109). “UNRRA, however, was not strictly a refugee organisation in that it aided all those who had been displaced by the war [WWII], but only incidentally dealt with refugees with political fears. Working directly under Allied military command, UNRRA was given a very limited mandate. This was to extend aid to civilian nationals of the Allied nations and to IDPs in countries liberated by the Allied armies, (Loescher, 2001:35).

Certainly, this selective protection exposed millions of other displaced persons without protection to humanitarian emergencies; hence, the practical option for the UNRRA was resettlement. “Resettlement seemed the only practical policy option for resolving the refugee problem. Germany and the nations of Western Europe were in favour of it, since their chief interest was to minimize relief problems during a period of intensive reconstruction,” (Loescher, 2001:39).

Thus, the resettlement of refugees with political fears was deemed to be not only practical, but the better option to repatriation. “Repatriation as a possible solution to refugee problems became entirely discredited in Western eyes, tainted by the forcible returns of the immediate post-war period” (Loescher, 2001:39). The resettlement of refugees of communist nationality was to
discredit and shame communist regimes by displaying Western benevolence, (Boshyk, 1988:212).

The selective protection and political interest involved in the resettlement of refugees thus required a much more apolitical and legal intervention to salvage the plight of refugees through a process of humane humanitarian intervention policies. “The planning and drafting of the major refugee legal instrument and organization were therefore conducted solely by Western powers and non-communist members of the developing world,” (Loescher, 2006:43). Meanwhile, with Europe flooded with refugees from war-torn Eastern European countries, and very insufficient funds for UNRRA to finance refugee programmes, “pressure was put on the United States, Canada, Australia, and other non-European countries to make available at least some admission slots” (Loescher, 2001:39).

This brought the US into financing numerous refugee programmes and hence caused this country to restrain from committing more resources into international refugee programmes. Many authors described this as the US and UK’s deliberate attempt to deny the UN resources at hand to commit themselves to unspecified and future responsibilities towards refugees on the formation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (Nichols, 1988:91). Secondly, Loescher (2001:43-44), comments that,

The United States sought a temporary refugee agency with narrow authority and limited functions. In particular, the United States sought to deny the UNHCR a relief role by depriving it of the authority and the funding to carry out material assistance operations for refugees. American officials believed that the sole functions of the proposed Office should be international legal protection. [Thus] the American delegate, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, contended that the United Nations as a deliberative body should not assume responsibility as an international relief agency.

The planners and drafters of the December 1950 UNHCR status and the July 1951 convention on the Status of Refugees were profoundly influenced by the experience of post-world war Europe. Hence, the inclusion of, “well-founded fears of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion,” was a reflection of Western
states disapproval of communism and their interpretation of asylum seekers as people fleeing the hash claws of communism, (Prazmowska, 1988:229).

Communism therefore, was the persecutor regime. However, later developments indicated that the UN 1951 convention did not cover all the categories of refugees. Some people are refugees, not because of any affiliation, but merely victims of political violence happening in their country. Most of the Liberian refugees, who first entered Ghana, were victims of generalised violence and thus were granted refugee status en masse on this basis. According Loescher, “the Convention and its definition were not universal. They were not intended to apply to refugees from every part of the world, nor to people fleeing from any international or civil conflicts. The Convention was intended to be used by the Western states in dealing with arrivals from the East, and largely reflected the international politics of the early Cold War period,” (2001:45).

This is the difference between the UN refugee convention and the OAU refugee convention of 1969. As noted above, Article I (2) of the African convention on the status of refugees expands the scope of the definition for refugees to rectify the affiliation clause in the 1951 Convention which excludes any causal definition of the term ‘refugee’, (Bakwesegha, 1994:7-12).

During the origins of the Cold War, under the directorship of Gerrit Jan van Heuven Geodhart, “the UNHCR’s success in the Berlin crisis and the pilot projects of the Ford programme legitimized the need for UNHCR material assistance to refugees. It demonstrated what could be accomplished with available funds and at last opened the door for the Office to become involved in permanent solutions for refugees,” (Loescher, 2001:69). Thus, Goedhart would report in the UN General Assembly in 1954, that, “In the future the UNCHR had no choice but to support local integration projects, emphasizing not only the financial cost to governments of maintaining unsettled refugees, but also the political and security costs of not providing lasting solutions for them, (Loescher, 2001:69).
Though the idea of resettlement or integration seemed a permanent solution to refugees with political fears, the UNHCR Office was handicapped with funding, especially, at that time when about 350 000 people were still locked up in refugee camps. The UN Refugee Emergency Fund (UNREF) was established, with governments being the main sources of funding, (Nichols, 1988:109). The UNREF would assist in expanding the operational scope of the UNHCR. Governments, the main sponsors of the UNREF, sought direct oversight of the UNHCR office’s financing. “Thus the UN Refugee Fund placed the UNHCR under direct government control for the first time…With the establishment of the UNREF Executive Committee and more secure funding, the UNHCR increasingly came to depend on contributions from governmental rather than private sources like the Ford Foundation,” (Loescher, 2001:71).

Although, governments were core contributors of funds for the UNHCR, international governmental organisations and non-governmental organisations like the Ford Foundation, also contributed to UNHCR operational funds. American’s inclusion as a principal donor was to the exclusion of communist governments, and consequently so, the limitation of spending on refugees from the communist bloc, (Prazmowska, 1988:219). With the expansion of the Office by the development of regional divisions with powerful directors to oversee the agency’s international operations, the Office gained more recognition and assistance, while the protection division would become one of the core pillars the Head Office in Geneva, (Loescher, 2001:71).

Throughout the decades, different political and diplomatic conditions and occurrences have shaped the UNHCR and its international responsibility towards refugees. Two of such political situations were the Hungarian Revolution and the Algerian War of National independence in the 1950s. For the first time, the UNHCR came into the spotlight, as the most important actor within the international refugee regime with the rapid and totally unexpected eruption of the major Cold War refugee crisis that accompanied the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, (Loescher, 2001:82).

“The invasion of Hungary by the Soviet army on 4 November 1956 precipitated a mass exodus of refugees to neighbouring Austria and Yugoslavia…The Office
successfully handled its first mass asylum crisis, helped engineer a major resettlement effort and played an important mediating role between East and West involving the repatriation of large numbers of Hungarians to their homelands”, (Loescher, 2001:82). This development took the international community by surprise at a time when the Cold War was the preoccupation of the major donors, (Helton, 1994:43).

The US, Britain, and France were almost totally preoccupied at this time with a major political crisis in the Middle East, (Loescher, 2001:83). Thus, Hungary lacked military and armed support from the US and Britain and had to succumb to the horrendous attacks of Soviet tanks. “Despite heart-rending appeals from the Hungarian leaders for America to intervene, the United States was paralysed, fearing that overt action to follow through on their promise to ‘liberate’ Soviet satellites might provoke a war with the Soviet Union,” (Loescher, 2001:83).

A multitude of refugees flooded across the borders of Austria which was initially reluctant to grant refuge to Hungarian refugees for fear of Soviet attack. Nevertheless, through the UNHCR, the international community persuaded Austria to open its frontiers to the refugees. (This brought in Britain and US to grant support to Austria through the UNHCR, and again warned the Soviet Union that “they would consider a Soviet attack on Austria as a casus belli that might risk the outbreak of World War III,” (Loescher, 2001:83).

The US was particularly significant in this situation owing to its initial opposition to the UNHCR by pressing for intellectual, legal and unilateral solutions. It rather abandoned its position in the Hungarian crisis, thus internationalizing the operational authority of the UNHCR.

More so, the presence of UNHCR in the Algerian crisis gave it a facelift in the eyes of the international community, at the same time it sought to expand its operational scope geographically to developing countries. The Office’s assistance to refugees from the Algerian conflict, 1954-62, was a significant venture, (Bouhouche, 1994:71). It demonstrated the shift in world politics away from Europe to the developing states. “The Algerians were the first non-Western
refugees to be assisted by the UNHCR, and thus, for the first time, symbolized the Office’s universality,” (Loescher, 2001:97).

Not only was the Algerian conflict significant, because it was the Office’s first mission in Africa, it also tested the technical and financial capacity of the Office. “It was the first African struggle against European colonial rule in the post-war period to produce significant numbers of refugees...As a result, the Algerian War was one of the most violent wars of decolonization in history, involving terror campaigns directed against civilian populations and ransacking of entire villages by both French forces and the Algerian National Liberation Amy (FLN),” (Loeschcher, 2001).

It is estimated that about one million Algerian Moslems were killed, and at least the same number of peasants were displaced and forcibly resettled to French, barbed wire encampments, (Bouhouche, 1994:73).

In 1960, Felix Schnyder, a Swiss diplomat, was elected by the UN to become the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. From the onset of his administration, Algeria was the most pressing and important issue confronting the Office. “From the beginning of its aid operation for Algerian refugees, the UNHCR believed that repatriation, not resettlement, was the only feasible approach to the problem. Refugees were held in camps in anticipation of a successful, organized repatriation at the end of the war,” (Loescher, 2001:106). The Office was also tasked to assist and supervise the reintegration of the refugees into their homelands upon their return, as soon as circumstances permitted.

The repatriation of the Algerian refugees was an important lesson to the organisation and the International Community. “Once the repatriation operation had been concluded, it became clear to Schnyder that the returning of refugees had to be integrated into a country largely devastated by eight years of bloody conflict. For the most part, the refugees had come from areas where there had been intense fighting and from where most of the inhabitants had either fled or been evacuated,” (Loescher, 2001:107).
Not only would the refugees be obliged to settle in devastated areas, they faced resentment and an unwelcoming attitude from their compatriots who had stayed back to fight the French colonialists (Loescher and Monahan, 1990:73). Thus, UNHCR had to persuade the nationalists to take a more benevolent approach towards the returnees’ needs. Ammar Bouhouche, indicates that there appeared to “have been a degree of antipathy among some of those who had fought in the war towards those who had left the country, and initially the Algerian Red Crescent had insisted that refugees return home without bringing anything with them,” (Bouhouche in Allen and Morsink, 1994:73).

On a larger scale, the treasury of the newly created Algerian State was empty and the economy was still tied to that of France. Algerians lived in abject poverty and survived on only American surplus wheat. “In these circumstances, it was not possible to devote substantial resources to the reintegration of refugees,” (Bouhouche in Allen and Morsink, 1994:73). Therefore, Schnyder concluded that the “repatriation of refugees would only succeed if it was accompanied by the actual reintegration of these refugees into the economy of their country, so that they could once again become self-supporting, (Loescher, 2001:107).

These two major political situations and many others immediately emerging from the decolonisation struggles, in Africa and around the globe, introduced new refugee problems which have since shaped the perspective of the UNHCR, governments and other organisations on the protection of refugees. The most fundamental element of refugee protection is, first and foremost, the determination of their refugee status, (Gibney, 2000:51).

In Schnyder’s view, “because refugee emergencies quickly emerged, and in large numbers in Africa, it was impossible for the UNHCR to make individual determinations of eligibility for refugee status under the Office’s Statute” (Loescher, 2001:112). This problem still confronts the UNHCR and many governmental refugee boards. When refugees amass at frontiers their immediate humanitarian needs tend to override all other issues. In order to protect such people from possible attacks by either government or rebel forces at the borders, host governments have to open their borders to massed
refugees. These might include rebel fighters, soldiers, spies, intelligence personnel and so on.

This, thus, is the basis of international security concerns when refugees cross borders, (Bakwesegha, 1994:7). For instance, “the presence of Angolan refugees in the Congo led Portugal to accuse the Congo of protecting ‘terrorists’ and of providing material and moral support, as well as safe bases for Angolan rebel movements,” (Loescher, 2001:115). Conflict between Sudanese government forces and the Southern rebels produced major refugee flows across Uganda, Central African Republic, Congo, Ethiopia, Chad, Tanzania and Kenya.

These host governments were accused by Sudan of protecting rebels. The dispersal of Tutsi refugees throughout central Africa created political and military tensions between several governments in the region. New African governments often viewed refugees as a national security threat because they frequently caused severe interstate tensions. The presence of large numbers of disaffected refugees in border areas served to strain relations between sending and receiving states, (Loescher, 2001:114-115).

Sometimes, governments would allow sending governments to operate in their country to oust suspected persons (refugees) known to be rebels for trials in their home countries. Hence refugee protection became paramount on the agenda of UNHCR and the international community, (Haines et al, 2003:230).

Though the UNHCR had extended its operations to Africa and other developing nations, it still lacked legal support from the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees, specifically regarding geographical and time limitations, and thus in principle, it had no universal legal mandate to protect refugees. The 1951 Convention, whose formulation was inspired by conflicts and refugee situations of Eastern Europe, could not adequately define or qualify and protect large groups of destitute people escaping violence and conflict related to decolonisation and national liberation struggles. To amend this, the 1967 protocol was formulated and many more governments signed it. “The most important effect of the 1967
Protocol was that it brought the 1951 Convention on Refugees into line with the universal mandate of the statute of UNHCR,” (Loescher, 2001:124).

However, these international refugee legal instruments did not meet the satisfaction of African states. African states expressed concern about insecurity refugee movements created in their regions. In 1964, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) formed a commission on Refugee Problems in Africa which comprised members from the interior ministries of African governments to investigate ways to approach the political nature of refugee problems. The African commission for refugees recognised the 1951 Convention on Refugees and the 1967 Protocol as the basic and universal instrument relating to the status of refugees. However, they formulated guiding principles to direct receiving countries, countries of origin and Third-World countries on refugee situations, (Durieux and McAdam, 2006:216).

With security being one of the major concerns underpinning the African commission on refugees,

…asylum countries were encouraged to settle refugees as far as possible from the borders of the country of origin and to not allow refugees to attack their country of origin. Asylum countries were also supposed to prohibit all subversive activity by refugees. Similarly, countries of origin were admonished neither to view the granting of asylum as an unfriendly gesture nor to attack the countries of refuge through the media, press, or radio or by resorting to arms. Finally, the host countries were told to try to promote voluntary repatriation as soon as possible. (Loescher, 2001:125).

The OAU Convention extended the definitional requirements of refugees which covered wider humanitarian conditions from which a well-founded fear of persecution could be determined. “The most important feature of this first regional refugee convention however, was that the OAU extended the definition of a refugee to include, ‘every person, who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order…is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence” (Loescher, 2001:126).

These conventions on refugees are thus the legal framework within which refugee protection is ensured. It is important for one to understand that internationally recognised organisations and inter-governmental instruments
exist for the protection of refugees. However, not the same could be stated of the internally displaced persons for whom no international community organisation exists to look specifically into their plight; hence the difference between a refugee and an IDP is that one has crossed a border, while the other has not, (Zard, 2006:17). This is not to say that IDPs are not protected. “Frequently, at the request of the Secretary-General and General Assembly of the United Nations, UNHCR has extended its mandate to internally displaced persons under a “good offices” jurisdiction,” (Helton in Steiner et al., 2003:20).

In addition to the 1951 UN Convention and 1967 protocol, International Humanitarian Law has provided a source of protection for civilian non-combatants under the terms of the 1949 Geneva Conventions relating to war. This legal instrument, under the enforcement of the International Red Cross Society, covers a much wider spectrum of people affected by the generalised violence of war, armed conflict or internal strife.

According to Helton, “When we speak of “protection,” we mean legal protection. The concept must be associated with entitlements under law and, for the effective redress of grievances, as well as mechanisms to vindicate claims in respect of those entitlements,” (Helton in Steiner et al., 2003:20). Legal protection also means that a person must qualify adequately for the refugee status which can determine that a ‘well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion,’ and by the OAU convention, a well-founded fear owing to any event seriously disturbing public order;” is the fundamental reason for his or her flight.

If persecution is taken to be, ordinarily, a threat to the individual’s life or freedom or a deprivation of liberty, which prevents him to enhance his or her basic rights, for example, education, earning a living, the opportunity to access services, and so on. Then the individual refugee should be able to link his flight to such that can adequately provide proof of determination of a refugee status. Even if persecution is comprehended as a gross violation of human rights, then the determination of refugee status must consider the direct nexus between the refugee and the persecutor.
The 1951 Convention on Refugees and the 1967 Protocol (which expands the geographical and temporal constraints) defines the term refugee on two basic principles: that is, a well-founded fear based on membership (race, nationality, social group) and belief (religion and political opinion). Thus, an individual becomes a refugee on the basis of his or her government’s inability or failure to protect such an individual, who would have been persecuted on the basis of these two principles or concepts and hence protection would be needed for the same people elsewhere. “Mere membership of a particular race, religion, nationality, or social group, is generally not sufficient to warrant refugee protection. The individual must show a nexus between himself or herself and the possibility of persecution,” (Helton in Steiner et al., 2003:22). It is arguably the case, that in certain situations, like the German Holocaust— the German Nazi government against the Jews, and also the Rwandan Genocide—Hutus against Tutsis, a mere membership of the persecuted group is a sufficient reason for protection. On the second concept, if an individual fears persecution upon returning to the home country because of his belief or political opinion, that belief should be something which is not tolerated by the authorities in the home country, and of which (the belief) he may have previously acted upon in variance with the legal instruments or beliefs of the authorities in the home country, (Steinberg, 2005:3).

Persecution of an individual, based on his beliefs, should also be determined on the basis that, “the belief must be one that the authorities in the home country will not tolerate, and it must be held with sufficient strength that it is likely to be expressed in the future, even if it has not been expressed in the past. Under certain circumstances, refugee protection is warranted where the authorities impute a political opinion to an individual, even if the person does not possess the actual belief,” (Helton in Steiner et al., 2003:22).

Taking the OAU Convention on Refugees that sought to expand the causes of persecution to include ‘external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality; would not necessarily determine the nexus between the individual refugee and
the persecuting event, (Helton, 2003:93). It is, however, necessary to determine on humanitarian grounds that the events from which one flees are compelling enough to seek refuge outside one’s country of origin or habitual residence; and their persistence to cause fear of persecution upon return, (Crisp, 2004:61). This establishes a fundamental difference between events such as man-made events or natural disasters, such as a cyclone, hurricane, tsunami, fire outbreak, volcano, earthquakes and the like, which can cause displacement, as enshrined in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, but would not necessarily warrant crossing an international border for protection.

Therefore, external aggression or events seriously disturbing public order should be acts of persecution purposely directed towards human objects. Thus one does not need to establish a nexus for refugee determination because the mere presence of a person could have him or her persecuted. Therefore, “asylum in another country is sometimes the only remedy capable of providing some real measure of protection to individuals fleeing human rights violations, persecution, and conflict,” (Zard, 2006:19).

2.6 THE TRADITIONAL THREE DURABLE SOLUTIONS TO REFUGEE PROBLEMS

Whilst states argue over the scope of their responsibilities and those of the UNHCR towards refugees, the refugees themselves face a multitude of serious protection concerns. In diverse ways these constitute the existent crisis with the present refugee protection regime. One could find in the UNHCR’s annual reports on the state of the world’s refugees a consistent reflection of severe protection problems that seem to reflect the attitudes of host nations towards refugees. According to Ninette Kelley and Jean-Francois Durieux, [Internet 15].

These include high levels of deportation and expulsion from asylum states to territories where the refugees’ lives or freedom are threatened. Unacceptably high levels of violence and the intimidation of refugees are also consistently reported and are particularly prevalent where large numbers of refugees are confined to camps. These include violence at the hands of armed combatants within and outside the camps, as well as harassment, exploitation, and attacks by national authorities and local populations. Other forms of serious harm, such as domestic violence, sexual assault, and rape are often endemic to large and protracted situations, as are a host of other
social ills born of the frustration, dependency, and despondency of prolonged confinement. Refugees and asylum seekers in both large-scale influxes and individual asylum processes face discrimination on account of their race, religion, and national or ethnic origin. This can range from the denial of civil rights concerning employment, education, and access to social services to exclusion from asylum procedures and removal from the asylum country without their applications having been considered. In addition to these immediate protection concerns, far too many refugees are in a state of limbo with no durable solutions in sight. Two-thirds of the 5 million refugees in Africa, for example, have been in exile for over five years and are confined to camps or organized settlements, many of which are located along insecure borders, vulnerable to attack. They are commonly in remote, environmentally inhospitable areas, which do not receive development assistance. These protracted refugee situations, where prospects for durable solutions are not yet in sight, are another major challenge to the international refugee protection regime.

In 2008, disgruntled Liberian refugees protested against their living conditions and a planned assimilation programme by the government of Ghana. Their refusal to end the protest resulted in the deportation of about 200 refugees. According to the government, the refugees had ulterior motives which were a threat to the internal security of the nation. This drew sharp criticism from diverse quarters of the international community and the international media.

It is to deal with this concern of refugee protection exigency that more deliberations on implementation and commitment are essential to finding a serious engagement in the search for the protection of refugees through durable solutions to their plight. It is essential to commit states to reaffirm their commitment to implementing their obligations under the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol, and the additional regional conventions on refugees, such as the 1969 OAU Convention on Refugees, the 1984 Convention Against Torture (CAT), the Comprehensive Plan of Action (CPA) of the Conference on Refugees of Central America (CIREFCA), etc, to recognize the importance of other human rights instruments in the protection of refugees, and stress the need to strengthen the implementation of these instruments, as well as to work co-operatively to achieve durable solutions for refugees, (Wilkinson, 1999:7).

If these declarations on refugee protection are significant as formal expressions of states’ support as the existing framework of refugee protection and the political will to do better, then the essential commitment is a fair implementation
of the same for the intended purpose of providing protection for refugees, (Korn, 1999:102-103). On this basis, refugees need, at least, temporary protection, whilst a durable solution is being planned by the concerned stakeholders. A key element in these declarations and conventions on refugee protection is the issue of repatriation.

The UNHCR proposes that temporary protection should last only as long as the concerned refugees need it. “That is, admission and protection would be granted on the understanding that the refugees in question would return to their country of origin once conditions there had sufficiently improved,” (Roxström and Gibney, 2003:46).

2.6.1 REPATRIATION

Today’s human rights abuses are tomorrow’s refugee movements. While most of the major population displacements of the 1990s have taken place in the context of armed conflicts, the immediate causes of flight are almost invariably to be found in actual or anticipated human rights violations. When refugees abandon their own home, community and country, they do so because they are frightened of being murdered, tortured, raped, imprisoned, enslaved, robbed or starved (UNHCR, 1995:57).

Considering once again the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees’ definition of the term refugees, which states, “Any person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”

This definition forms the basis of the regional refugee conventional definition of the term refugee, and it is thus, self-suggestive of what then would constitute the statutory cessation of the term “refugee” and hence a solution to the refugee problem. Nonetheless, the Convention outlines conditions that the convention ceases to apply to any person failing under the term. Section C of the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees states: this Convention shall cease to apply to any person failing under the terms of section A if:
(1) He has voluntarily re-availed himself of the protection of the country of his nationality; or

(2) Having lost his nationality, he has voluntarily re-acquired it, or

(3) He has acquired a new nationality, and enjoys the protection of the country of his nationality; or

(4) He has voluntarily re-established himself in the country which he left or outside which he remained owing to fear of persecution; or

(5) He can no longer, because the circumstances in connexion with which he has been recognized as a refugee have ceased to exist, continue to refuse to avail himself of the protection of the country of this nationality; Provided that this paragraph shall not apply to a refugee falling under section A(1) of this Article who is able to invoke compelling reasons arising out of previous persecution for refusing to avail himself of the protection of the country of nationality;

(6) Being a person who has no nationality, he is, because the circumstances in connexion with which he has been recognised as a refugee have ceased to exist, able to return to the country of his former habitual residence; Provided that this paragraph shall not apply to a refugee falling under section A(1) of this Article who is able to invoke compelling reasons arising out of previous persecution for refusing to return to the country of his former habitual residence.

A profound intellectual examination of this outline would reveal that the Convention considers repatriation, to be a matter of priority for durable solutions, as the preferred option between resettlement and local integration. “It is generally assumed that most refugees will eventually want to go home; and representatives of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have persistently highlighted the need to create conditions favourable for mass return movements,” (Allen and Morsink, 1994:1).

In as much as the Conventions on Refugees advocates for voluntary repatriation and proscribes repoulement (the forceful return of a migrant or refugee), repatriation has not always been seen as the best objective or durable solution. The Conventions cease to apply on the basis of an individual refugee’s conviction to voluntarily return and on the non-existence of the
conditions and circumstances for which one is recognised as a refugee, (Wax, 2004:17).

The difficulty asylum countries face is that of the determination of the non-existence of conditions for which one becomes a refugee, for repatriation to be effected. It is insufficient to suggest that an armed conflict and violence from which refugees have fled has ended, and situations have returned to normalcy; so its related refugees must return. In fact, the Conventions do not grant governments any discretional authority to return refugees on that basis.

According to Article V of the OAU Convention, voluntary repatriation means that refugees will decide when they want to return upon the declaration by the governments of the country of origin of political changes in their country. However, the decision to return is based on the refugee’s conviction that the circumstances that initially led to their flight have improved. “But since it is the prerogative of the refugee-generating country, and not the refugees, to change these circumstances, the government of the refugees’ country of origin, which sees the refugees as the “enemy across the border” is bound to take its time in changing these circumstance; therefore, refugees remain in limbo, sometimes for decades, without being allowed to make a decision to return home,” (Bakwesegha, 1994:11).

Contrary to expectation, it is essential to substantiate the fact that refugees are not repatriated to “territories where [the refugees’] life or freedom would be threatened,” (Rogge, 1994:22). This is to ensure the safety of refugees upon their return. For this to be achieved, three essential requisites must be fulfilled: the change in the country of origin “must be of major political and social significance;” it “must be justly effective;” and it “must be durable,” (Rogge, 1994:32). Certainly, to establish that this is indeed the case, a substantial period of time, typically “a number of years”, must have passed. This means that, refugee problems must be tailored into peace negotiations for post-conflict reconstruction of states or areas of conflict and violence early enough, so as to inform the political transformation that ensues.
This is essential, in the sense that, sometimes, the conditions for which one is recognized as a refugee may have changed, but the refugee remains unconvinced of his safety to return; because the existence of a peace agreement in itself would not amount to such a fundamental change of circumstances and the need for protection against *refoulement* would thus, have to persist, (Beyani, 2006:278-279). Thus, persecution may seem to continue to exist and the *non-refoulement* principle, therefore, continues to apply to any repatriation that takes place in such situations.

However, it is to be established that “voluntariness” is not a necessary precondition for *non-refoulement*. This is highly relevant in a context, in which the principle of free choice has been increasingly eroded.

According to Rogge, “[a] key issue which needs to be examined for any impending massive repatriation is that of the information refugees have about their home areas and the source of that information,” (Rogge, 1994:32). To ensure that the general circumstances of insecurity had improved, in 2006 the executive director and other members of the Liberian Refugees Repatriations and Resettlement Commission (LRRRC) undertook a massive repatriation campaign to repatriate the Liberian refugees from Sierra Leone, Guinea, Côte d’Ivoire and Ghana. The campaign sought to alleviate the fears of the refugees and encourage them on any “ongoing reintegration activities (skill training, micro loan credit schemes, free health care services at designated health posts etc), as well as, the tremendous progress being made by the Liberian Government in the areas of security and socio-economic development of the country so that they (refugees) could make an informed decision to return home in safety and dignity,” (LRRRC, 2007:4).

The Campaign, which had 30th June 2007 as the deadline for voluntary repatriation supported by the LRRRC, did not succeed in repatriating all Liberian refugees within the West African sub-region. Thousands of Liberian refugees still remain in camps across West Africa.
Sometimes, the desire to return does not necessarily rest on the fears of the refugees but rather, on the opportunities in either the country of origin or the country of asylum. Rogge indicates that (1994:32-33),

The host government, the home government, the international community, and the political fronts in exile all play a role in influencing or even determining the refugees’ desire to return. The manner in which a host government responds to a potential repatriation will depend greatly on the degree to which the refugees are believed to be positively or negatively impacting upon the asylum area. If the goal is to be rid of refugees but not be seen to be forcibly repatriating them, then an array of passive measures such as reducing services, restricting income-generating opportunities, limiting freedom of movement and association, etc., can all be implemented to influence the refugees’ willingness to repatriate. Conversely, if the refugees are well integrated and making valuable contributions to regional economies—which might even be disrupted by the refugees’ withdrawal—then the home governments may actively encourage refugees to remain.

No international legal instrument sets out criteria for setting up a refugee camp except the concerns on international security; therefore, no refugee camp should be set at international frontiers. The site of a refugee camp has a direct influence on the opportunities of the refugees. In Ghana, the Buduburam Refugee Camp, which is just some few kilometres from the capital city, Accra, is seen to have tremendous economic opportunities for the refugees. Refugees could do brisk economic activities due to the proximity in accessing goods from Accra to retail at the camp. The Krisan Refugee Camp, on the other hand, is located in a rural area and is relatively disadvantaged in terms of such brisk economic opportunities. This is to assert that, in “any repatriation, economic reintegration and rehabilitation are key issues, irrespective of whether returnees are spontaneous, coming back under the umbrella of the UNHCR, returning to traditional rural homes, or repatriating to the cities,” (Rogge, 1994:34).

In any case, if economic integration and rehabilitation programmes by the home government and/or an organisation were the attraction to repatriate, the process of adjustment and assimilation could also be influenced by individual refugee’s economic growth whilst in exile. Rogge puts it as, (1994:34) “[f]or repatriating refugees, this process of economic adjustment and reintegration is contingent upon a number of variables: length of time in exile, level of self-sufficiency or dependency while in exile, skills or knowledge acquired while in exile, income-
generating opportunities or the means of production available in home areas, individual or zonal reintegration assistance provided, the degree of voluntariness in returning, and individual commitment and tenacity to re-establishment.”

This, in essence, forms part of the desire to voluntarily repatriate even if the conditions for which one is recognised as a refugee have changed or not.

Again, in situations where refugees are heavily dependent on aid and are unable to put to use their economic or professional expertise to earn a living, or better still, to supplement whatever aid they receive, the issue of fending for themselves in their home area upon repatriation could be a daunting prospect. Some refugees are not able to put their expertise into practice, perhaps, due to bureaucratic or procedural difficulties, security concerns, lack of such economic opportunities. “Such dependency also includes having others make all decisions on their behalf. Repatriating such refugees, and having them become economically viable in their home areas, is therefore, a problem of more than simply providing them with land and/or other means of production,” (Rogge: 1994:35).

It is, thus, a major task to get people to break out of a welfare syndrome acquired during many years in a refugee settlement and to make decisions for themselves. This is indeed a challenge.

The degree of destruction of home areas and resources is another major factor that influences the decision to return or to repatriate. It is believed that when refugees go back to their home countries, assimilation into their homes and societies or communities solves their problems. However, many factors have to be tailored into the decision to return, so as to ensure that refugees return in and into safety and dignity. As is discussed above, the difference between a refugee and an IDP is that one has crossed an international border, while the other has not. If refugees return, either spontaneously or in an organised way, into a disrupted environment where they are not able to assimilate into the new culture, new political economy, and have no resources for livelihood, then they become, in principle, like internally displaced persons.
If the cause of the exile was a protracted war, then much of the infrastructure may be destroyed, villages may have been abandoned, and agricultural lands reverted back to ‘bush.’ It is, therefore, not just the refugees that are in need of rehabilitation. The time lag between the heavy inputs needed in rehabilitating the basic infrastructure, rebuilding villages, re-clearing land and otherwise making it usable again, and the production of any meaningful output and/or profit from the land may be too long for some returnees to withstand…Moreover, if refugees are returning to areas where an insurgency is still under way, or the areas which were associated with an insurgency, government response to returnees may be less than welcoming, and hence it may not be willing to commit the funding necessary for rehabilitation, (Rogge, 1994:36).

It is also to be emphasised that, sometimes, refugees may return to a less-resourced areas: where land, water, shelter, and food are scarce, and thus they would meet the unwelcoming attitude of those who did remain behind during the conflict (herein known as 'stayees'). Thus, in the absence of any additional source of assistance, the returnees would be rendered vulnerable. Their presence could also be another cause of conflict between stayees; and the process of reintegration thus could be marred by belligerence and bigotry. This could heighten to a disturbing situation, especially in areas where ethnic divisions seem to exist between certain groups. One may find that a section of the returnees may receive assistance from their tribesmen, whilst others are neglected.

Social reintegration and adjustment is often a challenging factor that demands serious attention in post-repatriation processes. Though a particular timeframe cannot be designated for which a cultural difference between returnees and stayees would be serious, returnees may pick up certain behaviours and mindsets, adapt to a lifestyle, whilst in exile which may be at variance with that in his home country. However, “the longer the exile, the greater the chances of refugees taking on at least some of the social and cultural characteristics of their hosts.

Second-generation refugees, of which there are many in Africa, are born into an alien society and culture and are, therefore, even more likely to adopt local ways and attitudes,” (Rogge, 1994:39) and for them, returning to their parents’ country of origin does not necessarily mean ‘going home.’ There is a high
probability that, when refugees return into their kinfolk they will be welcomed and accepted. In situations where refugees remain close to their home border and are able to keep in touch with their families and other members of their society, social integration and acceptance would be a milder problem for social adjustment; where the returnees have to deal with the available opportunities, or the lack of such for a living.

Conversely, repatriation can have a tremendous impact on receiving communities, especially when returnees are able to practise certain skills and concepts they might have been trained with or experienced. In the area of agriculture, returnees can introduce new farming methods and technology to the receiving community. The same could be said of other income-generating opportunities and social activities. Returnees can also bring value to certain items which were previously considered to be useless. Skills, expertise and technology transfer can impact on the receiving community, if the returnees learnt such whilst in exile, and thus those skills are applicable in the home areas.

It could be said that returnees also bring to the receiving community the bad attitudes learnt whilst in exile. If refugees learnt to acquire wealth through corruption, armed robbery, theft, malignity etc., then these practices could be unleashed on the receiving community.

Even more so, a vibrant refugee community that brought in and augmented the economic activities in the host community whilst in exile, becomes, when they leave, a lost source of market and revenue to the host community. Most often, the presence of refugees in a certain area demands support for the refugees and a dependency on the host community. This dependence is often transformed into an economic venture which in turn generates income for the community. Rogge puts it like this, “the most obvious impact is that of eliminating the cost of supporting the refugees. The support of large concentrations requires that an array of economic systems develop; much of the local population, many businesses and agencies benefit from these systems. Regional economies adjust to the needs which the refugee communities generate. This very presence of a large refugee community will
likely bring significant external (hard-currency) funds into an area," (Rogge: 1994:39). Hence, the subsequent departure of such a large concentration of people means a loss of demand and thus, a respective loss of services and income to both the local and regional economies.

It is also the case that the departure of a large number of people exerts pressure on the environment and the scarce resources needed to provide for the needs of both members of the host community and the refugee community. All too often, farming lands and other economic assets which are dependent on the land have turned into conflict situations between the host communities and the refugees communities. In Krisan Refugee Camp, the lack of arable land for crop farming has resulted in the refugees felling trees for charcoal making. The refugees sell the charcoal and use the proceeds from it to support themselves, in addition to the assistance they receive from the UNHCR, Ghana and other donors.

However, members of the community detest this act, contesting that the refugees are destroying their forest; hence the pressure on the forest has become a bone of contention between the host community and the refugee community, who claim that the land is not good for crop farming.

Return, therefore, is not in itself a guaranteed or durable solution. The stability of the process requires a host of interrelated activities that not only provide immediate material assistance necessary for initial reintegration, but link these to other sustainable development activities over the longer term to the benefit of returnees and local residents alike, (McKinsey, 2004: 20). This requires sustained and co-operative commitment by a host of actors, no small challenge in complex environments with limited funds allocated for development. Yet it is a challenge that must be met to ensure the prospects for durable peace and in order to limit the risks of further population movement and displacement, (Durieux and McAdam, 2006:224).

**2.6.2 THIRD-COUNTRY RESETTLEMENT**
The third, and last, of the conventional durable solutions, but not least preferred, is third-country resettlement of refugees. In cases where refugees are unable
to return home or are unwilling to do so, owing to continued fear of persecution and insecurity in the country of first refuge, the UNHCR assists in resettling them in a third country. Refugees facing particular problems or threats also benefit from third-country resettlement, (UNHCR, 2006:16).

For many a refugee, for whom repatriation or settlement in the first country of asylum is perhaps not a solution, “[the] costly and time-consuming process of relocating in a third country then becomes necessary,” (Newland, 1981:17). In as much as refugees may face threats or persecution and thus feel unsafe in the country of first refuge, the process and option of a third country resettlement through the appropriate channel is a daunting one, which prerogative, usually rests on the UNHCR, and rarely on the government of the country of first asylum.

Some governments lack both the political and moral capacity to engage in negotiations with other governments on the issue of a third-country resettlement of refugees from their countries. Other factors would include the financial capability to elicit protection in a third country, and hence the need for the UNHCR and/or international organisations to spearhead a third-country resettlement process.

Having said this, this section will rather discuss issues of protection and related development prospects for refugees benefiting from a third-country resettlement. Nonetheless, an overview of how certain legal and/or political parameters are set to arrive at a solution for the protection of refugees cannot be ignored. By understanding such parameters one would be able to comprehend the choices made by either the UNHCR, the country of origin, the country of first asylum and a third country of resettlement.

With the support and agreement of the government of the third country, resettlement, as part of their humanitarian assistance programmes, the UNHCR negotiates for a number of refugees who want to be resettled. Refugees who accept and depart to a third-country resettlement do not remain refugees of their first country of asylum any longer, and they will not automatically regain their refugee status should they return to the country of first asylum. However,
the decision to grant a refugee status in such a case remains the prerogative of
the government of first asylum. Secondly, if conditions are not favourable for a
third-country resettlement, refugees do not have a right of return to the country
of first asylum.

The right of return and/or entry into the country of first asylum is solely based on
humanitarian grounds. “Applying to UNHCR for resettlement does not mean
automatic referral or acceptance for resettlement in a third country. The final
decision on whether an individual is authorized to resettle in a particular country
would be made by the government of that country, normally following an
individual interview. The UNHCR merely facilitates the process and has no role
in making final decisions on resettlement” [Internet 16]. Resettlement is not a
right and the decision to accept an applicant for resettlement lies solely with the
resettlement country. Just as with repatriation, resettlement to a third country is
also a voluntary process.

From time to time, refugees declare their interests in durable solutions, based
on which the UNHCR and host governments work to enhance protection for
them (refugees). As such, UNHCR refers refugees interested in resettlement to
the prospective resettlement countries who have indicated some assistance.
Usually, resettlement countries do not accept direct applications from individual
refugees. Refugees wishing to be processed for resettlement complete a
‘Declaration of Interest’ form that the UNHCR has made widely available in the
camps through the UNHCR staff, implementing partners, and other persons
working in the camps.

The forms are completed on a household basis and each adult person must
confirm their consent in writing to be considered for resettlement. The UNHCR
uses the information obtained during a personal meeting with each household
to refer their case to a resettlement country for consideration. The UNHCR
determines which country can be of assistance with respect to the cases
provided, [Internet 16]. Refugees do not have a choice of country to which they
are submitted. This being UNHCR’s worldwide policy for the resettlement of
refugees, a resettlement case normally consists of the applicant and his/her
immediate relatives. For resettlement purposes ‘immediate relatives’ are
spouses, children, and parents, and in certain circumstances, other close relatives. However, UNHCR works with the resettlement countries to include all family members to the extent that it does not to split up families. Persons over 18 years of age may apply for resettlement independent of their family, though the UNHCR encourages families to apply for resettlement together, [Internet 16].

These are some of the detailed criteria for the selection of refugees for a third-country resettlement:

- Selection criteria: Each resettlement country has its own criteria for deciding who it will accept for resettlement. Generally, the issues that are considered include the reasons for fleeing the country of first asylum, the refugee’s situation in the camp, and his/her ability to successfully integrate into a new society, and whether he/she has committed any serious crimes.

- Family links abroad: family ties abroad do not guarantee a resettlement in the country where refugees have family links nor are they required to have family links in a third country to be considered for resettlement. However, family links abroad are useful in the sense that, information on family links is used to reunite refugees with their close relatives (spouses, parents, children, siblings) abroad, to the extent possible.

- Health requirements and availability of treatment: the health status of the refugee and that of his/her dependants are assessed to know whether the resettlement country has the proper health care facilities for treatment.

- Skills: Skills and education are not relevant for some resettlement countries, while others may consider language skills, previous job experience, and educational background when deciding whether to accept a refugee for resettlement. However, it is obvious that the possession of skills is advantageous to the refugee, whether he/she is looking for repatriation, local integration or resettlement.
• Separated children: For children who are not living with at least one biological parent, trained UNHCR officials undertake a ‘Best Interests Determination’ to assess whether resettlement is the most appropriate solution and to ensure it would be in the best interests of the child.

Although a refugee may have very tangible reasons to be resettled, once the UNHCR has submitted his/her case to a resettlement country, the decision of acceptance lies solely with that country. The UNHCR has no role whatsoever in deciding whether one is accepted for resettlement or not. However, some countries have appeal procedures that in the case of rejection one could apply.

Convention Plus is a process that brings states and inter-governmental and non-governmental stakeholders together to reach special agreements to improve the protection of refugees in areas that are not completely dealt with by the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol and the specific regional refugee protection instruments [Internet 16]. It usually aims to achieve agreement in the following areas: the strategic use of resettlement for the benefit of a greater number of refugees; the effective application of development assistance to support durable solutions for refugees; and clarification of the responsibilities of states in regard to irregular secondary movements of refugees, [Internet 17].

Primarily, a third-country resettlement has long been recognised as a vital response to the protection needs of individuals who are at risk. It is also a durable solution for those who can neither return to their own countries nor integrate locally in the country of asylum.

In addition and on a lighter note, it is a process of burden-sharing, especially, when a government is incapable of hosting large numbers of refugees for numerous reasons, thereby alleviating the strain their prolonged stay could cause the host state, [Internet 16]. In the Agenda for Protection the need to improve resettlement (third country, local integration and repatriation) and its benefits are discussed and a specific plan of action is to: expand resettlement opportunities; enhance resettlement capacities through increased partnerships with NGOs and other relevant stakeholders; introduce more flexibility into resettlement criteria; and ensure that resettled refugees enjoy equality of rights.
and opportunities in the social, economic, and cultural life of the resettlement country, [Internet 16].

Presently, a core group of states has remained consistent in receiving refugees for a third-country resettlement. It is however, interesting to note that for the past two decades, the Americas, Europe, and Australia have surfaced as third-country resettlement destinations. Africa and Asia, which are the largest refugee-producing continents, are lost in this picture. For this reason this issue requires more research. Third-country resettlement alone will not provide the assurance of a durable solution for the millions of the world’s refugees in need of one [Internet 16]. For many refugees, repatriating to home in conditions of peace and security is principally, the appropriate alternative to achieving self-reliance in a hosting state and being locally integrated into the country of asylum.

As has been pointed out, these solutions require significant state co-operation, assistance, and financial support that focus on the sustainable development goals necessary to achieve a long-term durable protection and development solution for the concerned refugees. It is one thing for a country to avail its borders for a third-country solution, but it is entirely a different scenario to sustain the protection and the holistic development of the individual refugee, [Internet 16].

And here the refugee protection regime runs into obstacles. In the context of return, returnees have rarely been part of national development planning, and their needs as well as their productive capacities have been disregarded. Beyond initial humanitarian assistance for their return, sometimes returnees are left without the long-term assistance necessary for their reintegration and contribution to their communities. Thus, the lack of opportunities for a sustainable future can become an underpinning of instability; and hence, they may feel compelled to leave again, (Kibreab, 1994:51).

Surely, refugees on third-country resettlement have no different case from that of returnees. Basically, all durable solutions face similar salient problems: the social and economic integration of concerned refugees. In a third-country
resettlement, refugees face serious cultural and social integration issues which are, “if anything, even more intractable than in the country of first asylum, where the cultural setting is often, at least, somewhat familiar to the refugees,” (Kuhlman, 1994:117).

Sometimes resettlement in a third country is implausible for certain refugees irrespective of their interests. It was found that a third-country resettlement (especially in Europe and North America) was not possible for the majority of Rwandan refugees in Uganda, who had no formal education and were mostly cattle-herders tied to their animals and their land. “In those circumstances, travel to places for resettlement would naturally be impractical for the majority. The second generation of refugees, who may have crossed the educational barrier while in Uganda and also detached themselves from cattle culture. They probably felt little pressure to move out since they could prosper in the public and the private sector without too many hurdles,” (Khiddu-Makubuya, 1994:147).

Many analysts have attributed some of the causes of conflict in Africa to the cultural insensitive demarcation of borders of African countries by the colonial regimes and the inability of the OAU to re-demarcate them to ensure that people of the same tribe would not be split across borders (Hadjor, 1990; Fisher, 1997; Boulden, 2003). Conversely, refugees are also accepted by their tribesmen across borders in neighbouring countries. “The majority of original Rwandan refugees were Tutsi, who are related to the Hima or Ankole in Western Uganda. The Hima community provided aid and comfort to the refugees and encouraged them to stay,” (Khiddu-Makubuya, 1994:147).

Social and economic integration programmes vary across countries. The salient issue is that, refugees would have to overcome a considerable number of challenges to cope and be fully integrated. It is believed that refugees would receive initial assistance from the government of the country of resettlement and the donor communities. However, resettled refugees are expected to become self-supporting as quickly as possible, (Moumtzis, 2001:23). This is where expertise and individual skills and economic potential come into play.
However, such programmes do not make them special people in the eyes of the law of the resettlement country. Refugees could face serious immigration laws that take no account of their unique background and history. In a worst case scenario they could even face indefinite prison detention, (Moumtzis, 2001:23).

Coupled with social and economic issues are the environmental adaptation challenges. For instance, refugees from the scorching heat of Sudan and the Horn of Africa resettling in the freezing cold of Canada and New Zealand, which are consistent with third-country resettlement, could have serious health problems. As such, the integration of refugees on resettlement must consider such salient challenges which can create situations of perpetual reliance on governments and humanitarian organisations for survival.

Refugees who would like to go into farming would also have to deal with new methods of farming in such new environments or climates. The use of hoes and machetes to farm in Africa is completely different from the mechanised farming methods of the North. As such, refugees would have to be trained intensively before using their farming skills for survival (Khiddu-Makubuya, 1994:148). In cases whereby refugees have been in exile for decades, a third-country resettlement only adds to their ‘survival problem chain.’ This may seem like fleeing from one persecution to another self-interest persecution.

### 2.6.3 LOCAL INTEGRATION

The integration of refugees is a dynamic and multifaceted two-way process which requires efforts by all the parties concerned, including a preparedness on the part of refugees to adapt to the host society without having to forego their own cultural identity, and a corresponding readiness on the part of host communities and public institutions to welcome refugees and meet the needs of a diverse population. The process of integration is complex and gradual, comprising distinct but inter-related legal, economic, social, political and cultural dimensions, all of which are important for refugees’ ability to integrate successfully and become fully included members of society.

The fundamental theoretical discourse concerning the temporary protection of refugees and the urgency to finding durable solutions has remained top of the
agenda of international humanitarian bodies for decades. Among the salient issues of discourse is the focus on preventing forced population displacement (and migration generally) through eliminating its root causes, (Scholdan, 2000). The circumstances encompassing the root causes and the approach to addressing them vary, and there is now a widespread acceptance of the need for preventive strategies which address the causes of refugee flows from the UN and regional Security Councils, UNCHR, various other international bodies, member states and NGOs.

Indeed the 2002 Agenda for Protection called for “more resolute responses to root causes of refugee movements,” (UN Doc No. A/AC.96/965/Add.1). The UNHCR has identified an increased ‘unwillingness’ on the part of host countries to continue to offer asylum and ongoing protection to refugee populations. Through the durable solutions, refugees are protected from the circumstances for which they are recognised as refugees. The ‘unwillingness’ of host states to grant asylum or collaborate with concerned bodies to find durable solutions for refugees can cause a secondary movement of refugee population. Krisan Refugee Camp hosts some refugees who have been in different refugee camps in different countries in search of refuge.

For such refugees, perhaps, local integration in their first or second country of asylum would not have provided enough protection from the circumstances for which they were originally recognised as refugees. As, discussed above, refugee protection through a durable solution is effective through a political framework, that is, ensuring that states take the responsibility for the protection of returnees, resettled and integrated refugees. As such, the desire to avoid human rights violations goes hand in hand with a political push to prevent refugee flows for reasons associated with the domestic politics and economic considerations within host nations.

This is demonstrated partially by the recent proliferation of ‘temporary protection’ regimes, especially, in industrialised countries, (Scholdan, 2000; and UNHCR, 2000, UNHCR, 2003, UNHCR, 2007). It is argued that some host nations intend to avoid the political, financial and social consequences of permanently integrating refugees within their borders, by offering asylum for a
limited period, and only until they consider the country of origin to be sufficiently secure for the return of the refugees.

Similarly, certain countries (predominantly industrialised) decline to permanently resettle refugees who have applied for a permanent third-country resettlement and they grant them only temporary protection instead, by which refugees are subject to immigration laws which could repatriate them as and when the host country deems the country of origin to be safe. On the other hand, Sterkenburg et al., argue that “Refugees in Africa who cross international borders do not normally plan for permanent asylum status. They hope, as all refugees hope, to return home within relatively short periods of time,” (1994:191). Some analysts argue that this motivation is “at odds with the very goal the international community wants to achieve,” (Scholdan, 2000).

Thus the question for all stakeholders of refugee protection is whether the granting of temporary protection is an endorsement of the hopes of refugees or the inability and/or unwillingness of states to grant permanent asylum to refugees. Sterkenburg et al., indicate that “Governments in host countries prefer refugees to return and usually grant them no more than temporary rights of residence and usufruct, though not ownership, of local productive resources,” (1994:191).

However, certain refugees turn out to be long-term residents of the host countries because of long-lasting violence and conflicts in their homelands, (Sterkenburg et al., 1994:191).

If the protection of refugees is carried out on the grounds of also preventing refugee flow by ‘a root-causes approach,’ the desire to overcome the burden of refugees on host countries can be comprehended to have certain problematic characteristics. Literature on local integration argues that integration turns out to be the last option for refugees and the least-suggested durable solution by the host country among the three traditional durable solutions. Some of the problematic characteristics are the continual choice of the Western and industrialised world (Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and North America) for a third-country resettlement.
Considering that the primary focus of protection is ensuring that refugees are safe from the conditions for which they were recognised as refugees, deviation from this primary objective is a defeat of the international conventions and other legal instruments advocating the protection of refugees. There are refugees who have moved a great distance away from home and certainly from the conditions for which they were recognised as refugees.

Yet, they (especially refugees in Africa), continue to seek a third-country resettlement (especially in Europe and North America), which is not based on the “well-founded fear of persecution,” but on economic welfare. However, it is not to suggest that such refugees take advantage of their conditions to seek economic migration. This question is answered by another problematic characteristic, (especially in Africa).

In John Sorenson’s view, “Most of the refugee-receiving countries are among the least-developed states in Africa, characterised by widespread poverty, low employment rates, illiteracy, poor health and low educational services and high mortality rates. To suddenly become the hosts to large numbers of unexpected refugees may constitute a considerable burden on such countries, particularly when international assistance is inadequate,” (1994:170).

As such, “some suggest that many African refugees are not fleeing political persecution but are moving in response to environmental or economic pressures,” (Sorenson, 1994:178). In addition, Peter H. Koehn also argues that, “African refugees are seldom resettled in neighbouring countries of first asylum. Local integration rarely occurs “because the countries of asylum do not have the resources, particularly arable land, necessary to make it politically feasible to absorb the increased population,” (1994:105-106).

Local integration, therefore, can be discussed in a two-way manner from two angles of interaction: firstly, socio-economic conditions within which refugees are integrated, and secondly, the political dimensions within which refugees conduct their affairs.
2.6.3.1 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACET OF LOCAL INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES

Economic integration of refugees always assumes the centre stage in the process of finding a durable solution to a refugee population. Kuhlman believes that, integration must first and foremost “reflect a situation where the problems resulting from flight are solved,” (1994:119). This means that, the arrival by concerned parties (refugees or government) at considering local integration to solve a particular refugee population protection problem must have taken into perspective the socio-economic factors and the roles of the refugees, government, UNHCR and the indigenous populace.

Though local integration aims at the protection of refugees, by its multifaceted nature, it thus, subsumes the concept of self-sufficiency without being identical to it, (Kuhlman, 1994:119). Self-sufficiency for refugees in this context is differentiated from self-sufficiency in the case of economic migrants whose prime integration purpose is to seek greener economic pastures. Self-sufficiency, thus, means that refugees are securely protected from the conditions for which they are recognised as refugees and are provided the environment conducive for assimilation into social life on their own without any relief assistance based on their human needs.

Refugees must be able to participate in the host economy in ways commensurate with their skills and compatible with their cultural values. They must be able to attain a standard of living that satisfies culturally determined minimum requirements. By virtue of their flight, refugees’ socio-cultural identity, which is commensurate with others in their country of origin, most often, seem non-existent in the host country. Thus, integration must take into account the socio-cultural change they undergo; it must have the avenues to permit them to maintain an identity of their own and to adjust psychologically to their new situation.

The influx of refugees to a particular area affects the economic opportunities, and consequently, the living standard. As such, the standard of living and economic opportunities for members of the host society play a significant role in ensuring that tension and friction between the host population and refugees do not worsen the problems of protection. In Africa, where refugees remain heavily
dependent on aid for virtually all their basic day-to-day needs, integration must take cognisance of the economic expedience need to fast propel integrated refugees onto a level of self-sufficiency, (Rogge, 1994:35).

This ensures that integrated refugees are able to take complete possession of their standard of living, as and when aid agencies withdraw their assistance. Hence, the facet of economic integration of refugees concerns the opportune ventures of social life that have the potential for refugees to attain material wealth. Through the optimal allocation of resources, refugees should be able to sustain their lives and that of successive generations, (Kuhlman, 1994:121). In this way, integration of refugees as a durable solution to a well-founded fear of persecution with a focus on their economic welfare could be said to have made headway or been achieved.

2.6.3.2 THE SOCIAL FACET OF INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES
The focus on social networks has grown to take a significant stage in theories of social capital – whereby social networks are recognised as being instrumental in generating social capital. Social capital refers to ‘connections among individuals and social groups - social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them’ (Putnam, 2000:19). These are perceived as being highly productive of social stability, integration and an array of other normatively defined goals. Social capital is generated by entering into social relations and/or associations which promote mutual duties, expectations and trust through which social goods can be exchanged and controlled collectively (Nauck, 2001).

These ideas have been influential in the studies of refugee integration. Ager and Strang, for instance, use the ‘language and literature related to the concept of social capital’ (2004a; 4) in their conceptualisation of social relationships. Specifically, they draw on the distinction that Putnam (2000) makes between forms of bonding, bridging and linking social capital. Bonding social capital is essentially exclusive, and it is based on ‘thick’ ties (in Ager and Strang’s terms: the ‘social bonds’ ‘within a community are defined by, for example, ethnic, national or religious identity’), whilst bridging social capital is more inclusive and
involves weaker ties (used by Ager and Strang to denote the ‘social bridges’ ‘with members of other communities’).

Putnam perceives bonding social capital as creating a situation in which groups can get along – sustaining themselves in circumstances where this is necessary; however, it is only through the development of bridging social capital that groups can make headway.

Thus linking social capital is defined as individuals’ or groups’ access to forms of power, such as institutions (thus Ager and Strang identify the ‘social links’ ‘with institutions, including local and central government services’ (2004a, 4)). A number of problems are identified in using a social capital approach in refugee research. First of these is the concept of social capital itself and whether it can be regarded as beneficial to integration. Zetter et al. (2006), for instance, have critiqued those approaches that focus on disadvantaged groups’ generation of social capital at the expense of any consideration of their material welfare (2006; 4), suggesting that it is risky for “marginalised populations [to] internalise social capital to fill the chasm left by the withdrawal of state support” (2006; 11).

The fostering of such social capital in a minority group, more so among refugees and/or economic migrants, will engender an ineffective supportive role by the State, which first of all, recognises the presence of refugees as a burden that needs to be shed. The result is neglect and discrimination emanating from the fact that the minority group is recognised as people of peculiar social interaction. The second problem area relates to whether the dynamics of social capital function for refugees in the same ways as they do other groups, given their very different social, legal and economic status.

Zetter et al. suggest that new associational forms are developing’ and ‘social capital is being created’, but as ‘an essentially defensive’ response to hostile immigration policy, (2006; 11). Finally, theories of social capital have been criticised for their assumptions that social capital works best in societies that are relatively ethnically homogeneous (Putnam, 2007). This focuses attention on ethnic minorities or migrants as sources of conflict, rather than on structures
and policies of integration or the ways in which issues of citizenship or national identity are publicly debated (Cheong et al., 2007).

By virtue of this assumption, one cannot, but argue that, in Africa ethnicity creeps into every sphere of endeavour and hence, integration of refugees will necessarily need to consider the ethnic influence on the environment within which they are settled.

CONCLUSION
While scholarly literature is relatively abundant on the determinants of forced migration and population displacement, discussion about the mechanisms of diffusion remains somewhat neglected and vague. It is argued that population movements are one critical externality effect of violence (mainly, political violence), in Africa by which such processes occur. In general, it is believed that when refugees leave their homes their expectation is that they will return to their country within a short time once the conflict or the circumstance for which they are recognised as refugees is over.

International legal instruments set out the framework by which the protection of such vulnerable groups is ensured. While this is the case in the majority of conflicts involving refugees, some conflicts drag on for extended periods of time and entire generations grow up in refugee camps with no hope of returning. When the prospect of repatriation seems non-existent, and a third-country resettlement is not possible for some refugees, local integration is the only available and durable solution. The longer refugees stay in the host country the longer they will need to rely on host governments and other aid agencies for meeting their basic needs of livelihood, such as shelter, jobs, etc.

The lower the degree of integration of refugees within the receiving state, the higher the probability of refugee-related violence, because the group identity intensifies with prolonged conflict within the sub-region.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION
There has been a great deal of research on the legal and functional aspects of the integration of refugees as a durable solution. In recent years, however, due to a growing interest in concepts such as social exclusion (which refers to the multi-dimensional and social aspects of experiences of poverty and disadvantage), xenophobia (despite the growing spirit of globalisation) and social capital (which draws attention to the role of social networks and civic associations in providing public goods, contributing to good governance, promoting social cohesion and so on), a new look into integration as a durable solution is constantly emerging.

These dimensions have come to the fore in policy and public debates on integration generally, and in relation to refugees in particular. Hence it is not uncommon for people to refer to these concepts as far as the integration of refugees is concerned.

This section of the study explains the theoretical foundations employed and the methods used to collect data which constantly touched on these salient social issues. The ways in which the social dimensions of integration are experienced at the local level and in areas with different histories of refugee settlement, the nature and consequences of refugees’ access to and participation in social networks and how this facilitates or will constrain their integration more widely, and refugees’ own conceptions and aspirations of their integration into Ghanaian communities.

3.2 PRIMARY AIM AND OBJECTIVES
The primary aim of this study is: to explore the perceptions of Ghanaians, refugees and government officials on the integration of refugees into local Ghanaian communities. This gives a broad outlook to the research. However,
the specific aim of the methodology is to follow an appropriate procedure in achieving the objective. Thus, the researcher followed a stringent qualitative research procedure to explore the perceptions on integration of refugees in Ghana by using the Krisan Refugee Camp and the Krisan Village as a case study.

The researcher believes that by employing a qualitative research method in this case study, namely, an in-depth and face-to-face-interview, simple observation and document review, he would achieve the objectives set out for the study:

- To understand and describe the perceptions of Ghanaians, refugees and officials of the camp on the integration of refugees into Ghanaian Local communities.
- To understand the preparedness of the refugees in terms of skills, expertise to adequately fit into local Ghanaian communities.
- To understand the Ghanaian government’s approach towards the integration of refugees into Ghanaian local communities.

3.2.1 MOTIVATION FOR THE RESEARCH

The plight of refugees and the impact of refugee problems on regional and international security have taken centre stage on the agenda for protection in countries hosting refugees from armed conflict situations, especially in the West African sub-region, with the specific focus of finding durable solutions for the thousands of unfortunate people finding themselves in places they cannot call home. The UNHCR has focused more on repatriation than either of the other two durable solutions: local integration and a third-country permanent resettlement.

As such, it also virtually ignored these two durable solutions, often to the detriment of refugees with less donor funding for operations other than repatriation and emergency relief. A range of traditional solutions - local integration projects, educational programmes, income generation projects and the promotion of refugee participation - seemingly disappeared from the office’s possible options (UNHCR, 2003:10).
Secondly, most African states remain committed to the 1969 OAU Convention which encourages repatriation rather than any other solution. Thus, in situations where refugees still hold a well-founded fear of persecution after the cessation of the conflicts that forced them out of their home countries, promotion of repatriation has met with minimal success.

Declaring the 1990s, as a decade of repatriation by the UNHCR, little success was chalked up in West Africa. Ghana rather saw increases in refugee influx and the repatriation of those already inland. It was actually within this decade that three refugee camps were constructed. In Krisan, some of the refugees were part of the labour force that constructed the Krisan Refugee Camp in 1996 and have remained there ever since. Some of the refugees who did not get accommodation in the camp ended up settling on their own in Krisan and the nearby villages.

As stated in Chapter One, Krisan Refugee Camp hosts refugees from nine countries with varying backgrounds to their refugee identity and determination. There is a large group of refugees from Liberia, Togo, Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire. The rest are from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo Brazzaville, Rwanda, Chad and the Sudan.

Although a number of refugees accepted repatriation, as proposed by the UNHCR in 2003, those who defied the proposal for several reasons concerning insecurity, have to make one choice or another come June 2009. The government of Ghana has given an ultimatum to refugees to accept certain durable solutions, because it intends closing the Krisan Refugee Camp in June 2009. Just as some have returned, others have been resettled in Western countries, and still others have been locally integrated.

Thus, the question is what perceptions then surround local integration as a durable solution by both the refugees and members of the Krisan community. Hence, this paper is motivated by this situation to study the integration of refugees into Ghana by inductively sourcing views from the refugees themselves and the members of the community with whom daily interaction goes on.
3.2.2 EPISTEMOLOGICAL SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH
Epistemology, the technical term for the theory of knowledge, simply means the art of knowing. This has two strong characteristics: the capacity to know and the existence of the knowable, which in other words is called ontology, (Benton and Craib, 2001:3). However, the relationship between the knower and the knowable is the mode of knowing. This has been the argument over the centuries between different schools of thought that have given rise to different approaches to research.

Basically, three philosophical traditions exist, namely, Positivism, Interpretive Theory and Critical Theory have remained as the benchmarks for social research methods.

Positivism, stemming from the empiricist standpoint and originated by August Comte in the nineteenth century, believes that genuine knowledge is limited to statements of patterns in individual experiences and what can be inferred from them. It adheres to the belief that science is valued as the highest or even the only genuine form of knowledge, which is objective and valid. Thus, once reliable scientific knowledge has been established, it will be possible to apply it to control or regulate the behaviour of individuals or groups in society. Social problems and conflicts can be identified and resolved one by one on the basis of expert knowledge offered by social scientists, in much the same way as natural scientific expertise is involved in solving practical problems in engineering and technology, (Benton and Craib, 2001:23).

This philosophical paradigm, positivism, is closely associated with quantitative research methodology, which is characterised by large data sets, quantitative measurement and statistical methods of analysis. Positivist social science researchers prefer precise quantitative data, and often use experiments, surveys and statistics. They seek rigorous, exact measures and objective research, and they test hypotheses by carefully analysing numbers from the measures. Thus, positivist social science is an organised method for combining deductive logic with precise empirical observations of individual behaviour in order to discover and confirm a set of probabilistic causal laws that can be used to predict general patterns of human activity, (Neuman, 2006: 81-82).
The second theoretical foundation, the Interpretive Social Science, starts with the argument that, “whether or not positivism is an adequate philosophy of the natural science, whatever its advantages or drawbacks, the social sciences are qualitatively different from the natural sciences.” As such, its object of study differs from that of the natural science, (Benton and Craib, 2001:75). The interpretive science distinguishes itself from the natural sciences by taking the object of social science—human beings and human groups—as possessing self-consciousness, the ability to reflect on themselves and their situations.

“Human life is essentially a life of meaning, of language and reflective thought and communication,” (Benton and Craib, 2001:75).

Having its roots in Kantian idealism, interpretive social science stems from Max Weber (1864-1920) and is supported by William Dilthey. “Weber’s starting point is that the social sciences study meaningful actions, as opposed to behaviour-movements which are the end result of a physical or biological causal chain” (Benton and Craib, 2001:77). By meaningful actions, Weber particularly refers to all human activities directed towards themselves and which denote rational description, explanation and meaning within their own contexts. He called this meaningful social action, and asserted that social science methodology is the interpretive understanding of social actions.

Using the German word “verstehen” which means, understanding, Weber was referring to empathic (emotional) understanding of what is going on in the social actor’s own world. Thus, according to Weber, “if interpretive understanding is the method by means of which the social scientist studies his or her object, then the tool that he or she uses is the ideal type,” (Benton and Craib, 2001:80). Subsequently, the process of thinking rationally produces knowledge and the ideal type is an account of what the object being studied would be like in its most rational form, (Benton and Craib, 2001:75).

This philosophical foundation, interpretive social science, is closely associated with qualitative research methodology. Qualitative research seeks a holistic perspective by using words as the units of analysis for in-depth description of
study objects, usually, in a small-scale research in which the researcher is deeply involved, (Denscombe, 2003:232-234). “There is typically little use of standardized research instruments in qualitative research. Rather, it is recognized that the researcher is the crucial ‘measurement device’, and that researcher’s self (his or her social background, values, identity and beliefs) will have a significant bearing on the nature of the data collected and the interpretations of those data” (Denscombe, 2003:234).

The third approach, Critical Social Science, is based on what is termed ‘critical rationality’. Unlike the interpretive social sciences, critical theory is not as firmly rooted in Kantian tradition, but rather, it has a direct line of descent from Hegel through Karl Marx. Specifically, critical theory was propounded by a group of German philosophers known as The Frankfurt School, and others, such as Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcus, as well as Jürgen Habermas and Wellner. The Frankfurt School considered Sigmund Freud’s psychoanalysis as a conceptual revolution, which, from a philosophical stand point, was similar to Marxist ideology, (Henstrand, 2006:25).

Thus, critical theory is said to be composed of Marxism and psychoanalysis, (Guess, 1981:1-3). Critical rationality is a form of dialectical thinking, which is built on opposites—“that in any system of concepts, the meaning of one concept can be understood only in relation to those around it, and in particular to its opposite” (Benton and Craib, 2003:108). According to the Frankfurt School, the distinguishing features of critical theory are:

1. Critical Theories have special standing as guides for human action in that:
   (a) they aim at producing enlightenment in the agents who hold them, i.e. at enabling those agents to determine what their true interests are;
   (b) they are inherently emancipatory. i.e. they are free agents from a kind of coercion which is at least partly self-imposed from self-frustration of conscious human actors;
2. Critical theories have cognitive contents, i.e. they are forms of knowledge.
3. Critical theories differ epistemologically in essential ways from theories in the natural sciences. Theories in the natural sciences are objectifying; critical theories are reflective.

A critical theory is then a reflective theory which presents agents with a kind of knowledge inherently productive of enlightenment and emancipation, (Guess, 1981:3).

Critical Social Science is associated with Participatory Action Research (PAR) methodology. Action research is defined as an enquiry which is carried out in order to understand, evaluate, and then to change, in order to improve some practice. The success of every research depends on the role the researcher takes. However, in action research, participation has profound implications for the expected role of the researcher. The researcher takes on “a role that goes beyond merely sharing a joint concern about a practical problem with the participant.

The researcher as a change agent plays a direct role in the implementation process of PAR by operating as a full collaborator or a ‘partisan’ (Babbie and Mouton, 2006:317). Thus, a positive change is essentially the core goal of any action research.

3.2.3 INTERPRETIVE THEORY: THE THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING OF THIS RESEARCH

The three epistemological approaches to social science research have their own advantages and disadvantages and they cannot all be applicable to every social research. Thus a researcher chooses which one is best and appropriate for a particular study. Although, the three approaches are quite distinct from each other, their associated research methodology, in terms of qualitative and quantitative researches, cannot be said to be mutually exclusive, (Denscombe, 2003:267).

A researcher is expected to produce credible findings of his study; and this permeates through social research regardless of the approach employed, (Morgan, 2006:41). As the researcher was collecting data, he noticed that the concept of the integration of refugees was understood in many different, but yet
coherent ways, depending upon the starting point of one’s own perspective on the subject matter. That is, the refugees, the members of the community and the officials, who were interviewed in this research, approached the notion of refugee integration from different angles, thereby signifying that the idea of integration is not a laboratory specimen, but rather a product of interpretation of the social environment within which they live.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY
A research design is a careful and detailed planning of a scientific inquiry which indicates as much as possible both major and trivial characteristics which are an integral part of that inquiry. That is, the research design clearly specifies what the researcher wants to find out. Research methodology is however, the approach employed by the researcher to best achieve the objectives and the aim of his study (Babbie and Mouton, 2006:72).

Thus, the methodology deals with the proper application of methods, techniques and procedures at the time of executing the research design.

3.3.1 THE RESEARCH PURPOSE
There are a number of reasons why one would carry out a scientific inquiry. One’s reasons for the study might differ from another researcher’s in the same or a similar study. However, there are three most common and useful purposes in social research, namely, exploration, description, and explanation. These are not mutually exclusive; a given study can have more than one of these purposes. Applying them separately is useful because each has different implications for other aspects of the research design, (Babbie and Mouton, 2006:79).

Exploratory study is employed in this research to examine the interests of refugees, Ghanaians and the government in the integration of refugees into Ghana. The integration of refugees is not a new phenomenon to the body of knowledge on durable solutions for refugee problem. However, in many parts of Ghana, the integration of refugees would be considered quite unusual a phenomenon. The people of Krisan are not oblivious to the presence of Ivorians in that area. If fact, some Ivorians visit the St. Martin de Porres Hospital at
Eikwe, which is about a 30-minute drive from the Côte d’Ivoire border, a kilometre away from Krisan, for treatment.

However, the establishment of a refugee camp, housing refugees from war-torn countries in Krisan, is understood to be a new phenomenon and, consequently, any subsequent development is viewed as such. Babbie and Mouton indicate that, exploratory approach is appropriate in social research, whereby the researcher examines a new interest and presents the central concepts and construct of the study. That is, “exploratory study usually leads to insight and comprehension rather than the collection of detailed, accurate, and replicable data.” Hence the use of in-depth interviews, the analysis of case studies, and the use of informants all become important (2006:80).

3.3.2 UNIT OF ANALYSIS
A good research design clearly points out what it is going to study from the onset. A unit of analysis is thus, that which the researcher has applied as a concept to, and with which he/she does the study. A researcher can apply concepts to individual people, groups, organisations, movements, institutions and countries, etc. (Neuman, 2006):58).

When a concept is applicable to units of analysis, then the researcher has a duty to explicitly decide on his focus, and then tailor the concept to it. In applying a concept to a unit for study, the researcher becomes clear on his sampling population, and hence establishes theoretical connections that could operate across the units of analysis, (Neuman, 2006:58). In this case, the researcher applies the concept of integration to different individual refugees and members of the Krisan village who share a common background, in order to understand the concepts of refugee integration generated by establishing theoretical connections operating across the board.

3.4 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH
Qualitative (interpretive) research methodology uses the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action with the goal of understanding how human beings interact with each other, creating and maintaining their social world. Qualitative researchers usually spend a significant amount of time with their participants in their natural setting, observing not only their answers, but also their non-verbal
communication, (Denscombe, 2003:267). Qualitative researchers argue that social science research differs greatly from the natural science research and that there are so many unquantifiable realities about humans that can only be understood through qualitative research methods, (Neuman, 2006:151).

Ernest Burgess argues that, “the objects of social service research, such as persons, groups, and institutions must be studied in a laboratory of community life” (in Babbie and Mouton, 2007:56). The researcher pays attention to the preliminarily casual and unstructured interactions he would make with the participants, so as to assimilate himself among the people and establish a trusted and legitimate rapport with the people, (Babbie and Mouton, 2007:55). Neuman asserts that, qualitative researchers “emphasize conducting detailed examinations of cases that arise in the natural flow of social life. They try to present authentic interpretations that are sensitive to specific social-historical contexts,” (2006:151).

In seeking soft data (words, impressions sentences, photos, symbols etc.), the qualitative researcher employs different methods, including, participant observation, semi-structured and in-depth interviews and document study. The salient aspect of qualitative research is the presence of the researcher in the research environment or the natural environment of the subject of study. Interpretive research methods “imply an insider approach”, in order to construct and analyse subjective information, (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002:199).

The purpose of interpretive research is to develop an understanding of social life and discover how people construct meaning in natural settings, (Neuman, 2006:152). Unlike the positivist approach that attempts to find general patterns applicable to all, interpretive researchers' goal is to find out more about individuals and their experiences. They do this by spending time getting to know those they are studying and trying to understand where they are coming from, rather than explaining human actions by means of cause and effect, (Babbie and Mouton, 2006:271).

A qualitative research design does not merely depict, reflect or practise exoticism for the sake of it. However, with its precise, concise, in-depth and
profound description, it plunges the researcher into the emotions, lived experiences and the overall ambience of the participants (flick et al. 2004:3). Thus, the research process is itself immersed in an aura of humanism and ethics. The researcher represents the people and is detached from high-minded, abstract theorising (Denscombe, 2003:105), whilst the researcher unfolds concepts and theories following the prompting of his data.

This is particularly important in a research of this nature directed towards vulnerable members of society, who have been suffering the repercussions of armed conflict in Africa for several years.

The interpretive social scientist believes that social reality is dynamic and has no particular repeating patterns, such as could be found in chemical reactions in the natural sciences. Instead, social actors and their interactions, views, actions, and beliefs shape up social reality in a way that makes sense to them. Interpretive researchers see social reality as subjective, constructed, multiple, and diverse. Unlike the positivist approach that holds that all people "experience the world in the same way," interpretive researchers believe that multiple interpretations of human experience and realities are not only possible, but necessary to understand the meanings people entrust to their reality and that these realities take into account social reasons attached to human behaviour, (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008:28-29).

3.4.1 INTERPRETIVE CHARACTERISTICS

Having established that qualitative researchers seek soft data (words, language, symbolism, impressions and concepts), understanding the interpretive characteristics of qualitative research is crucial to this research. Moreover, qualitative research does not strictly emphasise representations and replication; it seeks to understand the process of generating meanings of social action, rather than dealing with a quantity of variables representing a specific social meaning. Gadamer asserts that “knowledge is not a product of coming to understand the actions of the individual…but of achieving an understanding of the movement of history, and history is the development of a common aim; we can only understand a text when we make ourselves part of that common aim out of which it emerged," (Benton and Criab, 2001:103-104). Secondly, “Understanding is inevitably historical; the nature of a human being is itself
historical and open to historical change. The process of understanding is
paradoxical, involving the ‘hermeneutic circle’: we cannot know the part without
understanding the whole of which it is a part, and at the same time we cannot
understand the whole without understanding the parts that make it up,“ (Benton
and Criab, 2001:104).

The immersion of the qualitative researcher in the natural setting of his study
provides him with the tools to experience at first hand the historical processes
that form the bedrock of processes through which the meanings of social
actions are constructed. That is, the presence of the researcher at Krisan
Refugee Camp and Krisan village and its environs revealed a deeper
understanding of the assertions of the interviewees on the concept of
integration of refugees, as if the researcher had lived with them and become
part of them.

Thus, in understanding the meanings and the way people understand human
activities, which are product of symbols and, the pattern of behaviour which is
summed up to express the history of particular social actors, the researcher is
able to interpret the processes underpinning the actions and mindset of his

3.4.2 INDUCTIVE LOGIC
The primary aim of qualitative studies is describing and understanding human
behaviour from the perspective of the social actors themselves, resulting in the
generation of new hypotheses and/or theories, rather than explaining human
behaviour by attempting to generalise on some theoretical population (Babbie
and Mouton, 2001:270). Naturalism is an element of qualitative research which
is especially appropriate to the study of those attitudes and behaviours best
understood within their natural setting and in their naturally occurring stage
(Bloor and Wood, 2006:122) as opposed to the somewhat artificial settings of
experiments and surveys (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270) or the psychological
laboratory setting.

The researcher simply seeks to describe realism rather than seeking to derive
Capturing social phenomena in a natural setting, the researcher immerses
himself in the individual’s ‘stock of knowledge’ to empathically understand those social processes which daily impact on that environment. Otherwise put, “[t]he qualitative researcher must seek to capture those meanings through an immersive understanding in the culture under study, (Bloor and Wood, 2006:123). Being the natural setting—Krisan, Ghana—the researcher experienced the socio-economic and cultural indicators impacting on the concept of refugee integration. It made much more meaning by immersing oneself in the natural environment than speculating from some text.

In this case, “the researcher is no neutral observer but is his [...] own research instrument, seeking empathetic appreciation of a culture through the experience of co-participation, (Bloor and Wood, 2006:123). The term “participant observation,” in qualitative research, indicates the commitment to study people in their natural life-worlds through immersed observation. The concern and desire to study the “normal course of events” requires the qualitative researcher to be non-intrusive (Babbie and Mouton 2001:270-271).

“The qualitative researcher wishes to study events as they occur, rather than having to reconstruct them in retrospect,” (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:271, Neuman, 2006:152-153). The “insider” perspective is particularly important when it is perceived that huge differences exist between the researcher and the actors under investigation. “Differences in language, race, culture belief etc., all introduce potential barriers between the researcher and research participants” (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:271). However, immersive understanding of the context helps the researcher to overcome some of these barriers, since he experiences for himself those conditions that surround the study environment.

The researcher describes the actions of the refugees, participants from Krisan and those of the refugee camp management in great detail, and then attempts to understand these actions in terms of the actors own beliefs, history and context (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:217). Giving in-depth description and understanding from the perspective of the social actors is not void of context. Thus, Babbie and Mouton argue that, if one understands events against the background of the whole context and how such a context confers meaning to
the events concerned, then one can truly claim to “understand” the “events” (2001:272).

The researcher recognised that the general environment of Krisan had a profound implication for the integration of refugees and it tended to impact on the thinking process of the participants.

Experiencing the environment this way, the researcher produces an idiographic (contextualised theory and concepts) instead of a monothetic (generalised theory) understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. The above-mentioned elements of qualitative research are inevitably inductive in nature, hence, pointing to the self-created approach of qualitative research. Babbie and Mouton indicate that the “emphasis is on developing and building inductively based new interpretations and theories of first-order descriptions of events, rather than approaching the social actors with deductively derived research hypotheses” (2001:273).

3.5 CASE STUDY
Naturalism requires the researcher to study naturally occurring phenomena in their own settings. This indicates that the researcher investigates cases. Case study is an intensive investigation of a single unit (in Babbie and Mouton 2001:281). Denscombe indicates that the focus of case study is just on one instance of the phenomenon occurring within its context, (1998:30). It takes multiple perspectives and attempts to understand the influence of multilevel social systems on the subjects’ perspective and behaviour (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:281). The researcher is thus illuminated by that one part of the social system on the whole. It is a holistic approach through which the researcher reveals the manner in which multiplicity of factors has interacted to produce the unique character that is the subject of research (Thomas, 2003:35).

The researcher meticulously kept the contextual detail uninterrupted, so as to maintain the usual conditions within which factors in the environment are embedded. Babbie and Mouton too, indicate that the “surrounding”, “ecology” or “environment” with its notions of multiple interacting contextualised systems, helps to conceptualise the context in which the unit of analysis is embedded
Thus the researcher pays particular attention to those factors affecting the units of analysis within their own environment.

Through the case-study method the researcher is advantaged by using multiple sources of data and methods/techniques to achieve consistency and credibility. This approach, “triangulation”, helps the “thick” description of the converged data. It allows multiple sources of evidence to be brought to bear on the interests of the participants, by employing methods such as interviewing, simple observation and document study, (Babbie and Mouton 2006:282).

3.5.1 THE CASE IN DETAIL

Denscombe explains that the natural setting consists of the case under investigation. “Natural setting: ‘the case’ that forms the basis of the investigation is normally something that exists. It is not a situation that is artificially generated specifically for the purposes of the research…the case is a naturally occurring phenomenon. It exists prior to the research project and, it is hoped, continues to exist once the research has finished,” (1998:31). This research was conducted in Krisan village where local Ghanaians were interviewed and observed as they engaged in their usual daily activities.

Refugees of the Krisan Refugee Camp and the camp officials were interviewed and observed as well. The researcher paid special attention to how members of the village interacted with the refugees and the occasions which enhanced those interactions.

The integration of refugees is a multifaceted abstract social concept which is translated into practical phenomena by numerous social, religious, economic, cultural, political, and psychological and personal factors. It is, thus, different from a social action such as, a peace march or demonstration, or cultural activities like festive celebrations and displays. In the 2006 planning report, the UNHCR describes Krisan Refugee Camp as, “hosting primarily refugees with special needs who would be unable to sustain their livelihoods in an urban centre without first having some of their needs addressed or skills upgraded through special programmes,” [Internet 3].
The UNHCR’s Global Appeal 2006 report further elaborates on Krisan: “Although self-sustaining agricultural activities are limited, the UNHCR will continue to identify opportunities for self-reliance and local integration, as well as appropriate durable solutions, including voluntary repatriation and resettlement. In the meantime, rations will continue be provided,” [Internet 3]. The UNHCR and the Government of Ghana are providing skills training and support to refugees and some members of the surrounding communities. “If this is successful, refugees will gain various means to earn a modest income, and thereby facilitate their local integration,” repatriation, and possibly in a third-country resettlement, [Internet 3].

The misconception, as experienced on the field, was that the UNIDO/Government skills training programme for refugees was to facilitate local integration. The case study is rather on integration as a durable solution for those refugees who have already been integrated and those who would have local integration as their only option when the Camp is closed down in June 2009. Thus the study looked into the experiences of the refugees and the community to understand their perceptions of integration as a durable solution.

3.5.2 ADVANTAGES OF THE CASE STUDY
“The case study approach allows the use of a variety of research methods. More than this, it more or less encourages the use of multiple methods in order to capture the complex reality under scrutiny,” (Denscombe, 1998:39). The researcher is thus advantaged to produce different kinds of data on the same case or topic. “The Initial and obvious benefit of this is that it will involve more data, thus being likely to improve the quality of the research,” (Denscombe, 1998:84).

Through the case study approach, the researcher is be able to triangulate data from interviews, observation and documents to produce holistic findings. “Seeing things from different perspectives and the opportunity to corroborate findings can enhance the validity of the data,” (Descombe, 1998:85).

“The case study is particularly suitable where the researcher has little control over events. Because the approach is concerned with investigating phenomena as they naturally occur, there is no pressure on the researcher to impose control
or to change circumstances,” (Denscombe, 1998: 40). In the refugee camp, the researcher observed refugees and the activities they engaged in and how those activities affect their lives. This enabled the research to keep a sharp focus on the various refugees considered for integration. Thus, the researcher found the methods of data collection applicable to the participants, as the methods did not interfere with their daily activities. In this way the researcher was able to keep the natural environment unaltered by his presence.

3.5.3 DISADVANTAGES OF THE CASE STUDY
“The point at which the case study approach is most vulnerable to criticism is in relation to the credibility of generalisations made from its findings,” (Denscombe, 1998:40). In view of the case under study, the researcher paid attention to factors in the refugee camp and Krisan village that could impede the typical setting of the case. The researcher was attentive to refugees who did not understand his presence in the camp. He meticulously created good rapport with them so as to diffuse suspicions on his presence and to demonstrate the extent to which the case was similar to, or contrasted with, others of its type, (Denscombe, 1998:40). This was done by the explanation that the study did not only concern Krisan refugees, but also the people of Krisan village, as well.

“On the technical side, the boundaries of the case can prove difficult to define in an absolute and clear-cut fashion. This poses difficulties in terms of deciding what sources of data to incorporate in the case study and which to exclude,” (Denscombe, 1998:40). During interview sections the researcher was able to explain and define the outline of the case to participants and allow them to question him and clarify their doubts and misunderstandings. This defined the scope within which the interviews were confined, and thus, both the researcher and the interviewees knew their context of the interviews.

It is important for the researcher to gain access through a gatekeeper. “Gaining access through the gatekeeper and establishing rapport with the participants are also important for a case study, (Creswell, 1998:117). Gatekeepers can delay the research process because the researcher has no access to the place until permission from the gatekeeper is given him. The researcher encountered problems with permission to access the site. Firstly, due to unrest at the
Buduburam Refugee Camp, the researcher was not permitted to extend the study to it by the Ghana Refugee Board.

Secondly, it took quite a time to get permission from the Ghana Refugee Board because of the legal and regulatory standards. Thirdly, UNHCR-Ghana was quite uncooperative to the extent that, the field officer had no idea of the researcher’s plans to conduct a study at the Krisan Refugee Camp, although the researcher had sent all necessary documents to the UNHCR office in Accra for approval and permission. This required that the UNHCR field be briefed by the researcher on site before the study commenced.

“It is hard for case study researchers to achieve their aim of investigating situations as they naturally occur without any effect arising from their presence. Because case study research tends to involve protracted involvement over a period of time, there is the possibility that the presence of the researcher can lead to observer effect. Those being researched might behave differently from normal,” (Descombe, 1998:41) knowing that they are being observed. The researcher ignored artificially generated behaviours by participants who wanted to impress the researcher. The researcher spent enough time on site and had minimal interaction with those being observed.

Though his presence was clearly noticed by refugees, the camp management tried to diffuse observer bias by assigning roles to the community heads of the refugee camp. Even refugees who were not participants were curious to know the researcher and his mission in the camp.

3.6 SAMPLING
Having stated that the purpose of this research is to explore the perceptions on integration of refugees into local Ghanaian communities by taking insights from the refugees themselves and the local community members with whom they interact daily, purposive sampling of participants was employed. According to Neuman (2006:222), purposive sampling is valuable in special situations and exploratory researchers use the judgment of experts in selecting cases with a specific purpose in mind. Babbie and Mouton also indicate that the choice of purposive sampling could be based on the knowledge of the researcher on the population, its elements, and the nature of the aim of the research (2006:166).
The researcher interviewed refugees who had been residents of the camp for five years and more. In total, fifteen persons formed the sample population: eight refugees comprising four adult men and four adult women (each from a different national community represented in the camp); two community leaders: a man and a woman; two community youths between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years, and three officials of the camp, comprising UNHCR and government employees.

These are the participants the researcher observed and interviewed as they interacted with the refugees and went about their routine duties. Some of the participants had very little activity to occupy the researcher in observation, on account of their age or role in the society.

The motivation for the sampling was based on sourcing data from different angles and by using different methods such as: interviews, observation and documents to collect the data. The sampling method also provided a representation of the people who could have an impact on the integration of refugees into Ghanaian communities. Purposive sampling is aimed at getting people with the ability to contribute effectively to the research process. The categories are members of the Ghanaian community who hold very respectable positions and play important roles in the community, members with supervisory roles over the camp and the refugees, who play roles in decision-making at the camp.

Therefore, these sampling categories helped the researcher to explore the concept of integration from different angles, hence granting the researcher a holistic approach, (Creswell, 1998:118).

3.7 DATA COLLECTION
In Krisan, unlike a university or organisational setting where respondents could easily be organised into focus groups, and with the problem question being an uncommon social phenomenon, an array of qualitative techniques was needed to yield coherent and reliable data. Thomas suggests that a qualitative research should be multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter (2003:1). Creswell (1998:63) elaborates this by
indicating that data should be gathered from extensive multiple sources of information such as interviews, simple and participant observation, documents, archival records and audio-visual materials.

Stake (2000:44) posits that triangulation is considered as a process of applying multiple perceptions to clarify meanings and to verify clarification of the observations and the repeatability of the interpretations.

### 3.7.1 IN-DEPTH AND FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEWS

According to Babbie and Mouton (2006:289) and Thomas (2003:36), the basic individual interview is one of the most frequently used methods of data collection within qualitative research, where the researcher is provided with greater flexibility, iteration and continuity to elicit more information from the interviewee. However, the in-depth interview is a process whereby the researcher is not really interested in the content of the conversation, but rather in the process by which the content of the conversation has come to being (Babbie and Mouton, 2006:291).

This indicates that interaction and a firm grip on the content of the interview is necessary to elicit more information on the subject matter by seeking to understand the motivation of the process from the interviewee. Certain interviews might require an explanation of the content by an expert, hence the need to be eclectic in sampling, (Wengraf, 2001:68). The researcher sought understanding on general concepts from those with expert knowledge on the concept of refugee integration.

Interviews with refugees were conducted at the refugee camp in secure areas where the refugees felt comfortable. Individual refugees were asked to choose a comfortable place for the interviews. Other interviews involving officials were conducted in their offices or work premises so as to establish a contextual imperative for the research. Interviews with the members of the community took place in their individual houses. The interviews were conducted in English. For those who required a translator, one was provided. With an interviewee’s consent, a digital voice recorder was used to capture information. For those who disliked it for personal or security reasons, the researcher wrote their speeches in a journal.
The interviewees were asked to sign a consent form (NMMU REC-H information consent form (D/497/05) after the “purpose of the research” and the “rights of the participants” had been explained to them by the researcher. Those who had been involved in a prior research lauded the NMMU ethic consent form as a good document that gave them confidence because they became convinced of the confidentiality of the research.

The researcher asks possible sample questions listed below:

1. What do you understand by integration?
2. Would you like to be integrated? Give reasons for your answer.
3. Do you have access to basic needs and services like healthcare or water?
4. What skills have you been taught to enable you to reside in a Ghanaian community?

Sample questions for the local Ghanaians:

1. What are your perceptions of the refugees in Krisan Refugee Camp?
2. Would you like the refugees to stay your in community? Please give reasons for your answer.
3. What would you like the government to do for refugees?
4. How have the refugees in your community impacted on your life?

Sample questions for the Government officials and camp supervisors:

1. What preparatory programmes and policies has the government put in place to enable smooth integration of refugees into Ghanaian communities?
2. What qualifies a refugee for integration?

However, the direction of the interviews prompted the researcher to ask salient questions, such as:

1. Do you think the presence of the refugees has security implications for the community?
2. Are the refugees allowed to join the community in communal work and other socio-economic activities?
3. Are you free to participate in communal activities?
4. Do you have additional information to give?

The interviewees expressed satisfaction with the type of questions the researcher asked at the end of each interview as feedback, especially if the interview questions were, in some way, demeaning or uncomfortable to answer.

3.7.2 SIMPLE OBSERVATION

“A great deal of what researchers do in the field is to pay close attention, watch, and listen carefully…Good field researchers are intrigued about details that reveal ‘what’s going on here?’ through careful listening and watching. Field researchers believe that the core of social life is revealed through the mundane, trivial, everyday minutiae,” (Neuman, 2006:396-397).

Neuman further indicates that “in addition to physical surroundings, [the researcher] wants to observe people and their actions, noting each person’s observable physical characteristics: age, sex, race, and stature,” (2006:397). In Descombe’s view, “observation offers the social researcher a distinct way of collecting data. It does not rely on what people say they do, or what they say they think. It is more direct than that. Instead, it draws on the direct evidence of the eye to witness events at first hand. It is based on the premise that, for certain purposes it is best to observe what actually happens,” (1998:139).

The researcher kept a journal of the physical settings, human activities and occasions. Sometimes, taking photos of physical settings was necessary to give detailed pictures of those settings.

3.7.3 AVAILABLE DOCUMENT FOR PUBLIC USE

Social artefacts are important sources of data that help to elicit meaning from social actions and events. Documents, ranging from private letters to public writings are significant sources of information that can be used to triangulate data collected at interviews and observations. The researcher verifies the authenticity and credibility of the documents and uses them to cross-check the history of events that describe the emergence of the phenomenon under study. Thus, the researcher sourced for documents concerning the integration of refugees and the events that characterised them. Certain important documents
were sensitive, so the researcher was only allowed to read them without duplicating them.

3.8 DATA ANALYSIS

3.8.1 CONCEPTUALISATION

Neuman argues that “concept formation is an integral part of data analysis and begins during data collection” (2006:460) in qualitative research. By conceptualising and organising the data from the onset of the data collection, the researcher identifies the themes and concepts, and hence creates categories to compound them. The researcher then defines the thematic categories and analyses the relationships between them. The researcher then forms the concepts and themes into theoretical statements. Neuman remarks that in case-study analysis, “cases are not given pre-established empirical units or theoretical categories apart from data; they are defined by data and theory” (2006:460). This approach is important in data analysis, especially for covering extensive and multiple sources of information.

3.8.2 CODING

A qualitative data coding system was used to condense and reduce the large amount of raw data to small and manageable data into analytical categories (Neuman, 2006:460). The researcher used an open coding technique to identify interspersed thematic categories, so as to link both complementary concepts and theories together, and also to identify contrasting features in the data (Neuman, 2006:462; Babbie and Mouton, 2006:499). The researcher, upon several reviews of the categorised codes, through a second coding, axial coding technique, organised the codes, and linked them to discover key analytical categories (Babbie and Mouton, 2006:500).

In order to make the discovery of any regularities in the grounded theory, a third stage of coding, selective coding, was carried out to identify data that would support the conceptual coding categories already developed (Neuman, 2006:464), and seek to establish the major or key connecting theories to form the final analysed categories (Babbie and Mouton, 2006:501). The researcher employed the “constant comparison method” of Ryan and Bernard
to build the analyzed categories into theoretical models. In recognition of possible errors, the researcher tracked down reports of similar research done to augment the reliability and validity of the research conducted (Boulton and Hammershey, 2006:257).

3.9 THE OBJECTIVITY, VALIDITY AND INTEGRITY OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Neuman contends that the quantitative researcher regards checks of elements as a tool for objectivity, integrity and validity, but the “qualitative researcher emphasises intimate first-hand knowledge of the research setting. They avoid distancing themselves from the people or events they study… taking advantage of personal insights, feelings, and human perspectives to understand social life more fully” (2006:152). Whereas quantitative research emphasises objectivity on the bases of objective technology, the qualitative researcher emphasises trustworthiness as a parallel criterion to objective standards in quantitative research design. This makes the research dependable and credible (Neuman, 2006:153).

The qualitative researcher employs methods and techniques to verify the authenticity of the sources of evidence, such as a great volume of detailed and extensive written notes, commentary by the researcher, quotes, photographs, maps, diagrams, paraphrasing, etc, (Neuman, 2006:153).

The researcher in ensuring reliability and credibility approached the study by the use of multiple methods, referred to as triangulation. The researcher combined the data collected from interviews, simple observation and documents to produce the final analysis of the findings. “The best way to elicit the various and divergent constructions of reality that exist within the context of a study is to collect information about different relationships from different points of view. This means asking different questions, seeking different sources, and using different methods,” (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:277).

3.10 ETHICAL CONCERNS

To ensure that the entire research process is conducted in a transparent manner, ethical considerations ranging from the researcher, his institution (NMMU), the participants and proper methodology for conducting social
scientific research were stringently followed. The researcher did not pursue any action that would have been harmful to his health and values or detrimental to the legitimacy of the research, and did not exploit the participants for his own personal gains (Christians, 2008:141).

Access to Krisan Refugee Camp was sought through the Ghana Refugee Board in the Ministry of Interior and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who are the executive directors of the camp. The researcher made personal contacts with these agencies and the Chairman and secretary of the Ghana Refugee Board to seek authorisation to conduct the study. Official NMMU introductory letters on the research were sent to The Ghana Refugee Board, the UNHCR, and the Ministry of the Interior. The researcher received written approval from the Ghana Refugee Board which was demonstrated at the Krisan Refugee Camp and the Krisan village as an authorisation to conduct the research. The same was also shown to each individual participant of the study.

Participants’ anonymity and confidentiality of what they said or showed were to be protected and participants were required to give their consent by signing the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University Research Ethics Consent Form, D/497/05 before any interviews commenced. However, informed consent by the Ghana Refugee Board, the UNHCR and the interviewees could be withdrawn at any stage of the research should they so choose.

The researcher did not ask questions that embarrassed interviewees or harmed their persons (Babbie and Mouton 2006:524). The researcher did not coerce anybody to participate and ensured that the interviewees felt comfortable and confident about the entire interview process. Stringent measures were followed to appoint a translator in the case where an interviewee could not communicate or was not fluent in using the English language, (Neuman 2006:142).

3.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Often, generalisation in case studies is confronted with varying degree of scepticism. Case study researchers face the difficulty of convincing analysts that from a single case one can arrive at a generalised view, like replication in an experimental research. According to Robert K. Yin, a common concern with
case studies is often expressed with the question: “How can you generalize from a single case?” (2003:10). However, he counters this with a similar question: “How can you generalize from a single experiment?” (2003:10). Nevertheless, he agrees that scientific facts are rarely based on single experiments.

Burns believes that, “replication is a measure of the reliability of the results in an experimental study. Much is so specific to the actual study situation or event that it may well be unique” (2000:488). Nonetheless, David Silverman believes that case study can cut across boundaries, that is, moving from specificity to generality. For him, cutting across boundaries is a move from substantive to formal theory, (2000:84). Thus, in Baker’s view, this is achieved from the data collection when the researcher is able to compare for intersubjectivity, as if he were comparing multiple experimental results. “To compare [results] with those of others is to seek intersubjectivity—a comparison of subjective perceptions.

If there is a lot of agreement, the researcher may well feel more confident of his or her observations” (1988:246). This indicates that, generalisation in a case study is not statistical generalisation or particularisation; that is, how many times experiments have produced the same results; but rather, it is an analytic generalisation. Analytic generalisation is the use of multiple or single case studies to theorise to a much broader perspective on the same issue or research topic, (Yin, 2003:32-32).

By establishing the possibility of generalisation in the use of a case study, it would be an over-generalisation to claim that the findings of this study can ever be the same in similar research, given the same social context and research methodology. Firstly, it is even difficult to achieve the same results in a second qualitative study conducted on the same people because their circumstances may have changed and so would their perceptions of social realities. Secondly, though the findings of this study can be said to have an analytic generalisation based on the multiple methods and sources of data, there are limitations as to how broadly it covers. Though “field studies must aim to move beyond simple descriptions of one small environment to address many similar social contexts” (Baker, 1988:246), the findings of this study only serve as analytical reference
on the broader issues of refugee integration whilst much of it remains unique to the particular study context.

3.11.1 RESEARCHER BIAS
Social scientists agree that social researchers have certain limitations when conducting a research project. The limitations vary from the methodology, the approaches employed by the researcher, to what is being investigated. A case study researcher may face severe limitations since the researcher’s presence in the natural setting of the participants is essential. A limitation to the approach may create an error which could cause a lack of generalisation in a case study research, (Mouton, 2001:150).

“There are obvious dangers with qualitative research (particularly with participant observation, which often takes place over a prolonged period of time). The researcher may develop too empathetic a view of a group studied through close identification with them. In such cases, this is likely to lead to a bias in the observations made and the interviews conducted, particularly in relation to the interpretations given to the data constructed,” (Henn et al., 2006:177). To eliminate this effect, the researcher spent enough time observing the participants and made the effort to create minimal interaction periods with them. In doing this, the researcher was not unnecessarily drawn into too deep an empathy with the refugees or the local Ghanaians.

Subjectivity is another feature of researcher’s bias that needs to be checked. Henn et al., explain that the setting selected; the people studied; what is recorded and what is filtered out; the interpretations given to the data are all governed by the choices made by the researcher, and to a great extent are the products of the researcher’s preconceptions and existing knowledge, (2006:177). The researcher believes that subjectivity remains a crucial feature in the research, the data that had been collected were not be analysed to suit his preconceived knowledge, and thus the findings only remain, in the end, the constructed product of the participants’ own data.

3.11.2 OBSERVER EFFECT
“People may consciously or unconsciously alter the way they behave or modify what they say if they are aware that they are being researched,” (Henn et al., 2006:176). If this reactivity is not addressed, it is very possible to distort the
data generated. “One approach that might be used in an attempt to reduce this effect is to develop a rapport with those whom you are studying, and, in so doing, gain their trust,” (Henn et al., 2006:176). The researcher needs to create a rapport with the participants and thoroughly explain the research processes and aims to them, so as to allay their fears and gain their trust and confidence in the entire research process.

CONCLUSION
This chapter has meticulously discussed the methodology used and the appropriate research design utilised that sought to give credibility to the entire research process, based on the aims and objectives of this study. A detailed account was rendered of the philosophical and methodological paradigms as a justification for the research process as a scientific inquiry. The researcher attempted to justify his choice of qualitative research as the case study method; and he has provided the advantages and disadvantages associated and encountered in the process.

By the application of inductive logic and the multi-method approach, the researcher has substantiated the objectivity, reliability and the credibility of the entire research process and findings. Ethical concerns were also discussed to allay any scepticism, since the research topic involves vulnerable and sensitive issues. The next chapter, therefore, provides a detailed analysis of the data gathered based on the methodology applied in corroboration with the literature review (see Chapter Two) which sought to provide a systematic understanding of both general and specific issues on refugees and refugee integration.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRESENTATION OF DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two discussed the concepts or notions of ‘refugeeism’ in general, with sporadic references to THE Krisan Refugee Camp and refugee situations in Ghana. Chapter Three also discussed in detail the methodological approach applied in this study. That is, both literature and methodology have been thoroughly explained to fuse the data (which are to be discussed in this chapter) into an appropriate context. Specifically, the durable solutions (repatriation, third-country resettlement and local integration) were profoundly discussed to help in understanding what possible solutions are available in the management of refugee situation, most especially in protracted refugee situations.

The durable solutions, as explained in Chapter Two, are complex projects that involve multifaceted approaches and stringent measures for their effective implementation; for instance, if a group of refugees agrees to a repatriation programme that is organised by the UNHCR, considerations (such as, legal protection, venture capital, restitution, etc.) other than transporting them back into their own country come into play. Hence, this chapter discusses in depth the data collected and the analysis based on the coding system, as proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994:55-77); Northcutt and McCoy (2004:237-265; 339-366); and Neuman (2006:459-464).

Through the coding method the data are presented in three categories for discussion. Thus, a general theme is exposed by discussing its sub-themes, so as to come up with analytical categories for further discussion and conclusion in Chapter Five.

Integration is a highly complex and contested concept. There is a great deal of variance about what constitutes integration, how one determines strategies for its promotion or what the composites of an integrated society are. Generally,
studies on refugee integration can be classified into two broad types: those that attempt to delineate the domains in which refugees might be integrated; and those that identify factors that might influence refugee integration. As discussed in Chapter Two, much of the literature tends to focus on the economic, social or cultural domains as salient areas of integration. It is important to stress, however, that integration involves a complex set of interconnected issues.

It is essential to stress that this study was carried out in order to explore the perceptions and understanding of both refugees and Ghanaians, so as to have an informed understanding of integration as a non-linear and subjective issue.

Integration is explained as a reciprocal process comprising mutual adjustment and participation by the host society, as well as by the refugees themselves, rather than as a one-way process of assimilation in which refugees learn to adjust and settle into the prevailing culture of the host society. This conceptualisation opens up a series of wider questions as to how refugees interact within and have an impact on: the localities and communities into which they settle; social networks within these localities and communities; security implications; structures and processes of governance and representation at local and national levels; as well as conceptions of identity and belonging.

This conceptualisation helped the researcher to delve deep into the living experiences of refugees and local Ghanaians who participated in the semi-structured interview sessions.

A high-ranking member of the Ghana Refugee Board explained that, “integration starts the moment refugees cross a border and settle in refugee camps, because at that very moment they comply with Ghanaian laws.” Thus, reciprocally, the host society too commences its discharge of responsibility towards the refugees at the onset of their entry into the country. There is a possibility that the process of integration can be splintered, increasing the risk of exclusion and marginalisation of the refugees. Furthermore, while access to certain rights may proceed in a linear fashion, the ability and desire of refugees to make use of these rights will vary depending on such factors as education
and employment experience, host society adaptation, and refugees' own needs and aspirations.

4.2 KRISAN REFUGEE CAMP AND THE SURROUNDS

The researcher observed that Krisan is a very small village located on the coast in the Western region of Ghana. An area of approximately 800 by 450 metres of its land is inhabited by the indigenous people in mostly houses made of mud, bricks and bamboo, with straw and galvanised iron sheet roofing. Located along the coast, the soil type in Krisan is sandy and a great deal of it is in the midst of the village market and public squares. Krisan seems to be a very old settlement, and it probably existed in the colonial era; as such, most of its ancient buildings and architecture are dilapidated.

The impression of the researcher as he stepped into Krisan was that of a quiet and inactive village. Indeed, subsequent visits to the village did not realise any busy transactions and interactions between people. Most probably, fishing, which is the main economic activity of the people, explains the virtually still village. There were no clearly laid out street plans or driveways in the village, and vehicles manoeuvre their way between houses. The transit road passing through Krisan to Eikwe and Sanzule was in poor condition, with countless potholes and stony edges. However, from a two-minute drive away from Krisan towards the Refugee Camp and onwards there was a good tarred road.

Krisan is located in a very high rainy zone and hence it has a great deal of green foliage and a forest consisting of mahogany (Khaya Ivorensis), African oak, (Piptadeniastum Spp), gmelina (Gmelina arborea), iroko, (Chlorophora Excelsa), mango (Mangifera indica), pine (pinus class), coconut (Cocos nucifera), oranges and lower savannah grasses. Krisan is one kilometre away eastwards from Eikwe and one kilometre away westwards from Sanzule. The Krisan Refugee Camp is located two kilometres north-eastwards from the Krisan village.

Although, not many economic transactions and other activities were observed in Krisan village, the researcher participated in fishing activities which involved quite a great number of people other than 7-10 fishermen who were casting the net. Two ends of about a 300-metre long fishing net, cast by fishermen at
dawn, forming a semi-circle looped net and then pulled ashore, bringing fishes entrapped within the meshes of the net. The magnitude of work in this style of fishing, which is very common in Ghana, needs extra hands other than those of the fishermen. Thus mostly, in small fishing communities, the activity seems like a communal endeavour.

The researcher observed that all manner of people, including some of the refugees, children of school-going age; (they had probably dropped out of school or had to contribute to get something to survive on); young and old women, boys and old men, were all involved in pulling the net ashore. The dragging of the net was always done amidst talking and conversations between acquaintances and sometimes intercepted with sporadic singing. After the net is brought ashore, the women assist in separating the different types of fish. The fishermen give fish to those who helped and sell the rest to some of the women, who in turn smoke them or sell them fresh in the village’s small market or sell them in the nearby villages.

Those who received some fish as their remuneration for assisting in dragging the net ashore either send it home or sell it to the fish traders present.

The researcher also joined some youngsters along the beaches and in the thick coconut plantations in gathering coconuts. Krisan is rich in coconuts and the people (owners of the coconut plantations) gather and sell them. The researcher was told that sometimes coconut traders preferred them dry for the extraction of coconut oil. The husk of the coconut is not wasted. The indigenous people use it as firewood for cooking, while charcoal burners use it to light and burn fallen trees arranged and covered with moist soil to prepare charcoal.

Krisan village has a primary and junior high school located within walking distance between Krisan and Sanzule, probably to enable pupils from Sanzule to access it as well. The researcher noticed that there was a small building used as a Primary Health Care centre at Krisan, whilst the main hospital that caters for health cases in the area, St. Martin de Porres Catholic Hospital, is situated at Eikwe. There is electricity in individual homes, but there are no
street lights. The researcher noticed boreholes that provide water for the people. A few small grocery stores were also noticed however, they were not busy with shoppers.

At the initial stages of the researcher’s presence in the Krisan Refugee Camp, he took a tour of the camp to familiarise himself with the environment and the people he would later be observing. The Krisan Camp is off the main road to Krisan village. As soon as one leaves the main tarred road, the driveway to the camp is graded and levelled with gravel, showing a red soil with a coarse surface. This indicates that the driveway gets muddy whenever it rains. Most of the buildings that house the refugees and also those that are used for administrative purposes are noticeable from the entrance to the camp. Some of the buildings looked deserted and vacant; these were the buildings that were burnt down in the 2005 internal unrest. This was caused by misperceptions on skills-training as a preparatory programme for integration.

Unlike the Krisan village, most of the Krisan Refugee Camp buildings have galvanised iron sheet roofing and they are planned in an orderly way. However, refugees themselves have erected bamboo fencing and porches to shield them from strong scorching sunshine and sporadic stormy rains. The camp is laid out in four areas; areas A to D and all the refugees of nine different nationalities are mixed up and live together in these areas. The houses, measuring 10/30 feet square, were cement plastered and sprayed a dark grey colour. Some of the houses had backyard gardens within which basic foods such as cassava, plantains, peppers, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, maize and bitter leaves were grown.

Though the soil type at the camp did not look much different from that of Krisan village, the surrounding land was swampy and marshy with a little clay. Within the camp refugees had planted pawpaws (*Carica papaya*), mangoes, oranges (*Citrus aurantium*), bananas (*Musa spp.*) and teak trees. The researcher observed that most of the refugees spent much of their time under trees conversing or playing one game or the other. This makes one wonder what the main activities of the refugees are. The children go to school and some of the
youngsters and women also go to a National Vocation Training Institute for skills training.

The skills-training programme, the researcher learnt, was being partially sponsored by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), and the government. On entering the camp, one goes through a security checkpoint to declare the purpose of the visit or mission. A visitor’s book is displayed for visitors to append their signature, and all visitors must show their permit. In the case of the researcher, a letter of consent provided by the Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) was demanded by the camp management. The camp has its own vigilante or neighbourhood security force called Neighbourhood Watch team (NEWAT) comprising some of the refugees.

The researcher observed that there was a clinic in the camp and a building was pointed out to him by one of the refugees as the police station which serves as a police post for the policeman on camp duty. There was a Toyota Land Cruiser, a cross-country vehicle, used as an ambulance by the Red Cross in the camp. The researcher observed a policeman on a bicycle with a rifle patrolling the camp. At the clinic patients were being attended to and the researcher interacted with both the patients and the medical assistants. The researcher observed that one of the buildings that looked like a pavilion was used for meetings and counselling.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) field representative visits the camp on Tuesdays and Thursdays and renders counselling and other advisory services to the refugees. The researcher observed that quite a number of refugees attend the counselling sessions of the field representative. There are two other camp managers from the Ghana Refugee Board who administer the daily activities of the camp.

4.2.1 DATA ANALYSIS
Chapter Three explained the methodology employed in capturing the data for this study. In analysing the data, the researcher was able to capture themes and recurring sub-themes and subjects pertaining to the case of the Krisan Refugees. The themes, sub-themes and analytic categories are thus tabulated below preceding the discussions. Throughout the discussions, verbatim quotes
from the interviewees are used to support the discussion of the findings tabulated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME</th>
<th>SUB-THEME</th>
<th>ANALYTIC CATEGORIES</th>
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<tr>
<td>Economic Concerns</td>
<td>Economic opportunities:</td>
<td>Employment</td>
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<td>Impacting on Integration</td>
<td>Jobs</td>
<td>Qualification</td>
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<td>Documents</td>
<td>Refugee Status and work permit</td>
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<td>Income-Generation Activities</td>
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<td>Security Implications</td>
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<td>Threat Posed by the Indigenous people to the Refugees</td>
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<td>Fear of Abuse</td>
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<td>Threat Posed by the Refugees to the Indigenous People</td>
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<td>Fear of Persecution: Across border persecution</td>
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<tr>
<td>Socio-Cultural Factors</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Language barrier: refugees do not speak and understand Enzema (the local dialect)</td>
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<td>Food</td>
<td>Refugees Receive Food Aid (rations) Monthly</td>
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<td>Religion</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
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<td>Christians</td>
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<td>Human Development Activities</td>
<td>Formal Education</td>
<td>Informal Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>School age refugees are formally instructed in schools, primary and junior high schools in and outside the camp.</td>
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<td>Life Skills Training</td>
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<th>Counselling</th>
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<th>Repatriation</th>
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<td>Third-Country Resettlement</td>
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<td>Local Integration</td>
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Table 5: Thematic Data Analysis Table

4.2.2 ECONOMIC CONCERNS IMPACTING ON INTEGRATION
Knowledge of integration practices was quite uncommon to both refugees and the indigenous people. The researcher noticed that refugees suspected every self-reliance programme initiated by the government as being pro-integration and even researchers who conduct studies on the camp are sometimes perceived as government officials. As such, refugees were quite quick to answer questions on integration in the negative. However, with in-depth probing they opened up to give reasons to substantiate their positions and explained their understanding of integration.

Refugees perceive the level of poverty among those already integrated into the community and that of the community members as being detrimental to integration in Ghana. This perception indicates that both refugees and local Ghanaians have enough knowledge about each other, and it is expressed by the interviewees as:

_I know, I know. Some of them [the refugees] are staying here, they are here, they are here, even I know their rooms and I know their everything...Some of_
them are here. They are here; we are treating them like our brothers and sisters. So they're here.

K1 (Indigene of Krisan)

Some refugees are staying with us here in Krisan, not staying in the refugee camp because the camp is almost occupied; they don't have any place to sleep so they've rented houses and all that within the community; so they are here with us.

K2 (Indigene of Krisan)

They are living with us, okay.

K2 (Indigene of Krisan)

We don't have any problem with people of Krisan. They are our brothers and sisters and even some of them are married to some of the refugees and they have children. So we are living together in peace.

K5 (Refugee, Krisan)

This positive relationship between the refugees and the indigenous people described above encourages sharing and assistance, though one cannot establish any equality therein, as to whether the refugees are considered to be a burden on the community.

Here for instance at my own place, they come to me very often.

K4 (Indigene of Krisan)

But normally, everyday... they go round looking for help for themselves here and there. Even though we are aware that the government is giving them something through the, I'll say the UNHCR, because they are looking after them, but still they [refugees] also want some from the individual people for other things they think they can't easily get it from the government.
All because, they have to...help us to go to ... beach to pull net and do something, they come and help to do communal labour and everything, so I like them to come.

K1 (Indigene of Krisan)

However, the idea and the purpose of integration, as understood by the refugees and the perceptions of the impact on their lives are different from those of the indigenous people. Refugees compare their lives to the general living conditions of indigenous people to assess what constitutes a sustainable durable solution for them in Ghana.

So, that integrate I don’t think we can make it; refugees can’t make it here. We have problem too much here.

R6 (Refugee, Krisan)

Integration, we the refugees in this camp I don’t think we can make it, because we [are] suffering here too much; and the men no work to work and... the women too nothing.

R7 (Refugee, Krisan)

Some members of the community share this sentiment of suffering with the refugees and advise that a viable durable solution other than integration is sought for them as soon as possible.

Because I can see they are suffering, they have nothing in this community and there are no jobs here so there cannot get money to cater for them.

K3 (Indigene of Krisan)

Here, we are all suffering. So if there is anything, it is the government who is supposed to help them in terms of integration so that they can also do that.

K2 (Indigene of Krisan)

The expressions of suffering by the refugees and the indigenous people are an indication that certain facilitating factors conducive for the successful integration of refugees into the community were not prevailing. The lack of economic and
employment opportunities are the reasons given by the refugees to substantiate their claim of suffering.

4.2.3 ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES FOR REFUGEES: JOBS
As discussed, integration cannot only be looked at as assimilating refugees into the host community society nor as a goal for finding financial support for refugees and ending the assistance they receive from care agencies. Integration is deeply embedded in economic factors and its success correlates with the entire package of economic opportunities available, not only for refugees but also for the indigenous people of Krisan. Thus, integration as a process where “host and refugee communities are able to co-exist, sharing the same resources—both economic and social—with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists with the host community” (Harrell-Bond 1986:7) was extensively reflected on by the refugees and the indigenous peoples of Krisan.

4.2.3.1 EMPLOYMENT
High unemployment among refugees can result in protracted refugee aid dependency. Most refugees who gain employment early after arrival in the host country find it easier to integrate in the communities within which they work. Gaining employment can also result in refugees renouncing their refugee status for ordinary asylum seekers or immigrant status. Some refugees in Krisan Camp expressed the difficulties they face in gaining employment. Some attributed it to discrimination, whilst others thought it was a sheer lack of job opportunities.

Integration is good when there are […] job opportunities. Especially when you feel like if you have something to do you are free to do it easily. That’s why I just state that it is difficult in living between [(among)] the community people. Getting a job is not easy, like I’ve been here five years now. I’ve been looking for a job and when I get the job and they will ask me for interview, I make interview later on they find that I’m a refugee they say oh. There are Ghanaians who are out there who […] don’t have jobs and later they would find out and put me out; is like that so it is very difficult to get a job.

R6 (Refugee, Krisan)
…when you see the map and see the job opportunity here and compare it to the population and those people who don’t have job you see that there are plenty more than… you are a foreigner or something you come it is not easy, it is very difficult…

R8 (Refugee, Krisan)

The Ghana people […] you want to work… they interview you and then say you are not a Ghanaian you cannot get a job.

R2 (Refugee, Krisan)

…No job and men were idle so women would go to Elubo [(Elubo is a border town on the main Ghana–Cote d’Ivoire road in the Western Region of Ghana)] border for prostitution and when they get money they come back and give some to the men to cater for their children.

R4 (Refugee, Krisan)

It is one thing for foreigners, refugees included, to feel discriminated in relation to employment and economic opportunities but it is entirely a different scenario when economic opportunities are bleak for both refugees and the indigenous.

Interviewee, R5 asserts, “Here in Krisan you cannot do anything, there’s no job; no factories or contractors to be employed for a day’s job…we are still searching for some job; but even the people themselves are suffering, they don’t have jobs. Many of the Krisan people when they finish school they come back here to pull the net. This cannot be a job for both refugees and the people.

R5 (Refugee, Krisan)

It is a policy of the Ghana Refugee Board and the UNHCR Ghana to assist refugees to be self-supporting by designing and promoting economic projects for them. “Economic projects are designed for settlement communities according to their professions and skills, and capabilities. Particularly, this promotes their earning capacity and makes them self-supporting. These projects encourage them to spend their time usefully and take their minds off adversities,” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 25).
However, an interviewee K4 said, “I’m sure if they were to have a better area where the condition is really favourable for farming, I mean they wouldn’t be as you see them now. You would have seen a lot of farms and gardens here and there to help them to boost their morale also. So most of the times you find idle. When people sit idle, so many things come into their mind … and you know the results.”

K4 (Indigene of Krisan)

Apart from refugees, who have their own professions, for example teachers, medical officers, nurses, and so forth, the immediate self-supporting and income-generating activities available are the provision of skill-trainings in dressmaking, hairdressing, masonry, carpentry, small-scale business entrepreneurship and agricultural practices in crop farming and animal husbandry. Women and children are high on the list of priorities of the UNHCR and “to this end, market- oriented programmes such as petty-trading activities and dressmaking, as well as programmes meant for the social upliftment of women and children will be pursued,” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 26).

However, refugees are unable to practise the self-reliance programmes in the area due to numerous difficulties they face with the indigenous people. A woman refugee recounted with utter frustration and anguish, some of the difficulties they face; …and you can’t speak the Ghana language it’s a problem for you. The supply too they are giving us […] because on the camp people can buy it cheap so you want to take it to the market. You take it to the market again the Ghana people…have their own price and then they want you, the refugee, yours must come down then they buy and then they sell it back. So that’s the thing we are facing…

…you are selling they don’t want. You just sell it cheap they buy it from you and they sit down there and they selling it back. That’s how they can do so we not able to integrate here… I used to learn tie-and-dye but the tie-and-dye we do here, no head no tail, we are just fall down. So I’m sitting down in the house idle.

R6 (Refugee, Krisan)
I can’t do the tie-and-dye to sell because the person who was teaching the tie-and-dye would not settle down in the camp; the man has not been here for three months and then he comes and travels; he is not stable; so that one you can’t say I know this, I can do it.

R1 (Refugee, Krisan)

4.2.3.2 QUALIFICATION OF REFUGEES
Refugees in Krisan may not be gaining employment because of the lack of a viable economy in the area. The availability of jobs that could support those refugees who do not have any professional skills or qualification from their own countries to engage in some income-generating activities are basically not there. However, about of 80 per cent of them hailing from Francophone countries seems to explain why they cannot gain employment in the so called “white-collar-job” sector. Most professional refugees such as, medical officers, lecturers and teachers; journalists and other businessmen repatriated or moved to other parts of Ghana where they could practise their professions.

The lack of qualifications accounts for refugees’ inability to gain employment in the country. Skills-training would not be so vital if refugees had special professional qualifications that could earn them a living in Ghana or in their own country. According to an official of the Ghana Refugee Board, refugees who were fortunate enough to go to a third-country resettlement in the USA were not people without professions.

America would not just receive people who would contribute less to their economy and at the same time depend heavily on their social welfare funds. We received a lot of doctors and university lecturers with the first batch of the refugees from Liberia, but most of them repatriated early and others were resettled later.

O1 (Camp Official, Krisan)
4.2.4 INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES

4.2.4.1 SKILLS-TRAINING
“Projects for refugees are undertaken by the UNHCR Operational Partners appointed by the Refugee Board and UNHCR. Their employees work in the field in a variety of areas, including food distribution, medical supplies, income-generating activities, education, skills-training, recreation, etc” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 26). Skills-training has different implications for the Krisan refugees. Some believe that, every skills-training programme is intended for integration, so they would boycott it, or would not encourage members of their community to participate; whilst others think skills-training could serve in a self-supporting capacity to earn a decent living even in the camp.

Well, what actually happened…2005 was a hearsay, because it was the same project which UNIDO is carrying out which brought the whole agitation. Because, I think was just a matter of misunderstanding. Because when UNIDO was trying to explain to them [the refugees] some of them browsed the internet and came with the news that…it was purely for local integration, and that means the approach was misconstrued; it was totally misconstrued.

O1 (Camp Official, Krisan)

…some of them received skill-training some time ago but they were not certificated. So this time around UNIDO has come in to give them skill-training so that those who might be lucky to go on resettlement will not be found wanting. And there are others too who might go home so may have some skills to fit into their country, their own society.

O2 (Camp Official, Krisan)

Since I came here—with the skills-training—well, I’m a teacher and I have been trained by the Ghana Education Service twice, and I think we were about ten receiving skill-training by the Ghana Education Service and training by […] National Catholic Secretariat (NCS), so we received it and […] since 2006 I’m
teaching the French Language in the school and we are still, even we are receiving the training to improve our teaching the kids in French. I teach pupils in Eikwe and [...] some times they come for to teach them. So this is the training I have received since I came here to teach or in the teaching area with the Ghana Education Service.

R5 (Refugee, Krisan)

But not all who received the skills-training could use such to their own advantage. According to one refugee, “to come to integration, the government I believe the best way for them to help the refugees, mainly the case of Krisan camp for them to find to durable solution for them, because some try all these things—skills training— some know many things, and they are here, they can’t do anything with it; they can’t integrate them; they can’t go back home.

R7 (Refugee, Krisan)

4.2.4.2 FARMING
One of the economic opportunities one could consider in Krisan is farming. At least refugees could engage in farming, either subsistence or organised farming for large-scale crop production that could generate enough funds for their upkeep. However, the general perception about farming was as follows:

......, actually, they [the refugees] are not allowed to farm. If some of them want to farm, they have to ask permission from the land owner, and some of them are granted the permission, so those you ask permission, they are allowed. Those are not asking permission they stop them they are not allowed to do that. But the majority of them are not allowed to do farming.

K2 (Indigene of Krisan)

The researcher observed that some refugees had backyard gardens and others had livestock. None of the farms seemed to be viable for income generation. The refugees recount that, “…especially, our environment that we find ourselves is not good, because the place is surrounded with the water, we do not have access to farming and so on...

R4 (Refugee, Krisan)
... If you go to the area of agric, the land is too poor and they can’t, generate anything and most of the refugees are intellectual. How can you come and integrate refugees who are intellectual in the society to make them farmers?

R5 (Refugee, Krisan)

... I mean, if you look at the whole stretch area, the area that they are staying is really not a viable area...some of them would like to go into farming, gathering and all that; and for the past they have been bringing all the farming input with everything that they could use but...the soil is not... really favourable for that, for these kinds of activities...

K4 (Indigene of Krisan)

I’m sure if they were to have a better area where the condition was really favourable for farming...they wouldn’t be as you see them now. You would have seen a lot of farms and gardens here and there to help them to boost their morale also.

K4 (Indigene of Krisan)

4.2.4.3 FISHING

Fishing is the main agricultural practice that serves as the livelihood for the people of Krisan. If the land is not arable for crop production, fishing could be an alternative venture for refugees to earn their livelihood. However, the interviews revealed that fishing was not an option for the refugees, because of the skills and capital involved. A resident of Krisan told the researcher that fishing equipment was very costly and needed regular maintenance and repairs. Nobody among the refugees can afford fishing nets, fishing vessels or canoes and the additional maintenance associated with it. Secondly, as refugees, they would need work permits, just like any other foreigner who wants to engage in business activities in Ghana.

However, refugees who naturalise as Ghanaians would only require a licence to fish. Fishing does not seem to be a viable economic option for the refugees though they are located in a coastal fishing community. A refugee asserts ...sometimes refugees go to Krisan and pull the net with the Krisan people. Even I used to do that. But the fish we get is not enough to make food for the family; and when you sell it too; you would not get enough money to buy other
But the refugees cannot go on the sea to fish because they don’t have the money to buy boat…

R3 (Refugee, Krisan)

Documents of the Ghana Refugee Board indicate that income-generating activities were outlined for the refugees and lines programmes which made impacts on the lives of refugees. It states “Programmes which have made the greatest impact on the lives of refugee families include: day-care centres for the children of working mothers; child health clinics; counselling services for the youth with adjustment problems; and social centres for the elderly with physical, mental and spiritual problems. Others are: skills-training for job aspirants; recreational activities for children and youth; crop production; and income-generating activities,” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 26).

These programmes were designed for refugees in both Buduburam and Krisan Refugee Camp and it is possible that most of the beneficiaries of these programmes must have been repatriated or resettled in a third country. The Buduburam camp is officially closed though it still houses Liberian refugees and the UNHCR continues to assist them in a number of ways. On the other hand, quite a number of refugees from the Krisan camp have been repatriated and resettled in a third country. By way of assessment, the researcher did not notice any serious ongoing income-generating activities in the camp apart from a woman who seemed to be a dressmaker and a few kiosks where refugees sold groceries.

4.2.4.4 CHARCOAL MAKING

Krisan refugees receive most of their basic needs (food, medicine, shelter etc.) from the UNHCR and the Ghana Refugee Board. The refugees receive monthly rations of maize, beans, oil, salt, rice and other foodstuffs. The refugees lamented that the supply of food was insufficient to sustain a refugee for the stipulated monthly period. Thus farming to sustain refugees who are unemployed and depend solely on food donation is particularly crucial. The general perception of the non-arability of the land does not deter refugees from attempting crop farming or other activities on the land.
Scarcity of resources in a given area is a recipe for conflict. The indigenous people say they had to grapple with the destruction of their forest and sometimes theft on the farms, and believe that the refugees are responsible. The indigenous people report “…for instance it’s our land and our coconuts over there they do, sometimes take some why they [refugees] didn’t even give any information to the chief or the community.

K1 (Indigene of Krisan)

A document study indicates that from the onset of the erection of the Krisan Refugee Camp, certain property belonging to the residents was destroyed and residents still experience similar situations. …certain people had properties in the nature of cash crops on certain portions of the land acquired for Refugee Reception Centre. These were destroyed during the creation of the centre. These people have been very anxious to receive compensation for the destruction of their properties.

(Document: Letter to GRB)

The GRB/UNHCR-Ghana document outlines certain implications of hosting refugees in Ghana. One of these is the issue of land degradation. “Land degradation through deforestation and the use of local vegetation as fuel and sources of raw material for house construction does not augur well for attempts being made for the preservation of the forests and wild life,” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 31). They are living with us in a very peaceful manner but there is only one problem, that is, how…they are destroying our forest and how they are destroying our crops around. That’s the only major problem that we are having with them…

K2 (Indigene of Krisan)

When they came to stay there we were friendly with them… we share everything on our land with them…we feel they are human beings so it’s only we sympathised with them whilst they are displaced…but one thing we are not satisfied was…even though the government supplies their food and everything, they cut our trees to make firewood…so I wrote some letters to the commander of the camp that I wouldn’t want them to do that… But whenever I go to the bush and see them doing it I stop them.
They cut the trees to make charcoal to be selling them at Eikwe and other places.

Now they pass here and go to Eikwe bush to make the charcoal and sell.

Some harsh comments were also expressed indicating that there are limited resources in the area to sustain both refugees and the indigenous people of Krisan. An indigene of Krisan stated through a translator that “…He don’t like them because of they are thieves… giving instances as: They went to his palm farm, they went to steal from it…. So that is why they don’t like them.

On the other hand, refugees give reasons for indulging in the charcoal business but also lament the strain of the effort involved and the low income they generate from it. They expressed the risks and challenges they face in this kind of operation. One interviewee generally stated, “because there are no economic opportunities here some of the refugees make charcoal and sell… May be they can get something from it to feed their families.

We cannot call this place home. I have been and I don’t earn anything. Sometimes I make charcoal and sell but the Krisan people say we are destroying their forest. Here the land is full of water and dangerous snakes and other animals like alligators. Sometimes you are afraid that snakes can bite you in the forest…and the charcoal too the people want to buy it cheap because they think you cut down their trees to make it.

The researcher did observe some refugees, mostly men, carrying bags of charcoal on bicycles in the camp. However what could not be ascertained was whether those refugees made the charcoal themselves or bought it from someone else. The researcher also observed that petty traders among the refugees in the camp had small portions of charcoal displayed on stools and small tables. Refugees, as well as Ghanaians use charcoal for cooking.
Refugees could not afford to use Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) or electric stoves to cook the household meals because the prices of these products are too high and it is also costly to refill the gas. Therefore, the common and probably the easiest means of energy source are firewood and charcoal.

4.2.5 SECURITY IMPLICATIONS
Security implications became one of the main issues of discussion during the face-to-face interviews. This issue cut across the categories of the sample population and surfaced as a great concern for some of the refugees. Security concerns have been discussed in detail in Chapter Two regarding the protection of refugees. Thus this section concentrates mainly on specific responses as indicated by the refugees and the indigenous Ghanaians of Krisan.

The GRB/UNHCR-Ghana document reviewed that “[t]he location of Refugee Settlements in close proximity to ethnic communities is of mutual benefit, but this could cause insecurity in a district in times of ethnic instability,” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 31). The findings revealed that the security implications are not affected by ethnic instability in the district, but the mere presence of refugees and the perceptions associated with them are factors. This is analysed in three categories: the threat posed by refugees to the indigenous people; the threat posed to refugees and cross-border threats.

4.2.5.1 THE THREAT POSED BY REFUGEES TO THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AT KRISAN
The perception that refugees at Krisan were victims and fugitives of armed conflicts in their own countries appears to have had certain security implications for their presence in Krisan. Certainly, security is one of the issues that would be analysed in terms of the integration of refugees into a local community. Some of the indigenous people articulated their fear of the refugees in the community, although they had asserted that living with them was peaceful since their arrival at Krisan. Nonetheless, there were incidents of physical threats and abuse, and the indigenous people frequently felt unwilling to interact and involve them in their communal activities. An indigene accounts, “When we talk of weapons and other things, we have not experienced that. The only thing I can talk about is actually, like you mentioned that they are coming from war countries, some of them usually use cutlasses to threaten some people, even among themselves. I quite remember it happened once here but we’ve been
able to resolve that issue with the camp manager so it’s over, we have not experienced it again.

The clarification indicated that “…it was a threat to somebody... to indigenous, and women at night.

K2 (Indigene of Krisan)

…that one it’s true, because they [Krisan community] think so, they [refugees] have guns… Even I myself am thinking that they [refugees] have the guns and with their rooms so that in case any problem they can come with their guns and...

K1 (Indigene of Krisan)

“…some two years back I travelled to some place but I heard that those people [refugees] they were fighting again with guns and cutlasses and all kinds of things…

K3 (Indigene of Krisan)

An interviewee who seemed irritated and quite resentful of their presence accounted through a translator the threat they posed to his family. He [doesn’t] like them because they caught his daughter at the roadside and attempted to rape her. That is why he doesn't like them.

K6 (Indigene of Krisan)

However, it is not every indigenous person who shares this view, though one or two skirmishes in the camp and with the indigenous people might have sent shivers of fear through the indigenes. An indigene of Krisan accounts, “I have not seen them causing any havoc to anybody...since they came they have not had anything bad with the community...they do no harm to anybody; it’s only one day they met a woman, I don’t know what happened but they were very sorry.

K5 (Indigene of Krisan)

Even if they posed any threat to the community there were already measures to mitigate any insecurity and prevent possible strife. Those here have no
problem, because we are with them, we are together. So we don’t have much problem with them. Those at the camp too the district police commander has been giving them security. The police come two weeks and then they change them—this one will come and they go—so I think the security is tight; it’s intact.

K2 (Indigene of Krisan)

First, when they were coming the community thought they would be a threat to the community but as far as I have come to understand now the community does not feel any threat at all with their presence around… The only thing is, as I was saying was that, their activities and also their needs which they will like to have which are sometimes not forthcoming, you see, that kind of thing puts a kind of pressure on the community… I mean they want something to live on. The community itself hasn’t got it. So that thing sometimes puts a kind of pressure. But as far as their own lives are concerned, that kind of security, I think they don’t pose so much a threat on the community around. Because the community [is] always as watchdogs, they are out looking out to see their movements and all that.

K4 (Indigene of Krisan)

4.2.5.2 THE THREAT POSED BY THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE TO THE REFUGEES

The importance of trouble-free co-existence is captured in the reportage of the indigenous interviewees. Freedom from fear, physical threats, abuse, intimidation and discrimination were frequently stated by refugees to be key issues in enabling a sense of engagement with local communities. They considered these factors detrimental to integration, because they erase that sense of belonging refugees are supposed to feel to facilitate their successful integration. Some of these factors are motivated by certain events or incidents. A refugee recounts certain problems they faced after an Ivorian soccer team; Assec Mimosa engaged a Ghanaian side, Asante Kotoko and the latter lost.

This is the problem the people are facing concerning integration…nationals like Côte d’Ivoire people since the people the match took place between Ashanti Kotoko and Assec in Abidjan a lot of problems occurred with the Ivorian refugees…some people came and demanded the identity of Ivorian refugees saying where are the Ivorians, where are the Ivorians?
Sometimes people see your identity and they say, oh you are an Ivorian; oh, these people are very wicked very they are very corrupt.

Even without such incidents, unfamiliarity could lead to significant fear: If you are hearing [understand] the language the fear is minimum, but you can't hear [understand] the language; sometimes you speak English and they [the indigenous people] say “me nnte” [(meaning I don't understand English)] ...so you fear. Now you want to go out you are looking for two, three people to go with and then you come back quickly…

You meet people and you say you are from this country or that and then they say what are you doing in this country? You don't have any place to go? Is Ghana the only place you can live? Some people they can tell you that we are plenty here we suffer. You come here and stay.

This, however, did not negate the positive relationships existing between the refugees and the indigenous people. A refugee recounts that they usually have sports games with the Krisan Youth Council so that they can foster unity and peace in the area. “Sometimes the young people in Krisan would come here for a soccer match and at times we will go there to play.

4.2.5.3 FEAR OF PERSECUTION: CROSS-BORDER PERSECUTION
One of the conditions of international security in respect to refugees is the settlement of refugees in close proximity to an international border, and more critically on the border between the country of asylum and the home country. The question is how one measures the proximity to an internationally recognised border and what would constitute international insecurity if refugees face persecution at the hands of their hunters in the country of asylum. When refugees face persecution from detractors from their country of origin in the
country of asylum, spontaneous settlement and secondary movement tend to recur, hence creating managerial challenges.

As already mentioned, two of the three refugee camps in Ghana are seemingly located in “close proximity” to Togo and Côte d’Ivoire borders on the eastern and western boundaries respectively. That is, the Klikor Refugee Camp, near Ho, is only a few minutes’ drive from some of the border towns between Ghana and Togo, whilst, Krisan refugee camp is also located within an hour’s drive from Elubo, a border town on the Ghana–Côte d’Ivoire border. Refugees, especially the Ivorians expressed their fear of the location of the camp and expressed that it was a great concern for them.

Our security in Ghana is not actually granted, that is the problem.

R4 (Refugee, Krisan)

The Ivorian refugees are facing persecution, they fear kidnapping in their staying here.

R5 (Refugee, Krisan)

Sometimes if you want to pay a visit to the hospital you are afraid to see Ivorian registered car passing, or soldiers coming with the civilian clothes looking for Ivorian just to greet them. So it’s a very pathetic situation.

R6 (Refugee, Krisan)

Living in a border location can increase fear and hamper integration as a durable solution. With integration it will be easy for them to get into Ghana and it will be easy for them to get all of us.

R4 (Refugee, Krisan)

Refugees even expressed that good international relations with Ghana, Togo and Côte d’Ivoire can even hamper integration since the refugees cannot control the relations of Ghana with other countries. It will be easy for them [government of their countries of origin] to get into Ghana and it will be easy for them to get all of us because they are easily cooperating with the government [of Ghana] presently on the ground.

R1 (Refugee, Krisan)
I believe that integrated in Ghana is a very big problem, because what we have fear for is still there and I can also tell you that the condition that we find ourselves sometimes, even they can send people from Togo to come and persecute us in camp the old camp, Klikor; even here there was two occasions people come here.

R4 (Refugee, Krisan)

We are sure we don’t want to be integrated here in Ghana. The reason why? Because of the security across the border problems, and because we are not protected for so long; because we have been here for good 16 years and our problems still the same, we are not progressing in our lives for good 15, 16 years so we do not have basis to stand on to say that oh we are comfortable to be integrated here, because past 16 years we still like the same how we fled.

Again I can say that even if we are going to tell the truth, we have passed through persecution, many persecutions in our country but in the Ghana here physical persecutions and so on are not actually high but I’m also saying that still we’re still feeling the problems. Because if I flee my home country and I have been deported back for persecution or somebody coming from my country and come to the asylum grounds, where I seek asylum and I’m being persecuted, that means we haven’t [had], what do you call it, protection. Somebody who flees across the border has to get international protection, some kind of way that he will be protected well but not openly like the person who’ll be integrated in the same border over the geographical manner like Togo and Ghana are the same thing.

R4 (Refugee, Krisan)

… Many of our colleagues have been killed here; many of them were deported back to Togo for persecution. So when…these are happening, when they integrate us in Ghana what do you think that will happen; you understand? There is no protection. That is why, the protection is very poor. It is a condition that we are not secure; we are not secure in Ghana to be integrated in Ghana.
With all the deep sense of insecurity, however, the refugees did not seem oblivious of the effort engaged by the Ghana Refugee Board and the UNHCR for their protection. *We know the Ghana government and the UNHCR can find us better protection. Maybe, they should resettle us in a different country, but not the one that shares borders with Ghana and our country. Already they resettle some of our colleagues so we believe they can find us a better protection. We want to thank them.*

R4 (Refugee, Krisan)

4.2.6 SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS

In the experience of most refugees, adjusting to a different culture was not easy. It was even more difficult in an environment where other refugees hailed from different countries and cultures; because, one could expect that such clusters of different cultures in the camp could be a recipe for internal conflict. However, they have managed to co-exist peacefully in the camp. One could attribute this to the fact that, firstly, the refugee camp serves as a transit for the refugees to realise a solution to their problem. Secondly, knowing very little of themselves and the background of the others (whether they were rebels or combatants) the refugees are circumspect in dealing with each other.

Probably, this serves as a check on internal conflict coupled with the internal security provisions they have in the camp. Refugees who had experienced close family ties in their own culture, found their separation and the lack of a local vibrant community to be estranging and depressing. Along with the emphasis on 'raising awareness' about the ‘host’ culture, there was a general acceptance amongst residents that refugees were entitled to maintain and practise their own culture. The Krisan community did not really have a grave variance with the heterogeneity of cultures of the refugees and considered it a contributing factor to the peaceful co-existence.

*Culturally, you know our culture is different from theirs, so those who can abide by our culture here, we adopt them, and we are together and those who go contrary to that, they are facing problems. So it is not all that bad, it is somehow okay.*

K2 (Indigene of Krisan)
We are all Africans and the cultures are similar so the Ghana culture is not a problem. But the only problem we are facing that we cannot speak the local language, Enzima.

R5 (Refugee, Krisan)

2.4.6.1 COMMUNICATION: THE LANGUAGE BARRIER
The ability to communicate in the local dialect and English was viewed by both refugees and residents as an important component of integration into Ghanaian society. More than 80% of the refugees hailed from francophone countries and the urgency to know the area and country of asylum demanded learning English and at least some of the local dialect, Enzema or Fante. However, refugees considered Enzema difficult to learn and expressed the view that the indigenous people could not communicate in English, hence making it a challenge to engage in social activities.

…the language barrier is the problem many face in the local community. Some examples I can give; like those women who sometimes send goods to the market, because they are refugees they don’t buy things from them, so it makes them very discriminated against in the market, so they can’t integrate. The Ghanaians traditionally speak Enzema, so if you can’t speak Enzema how can you go and service?

R5 (Refugee, Krisan)

We are suffering too much. If I get into car the Ghana people, they are speaking their language and you can’t hear it, you will pay your money from the place, you don’t hear a word, but to enter the car is a trouble… You can’t speak their language, you selling they don’t want…

R6 (Refugee, Krisan)

However, the local people are of the opinion that it takes interest and determination to achieve a goal, indicating that, the refugees have been there over a decade, and thus have had enough time to understand the local dialect. Some of them can understand Enzema especially the children and some of the women. But if someone is here for over ten years and cannot speak the Enzema language then it is not our fault.
4.2.6.2 FOOD
The GRB/UNHCR-Ghana document Help Refugees Help Themselves, states that, “the main purpose of acquiring refugee status is to adopt a specific identity, but it also guarantees for the refugees certain legal rights for physical protection and survival needs such as: food, water, clothing, shelter and medical care (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 14). Against this background the interviewees recounted …Water to drink, they have only one pump here; the pump sometime germs come out of the pump, this is the only pump [borehole water pump]… Everybody takes water to drink from this… Sometimes “merkie” (worms) come out from it. … Eh it is not everybody that has pure water [mineral water] money to go and buy pure water, so we just are drinking it like that.

R6 Refugee, Krisan)

The refugees indicated that learning how to eat the local and general Ghanaian dishes as early as possible was helpful to feeling comfortable in the camp because they could not stick to eating only the rations that were provided by the World Food Programme (WFP) through the UNHCR. A refugee recounts, here we eat any type of food, whether it is from your culture or it is the Ghana food. Because we come from different countries we try to learn to eat dishes from the countries represented in the camp, but mainly we eat Ghana dishes. Like the people from Sudan, they learn how to eat cassava and cassava leaves here, which is the food of the Liberians and the Sierra Leoneans.

R8 (Refugee, Krisan)

4.2.6.3 RELIGION: ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY
Having the freedom to practise one’s religion was an integral part of integration for the refugees. The researcher observed that there were mosques and buildings used for religious practices. The researcher observed Muslims going to the mosque and praying. He was told by a refugee that the Muslims were fasting and thus had very little activity to do during that period. Christians too were seen going to church and some of the refugees attended church services with the indigenous people.
They [refugees] are able to attend church, you know they have so many different community, the Moslems have their mosque over there, the other church communities have their pastors and all that; the Catholic community come to church here, we also go there from time to time also to be with them and to be able to help them. But as far as this religion is concerned, I mean every community has a different community with religious activities we are really doing it and I’m sure they have a lot of support from other people, even not even from the camp but outside, especially from the other church communities.

K4 (Indigene of Krisan)

4.2.6.4 RECREATION: SPORTS

Encouraging social activities was seen as a catalyst for a community and a sense of living together. The provision of recreational facilities by the GBR, UNHCR and other donor organizations has created a high sense of good neighbourliness and unity in refugees. It is also fostered useful time-spending with the members of the community, the refugees accounted. Sometimes we [refugees] have games [sports] with the youth teams in Krisan. Sometimes we organise soccer matches and you meet a lot of people.

R2 (Refugee, Krisan)

...at times we play football matches with them [refugees]. Some of them too come here to train with us.

K1 (Indigene of Krisan)

4.2.6.5 FOSTERING SOCIAL COHESION

Living with refugees is a learning experience for the community. The perceptions of the conflicts in neighboring countries and the presence of refugees in the community has served as an eye-opener for the community to live in peace and resort to the peaceful settlement of disputes. A resident of Krisan indicated that their presence is also helping the people to see how they can live at peace with their neighbours and their friends, because what has brought our brothers and sisters [refugees] from their countries to come here is, I think, lack of peace that has brought them; and so also that is helping the community also to see how best they can live at peace in order not to fall into the same situation as these people are in now.

K4 (Indigene of Krisan)
4.2.6.6 HEALTH CARE
Access to healthcare facilities was not seen as a particular problem. Refugees receive free treatment at the clinic in the camp and have free ambulance services in critical health conditions. The only problem they reported was that the ambulance does not stay in the camp at night, thus making it difficult to pick up patients in critical conditions timeously. The UNHCR in collaboration with the National Catholic Secretariat (NCS) subsidises the critical health expenses of refugees. Otherwise, the main focus was on health problems themselves, with a number of interviewees (both refugees and others) noting how psychological problems and failing health conditions (malaria being rife in the area) in older persons reduce their capacity to be actively involved in the community.

It is a problem for the refugees in cases of emergency….We don’t have contacts for the drivers of the ambulance itself, in the evening all the drivers do not sleep inside the camp. So the health sector in the night we find problems. In the day we go, they have the basic drugs, but the referral or the delivery case we find a lot of problems….

R5 (Refugee, Krisan)

4.2.7 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES
Human development considerations for refugees forced out of their countries by conflict and violence are essential for re-channeling energies and focusing on self-development rather than on adversities. A number of factors can be drawn in here to argue for well-designed development and the educational projects for refugees. Firstly, the settlement of refugees can upset the demographic balance of these areas, increasing the population density and hence exerting constraints on facilities and resources.

Secondly, life in refugee camps where refugees feel hopeless of any sustainable solution can lure refugees to give in to adversities and to join rebel groups. Thus the absence of human development programmes has the potential to create conditions ripe for violence and conflict.
4.2.7.1 FORMAL EDUCATION FOR REFUGEES

The GRB/UNHCR-Ghana document asserts that the “importance of education for personal progress and national development is emphasized and promoted in the refugee settlements,” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 26). Krisan Refugee Camp has a primary school and a Junior High School. The researcher observed pupils go to these school each day except weekends and return home around 14:00 hours. The refugees hold the schools in high esteem. Schooling assures them of a continuity and personal progress.

We have the primary school and the JHS. For us, we are grown up already but for the refugee children this means everything to them. Because we are here…we don’t know our future. But if the go to school then we are sure the future is good for them… For me I’m praying that my children will do well to get scholarship to even go to the university.

R1 (Refugee, Krisan)

Schooling also assists the refugees to uncover their talents and enhance interaction with the indigenous people. It provides an environment for mutual learning about their different cultures and backgrounds. I am a teacher, some of the areas I can stick my neck out, that when we talk of education wise, they don’t have any problem...they have their community, refugee community school there, that is primary division; but immediately after primary education, they divide them into two, and then one will come to Krisan Junior High School and the other side will go to Eikwe Junior High School. We do everything together, the refugees and Ghanaians there is no discrimination, we do everything together. I can stick my neck out that they don’t have any problem at all. When it comes to games, in terms of the school, I have taken a lot of them to the district level, even I can mention somebody’s name that he went as far as to the regional [level]. So there is no discrimination. If only you qualify to do anything, we allow you to do it, and so there is no discrimination at all.

K2 (Indigene of Krisan)

When we talk of students, they [make] make friends with them, they do everything together.

R5 (Refugee, Krisan)
4.2.7.2 INFORMAL EDUCATION

Section 4.2.3 discussed skills-training extensively in respect to economic opportunities for those with skills. This section however discusses skills-training in terms of capacity building. The Ghana Refugee Board and the UNHCR-Ghana regard it as a duty to build the capacity of refugees, as they await a permanent solution to their plight. However, skills-training has not always gone well for the Krisan Refugee Camp given the misperceptions refugees have conceived about such programmes. …they [refugees who have been resettled in a third country] write to their friends and even some of them advise them that they should take up skills-training; because, when they went there they faced a lot of problems because they are not skilled. But, you know, when it comes to skills-training refugees will always think it is for local integration so they don’t actually take it serious.

O1 (Camp Official, Krsian)

This suggests that the refugees are against programmes that provide them with the possibility of repatriation or local integration because they want to be resettled in America, the United Kingdom or Australia, as some of their colleagues had that privilege of an advanced country resettlement. Can this be seen as the refugees trying to take advantage of their protracted situation to go overseas? As presented in Chapter One, refugees use protests to demand such requests; an official of Krisan Refugee Camp explained it as:

Well, what actually happened eh 2005 was hearsay, because it was the same project which UNIDO is carrying out which brought the whole agitation… Because when UNIDO was trying to explain to them, some of them browsed the internet and came with the news that it was purely for local integration, and that means the approach was misconstrued; it was totally misconstrued.

O3 (Camp Official, Krisan)

The researcher noticed that a new skills-training programme had commenced in the National Vocational Training Institute at Sansuley. The refugees were being trained in dressmaking, catering, hairdressing, carpentry and the electrical trade.
The training we have started now is good. It will help me in the future, here in Ghana or wherever I will go later.

R3 (Refugee, Krisan)

4.2.8 ACCESS TO INSTITUTIONAL SERVICE DELIVERY

“The 1951 UN Refugee Convention clearly states that the refugee has the right to education and training, to work opportunities and even to acquire property. It gives the refugee the liberty to practise his profession, his religion and culture, and also the freedom of movement and of association with nationals. Governments that accede to the UN and the OAU Refugee Conventions are under obligation to grant these rights to refugees they recognize,” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 14).

Gaining access to institutional service delivery is essential for refugees to take full advantage of their rights. However, any refugee must have satisfied the immigration laws and rightly gained refugee status to access some of the opportunities available to them. “Immigration laws in every country require every individual immigrant to declare his identity the moment he sets foot in another country, irrespective of the point of entry. Similarly, the 1951 UN Refugee Convention requires persons seeking refuge outside their homeland to declare their identity as they arrive at the national borders or ports”, (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 12).

Regionally, this principle is differently applied. “In Africa, where there are mass movements of rural folk, determining eligibility on an individual basis is not practicable, hence a “prima facie” eligibility, that is, “eligibility based on first impressions is applied, and all are granted refugee status en masse. However, any individual among the masses who gives cause for suspicion is singled out for screening to determine his status,” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 13).

Some of the refugees recounted their frustration with the lack of a refugee status which reduces their access to some of their rights and institutional services. The refugee board, we [refugees] ourselves we don’t know which way to go for them to give us status because they brought us here… They said we should all go to Krisan Camp… So all the Ghana people they know that
everybody here is a refugee who has to have that status but they don’t want to give it to us, so we don’t know what is the cause. They are the one that knows the meaning of it so they must try for us...

R6 (Refugee, Krisan)

…they say status; some of us didn’t know about it [the refugee status] or what it meant. They say refugee status, and then the status we need it, they say every refugee has to have the status. So we don’t know...So what is the meaning why they don’t want to give us that status now…

R1 (Refugee, Krisan)

Another interviewee lamented on the ordeal he went through to access a driving license.  I am a driver in my home country, I come here I am a refugee, no enough food for my family.  Somebody helped me to buy a car to use as taxi.  But today the police ceased my license saying that I am a refugee and I don’t have the authority to possess a license.  Now I have parked the car, I can’t work… So integration in Ghana is not possible.

R8 (Refugee, Krisan)

…even loans to do business, it is difficult to get because we are refugees. The banks don’t want to give us even small loan to work.

R2 (Refugee, Krisan)

The refugees believe that these conditions are not conducive for total integration and rather suggest a viable solution from the government and its stakeholders. Thus, the next section examines the perceptions and the suggestions, as recounted by the study participants on the durable solutions.

4.2.9 COUNSELLING: PERCEPTIONS ON THE THREE DURABLE SOLUTIONS

The researcher learnt that one of the immediate roles played by the UNHCR and GBR when refugees first arrive in the country is to counsel them in reducing Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). PTSD is believed to be caused by psychological trauma. Possible sources of trauma include encountering or witnessing heinous physical abuse, emotional or sexual abuse, extreme violence and atrocities. In addition, encountering or witnessing an event
perceived as life-threatening such as physical assault accidents, drug addiction, illnesses, medical complications, or the experience of, or employment in occupations exposed to war (such as soldiers or combatants) or disasters (such as emergency service workers).

Other traumatic events that may cause PTSD symptoms to develop include violent assault, kidnapping, and torture, being a hostage, a prisoner of war or a concentration camp victim, experiencing a disaster, violent automobile accidents or getting the diagnosis of a life-threatening illness, [Internet 18]. Refugees are thus, counselled not only on the trauma they may have faced, but also on how to realise a durable solution. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, the UNHCR field representative offers counseling for refugees in the Krisan Camp.

As expounded in the literature review, the core responsibility of governments towards refugees is to ensure adequate protection for refugees from their “well-founded fear of persecution.” Additionally, the provision of shelter and other basic needs is done, as temporal protection in anticipation of the return of refugees to their country of origin. In cases of prolonged stay in a country of asylum it becomes urgent to find alternative and viable solutions. “When refugees enter Ghana, the government takes urgent steps to give them adequate protection in settlements. The settlement idea has many advantages.

Refugees live in houses, other than in temporary shelters, for protection against the vagaries of the weather. More importantly, more efficient security measures are possible where the various ethnic groups or nationalities live together. It easy to assess their needs, interact and assist them as a group without disparity," (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 22-23).

When assessing these protection measures the Krisan refugees described their perceptions in relation to integration as a viable solution to their plight. Based on the factors discussed above, refugees drew conclusions on their plight as to whether they can successfully integrate in Ghana and more importantly feel secure against their fear of persecution.
4.2.9.1 REPATRIATION
Almost all those interviewed declined repatriation as a viable solution to their plight. Some recounted their opinions with fear; ...so the refugees can't be integrated they can't go back home…

R5 (Refugee, Krisan)

I think you understood really, because we are people talking for refugees here; how can the Ivorian refugees with the persecution they face since 2003 to now be integrated? ...They can resettle those people, the Ivorian refugees who are facing persecution, kidnapping in their staying here. So I think they will even face more persecution if they go back home.

R6 (Refugee, Krisan)

Still the conditions in my country are the same, people are dying every day, people are persecuted every day, many people run away and some disappear so I am still afraid to go back to my country.

R6 (Refugee, Krisan)

Though the protection is poor here, we cannot go back home. Here we are suffering too much so we want the government to do something better.

R4 (Refugee, Krisan)

However, the indigenous people considered the refugees’ lack of adequate economic opportunity and sources of income as suffering that is enough proof for them to repatriate; I think that they should go to their own country.

K3 (Indigene of Krisan)

Or, the government should help them to go to their countries or another country.

K2 (Indigene of Krisan)

4.2.9.2 THIRD-COUNTRY RESETTLEMENT
Resettlement in a third country seemed to have occupied the intense interest of the refugees. An official indicated that refugees detested the notion of integration and were hopeful to be resettled in a western country or in a first-world country. He asserts, well refugees actually even don’t like to hear the name ‘integration’, so any time you talk about integration they feel aggrieved.

O1 (Camp Official, Krisan)
...in actual fact, their main aim is to be resettled and in mentioning integration or repatriation, it doesn’t sound well to them, it doesn’t sound well to them at all. They want only resettlement.

O2 (Camp Official, Krisan)

Well, it has been the UNHCR who has been lobbying for the refugees.

O1 (Camp Official, Krisan)

...some of them [refugees], about a thousand plus, have been resettled in America, Australia and Canada. And even right now some of them are awaiting departure whilst others are also going to go through orientation in the next few days.

O3 (Camp Official, Krisan)

Refugees get frustrated if they are not enlisted for third-country resettlement. For some of the refugees Ghana is not their first place of asylum; they had settled in many refugee camps in Africa before landing up in Ghana. Thus the question to be asked is whether being in Ghana is an advantage to be listed for a third-country resettlement.

Why do some of them travel such a long distance crossing borders upon borders to Ghana? They know that the UNHCR African Regional Hub is here in Ghana so maybe they think that by being in Ghana they will easily be noticed for third-country resettlement.

O1 (Camp Official, Krisan)

However, they seemed to have some lack of education on the solutions or the criteria for qualifying for a resettlement in different countries. Well I think once you are making this study it might go to some organizations for study, a conscious effort must be made to educate the refugees on resettlement. We’ve been told that resettlement is a privilege and not a right and therefore if you are not lucky to go on resettlement they shouldn’t be so much disturbed that you take the law into your own hands to do to whatever you want to do that does not
augur well for a country which is hosting you, which has given his hospitality to you. So I think they should be well educated on what resettlement entails.

O2 (Camp Official, Krisan)

The option of a third-country resettlement and the efforts by the UNHCR seem to keep the refugees hopeful and awaiting their turn. A refugee recounts with despair how the holdup of refugee status is hindering their chances of being selected for resettlement; They are talking you the refugees supposed to have status, but we’re here now no status and we here now for resettlement thing, going up and down; refugees supposed to have the status but we don’t have the status.

R6 (Refugee, Krisan)

So the government at least, to find third country where they can resettle those refugees for them to find better services; because they have wasted almost one decade, one ten years, they are here jobless.

R5 (Refugee, Krisan)

…it is better for the government at least to find a third country to resettle them. For my own concerning the things I have discovered here.

R8 (Refugee, Krisan)

So in fact, we are not saying that Ghana is not good, but it is not good for us that seek asylum as a political asylum, because of to political vacuum, political problems in our country…. … so we are begging the government of Ghana to find a place for us but not in Ghana here again because that is why we find very difficult that we ourselves can move from the Ghana because we see that for many years our problem still continues.

R4 (Refugee, Krisan)

So it will better if they can settle us somewhere else, any other place in Africa, any other place in anywhere but not a country that shares a border with Togo. It will be the same situation.

R2 (Refugee, Krisan)
The persistent demand to be resettled elsewhere could be influenced by those refugees who have already been resettled outside the continent. Keeping in touch with those in third-country resettlements encourages them. An interviewee reported that they are in constant touch with their friends and relatives on third-country resettlement; *Well they have not been writing to management but they write to their friends and even some of them advise them that they should take up skills training, because of eh, when they went there they face a lot of problem because they are not skilled.*

O2 (Camp Official, Krisan)

### 4.2.9.3 Local Integration

The relatively peaceful political climate and the hospitable attitudes of the people of Krisan and its environs were factors that refugees described as contextual pointers for integration. Some indicated that generally Ghana was peaceful and as such very conducive for integration. However, certain refugee communities thought it was disadvantageous to refugees from the neighbouring countries and those refugees who do not have any profession; whilst others thought they had more freedom in organizing their lives once again. Integration, like any of the other two durable solutions, is voluntary. An official indicated that government can only provide that option to refugees but cannot initiate any integration programme. *At first, refugees did not have that choice; the aim of the government was to accede to the OAU convention which encourages repatriation. But as some of the conflicts intensified Government gave the option to consider teachers and others professional and in fact those who wished to integrate in the communities.*

O1 (Camp Official, Krisan)

*Integration is good if you have a job opportunity or you will find it difficult to live [in] the community.*

R7 (Refugee, Krisan)

Okay, in fact, what I know, this is the perception of some of the refugees that it is not easy for them to be integrated into the society; one, even some of them have seen our own nationals, it is very difficult for them to find jobs in the society so it is a competition in here. So they think, anything, they would consider the nationals first before the refugees.

O3 (Camp Official, Krisan)
However, others placed their interest in protection and security and thought Ghana was not conducive for their integration.

*With this problem that we have as a community, as a people, we are appealing to him [the government] we can never be integrated in Ghana, not, because the security and the problems we’ve encountered for a long time is enough.*

R8 (Refugee, Krisan)

Whilst others thought protection was a key factor in integration, they considered that without proper rehabilitation the refugee could still be psychologically impaired and hence could be a problem for the community within which he is integrated.

*Because, many of our colleagues have been killed here, many of them were deported back to [our country] for persecution. So when moreover, these are happening, when they integrate us in Ghana what do you think that will happen; thus you understand? There is no protection. That is why the protection is very poor. It is a condition that we are not secure; we are not secure in Ghana with integration in Ghana.*

R4 (Refugee, Krisan)

*…moreover, refugee life is something like a somebody who is…actually of a frustrated mind so if you do not naturalise that person well in your society and you just integrate him in your society without condition that will protect him, maybe I think it will be a very big problem for the future.*

R7 (Refugee, Krisan)

**CONCLUSION**

In this discussion a wide variety of factors which support or undermine the process of integration into local communities have been identified and examined. These include certain cultural, social and political characteristics of refugees, characteristics of the wider community (such as the prevalence of diverse cultures, different refugee communities concentrated in the same area and community insecurity), and service characteristics (such as the availability
of service delivery, both institutional and informal). Additionally, housing and property, economic opportunities, education etc. define a range of contexts that can advance or impede integration. These factors contribute together to represent the multifaceted element of integration that comprehensively needs to address these contributing factors. The next chapter will summarise these findings and recommend areas for policy formulation and implementation to support the development of managerial structures for refugee management and integration.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION
Local perceptions of integration were found to be heavily influenced by the expectations of opportunities, relationships, security and protection for both the refugees and the local people within the area. These expectations range across a continuum in terms of the depth and quality of services offered by the Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’ (UNHCR) capacity to satisfy the needs of the refugees who are their primary responsibility and those of the local people, for the sake of keeping an equilibrium in social treatment and cohesion in the area.

Basically, there was the view that integration was not any special case needing a special process because the refugees had lived within the community for over a decade in settlements and have interacted daily in ordinary social activities. The absence of conflict and tolerance among the different communities of refugees and the indigenous people is considered to reflect the possibility of integration. Some interviewees identified cultural understanding and cohesion as ‘belonging’, and thus as the ultimate goal of living in an integrated society.

This involved getting to understand and speak the language of the indigenous people and to some extent the English language; linking freely with relatives in their country of origin; creating friendships and a sense of respect and shared values. Such shared values did not negate diversity in the camp; and certainly the indigenous people seemed to have no problem with the diversity of culture which pervaded their homogeneous society.

In the camp, diversity of nationality among the refugees and a sense of belonging within individual refugee communities provided social and family cohesion for the refugees; and that was seen as strength for a united front to
lobby for their particular interests. It provided a wider context within which people had a sense of belonging.

Integration as a durable solution to the plight of refugees generated varying responses. Refugees did not give clear distinctions between integrating as permanent residents in Ghana and naturalising as a Ghanaian. They concentrated rather on their perceptions of integration as social network functionality (the opportunity to access jobs, interact with different groups, own property and access social opportunities); and their primary concerns of whether they would be safe from persecution (well-founded fears for which they are recognised as refugees). In other words, what benefit does integrating in Ghana bring and what is it worth? In analysing these diverse perceptions of integration by the three categories of participants, namely refugees, local Ghanaians etc., the researcher found it essential to concentrate on the points of convergence of these perceptions, especially in relation to integration geared towards providing a durable solution and enhancing social network opportunities for refugees, management and adjustments the host community are faced with when accommodating them.

Thus, this chapter summarises the findings of this study which are factors that impact on integration and assist us in understanding integration. It also makes recommendations for the further management of refugees found in similar situations in Ghana, and for research (if needs be), since the whole process of securing durable protection for the refugees is yet to be completed in June 2009, with the proposed closure of the Krisan Refugee Camp.

5.2 FACTORS DETERMINING INTEGRATION

The previous chapters have outlined the major findings of this study regarding the perceptions of the goals and process of integration and refugee management in Ghana with specific reference to Krisan. However, the principal purpose of the study, as stated in the aims and objective of the study, is to explore the preparedness of the local Ghanaians to accommodate the refugees and accept the repercussions associated with such acceptance, and also to assist integration through the creation of social network opportunities for the refugees by the appropriate stakeholders.
As noted earlier, the aim was to explore the local understanding of integration as a durable solution for refugees, and secondly, as conflict management and the transformation options to the protracted refugee problem. The major implications for the development of the framework for local understanding of integration is thus analysed in this section. It seeks to present concisely and coherently the key issues relevant to integration and begins by defining the factors with which integration is intrinsically associated. The key implications of the findings are thus summarised below.

5.2.1 JOB OPPORTUNITY, EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC VIABILITY
These three areas were explored in the literature review and through perceptions of integration to be particularly important for tracking the process of integration. The analysis of the data reinforced these first three areas as being essential arenas for achieving integration. The refugees indicated having jobs meant they could sustain themselves financially and materially in the event that the UNHCR and other donor agencies terminate the assistance being rendered them.

Lack of job opportunities cuts across the perceptions of the refugees and the indigenous people. Emphasised as an indicator for family and personal sustenance, a fraction only of the interviewees adhered to the perception that lack of job opportunities for refugees made it difficult for refugees to live a dignified life. This meant that repatriation or resettling them in another country would be the only other option. If repatriation and/or resettlement were the solution proposed by this perception, then it indicates that the continued presence of the refugees in the area has the potential to generate hostility and inhospitable attitudes towards the refugees in the circumstances of acute job scarcity.

On the other hand, another fraction of the interviewees, especially refugees, perceived job opportunity as a key deciding factor when considering the possibility of integration into the local Ghanaian community. They failed to distinguish between integration into urban or semi-urban and village communities. As such, the researcher believes that their activities might have been concentrated on Krisan and its environs which irrevocably impressed on their general perceptions of integration into Ghanaian communities. This
perception indicated that a lack of job opportunities meant suffering, not only in
terms of physical pain but rather a psychological frustration that constantly
reflected their conditions as demanding urgent solutions.

Here two indicators are drawn to understand this perception. Firstly, the
availability of jobs and refugees’ employability impacts on their decision to
integrate. That is, in the event of proposing integration as an opportunity for
refugees to start life again, Refugee Management could make reference to the
availability of jobs and the realisable benefits that refugees could consider when
making the decision to integrate. Secondly, the study noted that perceptions
concerning lack of job opportunities in Krisan area meant a resettlement of the
refugees in a different country was considered. Here one cannot suggest or
propose that repatriation is a choice, since this stance is mainly the view held by
refugees who might have based their suggestions of a solution on their well-
founded fear of persecution (as has been thoroughly discussed in Chapter
Two).

Additionally, the study cannot also fully establish whether refugees were taking
advantage of their situation to seek an economically viable environment to
suggest that a durable solution had been found.

Yet, another fraction of interviewees held the view that discrimination against
refugees contributed to their inaccessibility to job opportunities. They held the
perception that in a competitive arena Ghanaians would first be considered for
jobs, not necessarily by merit of qualification, but by the fact that they were
Ghanaians. They indicated that the geographic location of the camp puts them
at a disadvantage in accessing jobs in the main port city, Takoradi or Cape
Coast, due to the distance they would have to cover.

In addition, some of the refugees had temporary protection status that did not
allow them to be out of the camp for a number of days. As such, relocation to
an urban area in search of jobs was simply not one of the options available to
them. However, the study does not suggest that this situation is equivalent to a
premeditated attempt at deterrence by the government. Certain literature
sources argue that “All types of refugees, whether de jure or de facto, are
affected and the discrimination they suffer turns them into prime targets of exclusionary societal processes. Conditions of reception are often designed adversely with the clear purpose of deterring arrivals or applications,” (Jolly, 1999:346).

5.2.2 EMPLOYMENT
Subtly different to the above section is the issue of the employment of refugees. Refugees have a right to work however; access to national labour markets has consistently been a bone of contention among states and the international community. The UNHCR clearly indicates that fact (UN Doc. EC/SCP/54, July 1989, at para. 11, cited in Hathaway, 2005:731).

The arrival of large numbers of asylum-seekers and the absorption of some or even all of them as refugees, even on a temporary basis, can create serious strains for host countries. This is particularly the case for poorer communities where the ability of the people and inclination of the government to shoulder the resultant burden may be severely diminished by economic difficulties, high unemployment, declining living standards, and shortages in housing and land…inevitably there are tensions between international obligations and national responsibilities in such circumstances, with the result, in a number of States, that priority is accorded to nationals over all aliens, including refugees, in the fields such as employment.

“The government of Ghana is one of many developing countries striving hard to meet the developmental needs of their nationals and can ill afford additional resources to meet the legitimate needs of refugees,” (Ghana Refugee Board and The UNHCR, Ghana: 20). The government does not prevent refugees from working, as Ghana is part of an ECOWAS pact. “…in Western Africa, the governments of ECOWAS states have agreed to allow refugees from within that region to work while in receipt of protection,” (cited in Hathaway, 2005:733).

More specifically, “Refugees assigned to camps in Ghana have been allowed to supplement their rations by independent commercial activity, including by operating restaurants and other independent business ventures,” (Hathaway, 2005:721). “The UNHCR determined that refugees in the Buduburam refugee camp were economically self-sufficient, and ended assistance to them in 2000,” (Essuman-Johnson, 2003:72).
The study found that, apart from the Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees whose home official language was English, the rest of the refugee communities were refugees from French and Arabic-speaking countries. As such, they possessed different qualification system documents that could not just grant them employment directly until upgrading and training had been done. However, a sizable portion of respondents indicated they had lost some of their qualification documents in the process of fleeing persecution, whilst others had no profession or skills at all before fleeing.

Thus, the interviewees noted their difficulties in accessing employment commensurate with their qualifications, and underemployment and unemployment were high in the area even among the nationals. Most of the participants who had a sort of income had found work through informal trading and social networks composed of co-nationals. A sizable number of highly skilled professionals either repatriated on their own or in the early stages of the promotion of repatriation by the UNHCR, or they were resettled in a third country.

The researcher believed that, most of the refugees left in the camp had no skills or professions and as such were unemployable. Or another possibility was that most of the refugees had professions or white-collar jobs in their home countries, but accessing such within the Krisan environs was unattainable whilst their security remained a key factor. Interviewees whose focus was on the fear of discovery if registered with international or local organisation unemployment were a barrier to integration.

However, the study found that, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) in collaboration with the UNHCR, the GRB and the Ghana Education Service (GES) in the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports was providing vocational training to provide refugees with employable opportunities. The research noticed that, the skills-training programmes were patronised by young women and young men. However, on the average, the researcher believes that only a small number of refugees availed themselves of such skills-training.
The study noted that skills-training was beneficial to refugees with regard to employability given any of the three durable solutions proposed: repatriation, resettlement or reintegration.

However, a lack of adequate information was found to be a recurring problem with regard to integration. Information about skills-training was found to be very good, but there were significant lapses in the provision of information about employment, including the right to work. The study believes that those who were in petty trading had specific work permits and as such could not plan to bump up their trade to a higher scale. A lack of information about employment and training services was identified by respondents as an obstacle to entering the workforce.

In general, the resources provided by mainstream organisations such as UNIDO, UNHCR, GES, and the freedom of movement provided by the GRB were underutilised by refugees.

5.2.3 THE ECONOMIC VIABILITY OF KRISAN
The study found that the Krisan locality does have a very strong economic impact on refugees for integration, particularly in relation to viable economic structures for accessing and providing business activity options and the activities of statutory and international interests that focus on the area. Good practices, particularly the proactive role of Local Authority liaison officers in coordinating the refugee and local people's network was seen by the participants as an opportunity to explore economic ventures.

However, as reflected in the data, the Krisan land was infertile for the production of food on a large economic scale capable of generating adequate income for the refugees. Thus, the study found that there were no large-scale agricultural plantations within the vicinity which could have substituted for the poor and infertile soil at Krisan. Secondly, the study found that Krisan had stool (land directly under the auspices of the traditional king or chief; that is, stool for the traditional throne or chair) and family lands (land belonging to individual families) and thus, refugees would have to negotiate with landowners before they could engage in farming.
The research noted that the inability to farm in the area was substituted by fishing with the indigenous people. However, fishing, as it is done at Krisan was not economically viable either. This study found that fishermen were still using the traditional cast and pull method which was extremely energy and time consuming, and relatively unproductive. No modern fishing technique was noted by the study and hence the reluctance of refugees to engage in the fishing business. It is not however suggested that the refugees were highly skilled fishermen, but rather, the lack of modern technology in the fishing business at Krisan provided next to non-existent opportunities in terms of business options offered by such fishing ventures.

5.3 SOCIAL NETWORK
The fundamental significance of the participants’ understandings of relationships on integration is mirrored in ‘social connection’ within refugee and Ghanaian communities. If one reflects on the range of relationships that people noted as being relevant to a sense of integration, the experience of interaction within one’s own community, the experience of ‘mixing’ with other communities, and relationships with services and the state agencies were then found to be eminent. Refugees found the various refugee communities in the camp important for providing them with the environment where they can create relationships and once again feel like a family.

Nonetheless, creating and maintaining certain levels of interaction with the indigenous people was also noticed as vital to integration. The study noted, however, that in both areas, social networks among refugees and general interactions between refugees and Ghanaian communities were relatively low. Ghanaians and refugees would have to follow and adopt new approaches to enhance such interactions. The study noted that language, ethnicity, religion, recreation and cultural programmes were facilitating indicators of social network patterns.

5.3.1 LANGUAGE SKILLS
While many Liberians and Sierra Leoneans speak some form of English, (mostly pigeon English), they also speak other indigenous dialects, such as Mandingo, Krahn, and Krio. Refugees from other West African countries, Togo
and Côte d’Ivoire often speak French along with their indigenous languages, while those from Sudan and Chad speak Arabic. The learning of English by non-English speaking refugee communities (The Sudanese, Togolese, Rwandan, Congo Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo, Chadian and the Ivorian communities) was noticed as one of the most important aspects of social integration for such groups, which assisted the refugee communities accessing institutional avenues and interacting with locals who may assist them with everyday transactions.

The study noted that the UNHCR, GBR and other donor agencies put strenuous efforts into assisting refugees to learn the English Language and thus enhance their interpersonal interactions with camp officials and other refugee community members. It enabled refugees to meet people from outside their own community, make friends, learn about Ghanaian life and customs, access information, and ultimately play a role in their search for education and employment and participation in public life.

However, given the homogeneity of the people in the Krisan environs within which the majority of the indigenous people use the local dialect, Enzema, as a medium of interaction impacted negatively on the refugees as they [refugees] can not access local information timeously for their advantage. The usage of simplistic English by some indigenous people bridges the gaps in interpersonal relationships and interactions with the refugees.

Of particular concern was how the inability of the refugees to learn and use the local dialect was inimical to participation in certain social and economic activities. The study found that refugees who were involved in petty trading had difficulty in the area of negotiation with customers and thus felt customers took advantage of their plight to defraud them. The study found that the lack of knowledge of the local dialect prevented the refugees accessing local information and hence taking advantage of the opportunities available.

5.3.2 ETHNICITY
The issue of ethnicity surfaced briefly in the perceptions of the interviewees as a factor impacting on integration. Refugees who hailed from the Ghana-Togo, Ghana-Côte d’Ivoire borders felt more at home than the rest of the refugee
communities. Most Togolese refugees, as noted, were Ewes, an ethnic group that cuts across the Ghana-Togo border. On the other hand, some Ivorian refugees had similar ethnic background to those of the indigenous people of Krisan. These characteristics indicated that these communities of refugees could create links and contacts more easily than their counterparts from other African countries.

This means that given favourable circumstances, these communities would be more successful in integrating than others, whilst on the other hand, the proximity of their country of origin was an additional advantage enabling them to keep in touch with their relatives.

5.3.3 RELIGION AND VOLUNTARY SECTOR ACTIVITIES

The national voluntary sector especially spearheaded by religious bodies and NGOs and other inter-faith groups was an important component of refugee integration. Firstly, religious activities such as church services, going to the mosque, festive celebrations, inter alia, provided occasions that fostered interactions among Ghanaians and refugees. Thus, frequenting such activities opened up refugees to explore avenues for assimilation into the society and make productive contacts with important personalities in the community.

Secondly, voluntary participation of Non-Governmental Organisations in humanitarian assistance activities provided for the refugees was also important in widening the social network of the refugees. For instance, the Women's Initiative for Self Empowerment (WISE) strengthens refugees’ access to social services, by improving their skills and also enhancing local interest and participation in capacity building activities for refugees.

The Red Cross Society’s health awareness programmes which targeted the youth also indicated certain pointers of integration. These “activities include excursions, exchange programmes, first aid and relief work training, library services, games and camps, leadership training, peer HIV prevention education, cultural drumming and dancing, and skills training for school leavers,” [Internet 19].
5.3.4 RECREATION
Whilst religious activities provided avenues for interactions the study noted that refugees who do not take any interest in social activities kept minimum contacts between refugees and local people. The lack of indigenous language skills and an absence of local initiatives were identified as barriers to social networking within the refugee community and with the local community. However, the study found that the younger generation of the refugee community had more social networking within the different refugee communities and generally with the indigenous people. Soccer matches, school sports, concerts, and other entertainment occasions fostered social integration and enhanced interactions and networking among refugees and the local people.

5.3.5 CULTURAL ACTIVITIES
The study found that the refugee communities shared diverse cultures and certain cultural characteristics had greater influences than others. For instance the Liberians and Sierra Leoneans share similar cultural backgrounds with their Language Krio (a pigeon English) dominating as the language spoken at the camp. French speakers dominate in numbers but given that English is the official medium of interaction in the Camp and in Ghana as a whole, French did not seem to impact on the refugees. Hence, certain Liberian and Sierra Leonean cultural characteristics, such as communication signs and gestures, as well as food types seem to have influence in the camp.

Nonetheless, the study noted that friendships and ties with the indigenous people drew refugees to attending such cultural ceremonies as naming, wedding and marriages, funerals, festivals and communal labours which created factors for strengthening the bonds of friendships and acquaintances.

5.4 EDUCATION
Education was seen in the study as one of the most important factors for the management of refugees. Certainly, the UNHCR would not compromise on the right to education for refugee children. Education was essential to the refugee community. With the presence of refugees spanning two decades in Krisan, a generation with only an inherited refugee status education was inevitable. The study found that most of the youth who had received a certain level of formal
education had either repatriated, gone on to third-country resettlement or had found jobs elsewhere in Ghana and thus had relocated.

Pupils displayed a broad range of educational and social interaction experiences. They represented an important link between refugees and the indigenous people by their interaction in school with local Ghanaian children. The study found that social integration in school environments was much more advanced than the ‘adult-to-adult’ interactions among refugees and Ghanaians. Thus, the study noted that socialisation and enculturation in the educational environment was a very significant factor that could have complemented adult socialisation at work places had there been enough job opportunities existing in the area.

5.5 FACTORS CHALLENGING INTEGRATION

Whilst those social elements discussed above were considered by the participants as impacting on integration, salient factors, such as refugee security and protection, lack of refugee status, the option of a third-country resettlement and the loss of donor assistance were found to all be considerations challenging the decisions refugees make concerning integration into local communities. Of particular importance was the constant reference to the lack of security and protection and that a different durable solution was needed.

The refugees did not seem particularly impressed about the location of the camp and the general lifestyle of the indigenous people. This was salient in their frequent reference to the differences in the settings of the Buduburam and Krisan Refugee Settlements. This indicated that Buduburam presented the refugees with greater advantages for a livelihood than did Krisan. Although, at the time of this study, the Buduburam camp had been closed down, but still quite a large number of refugees still occupied it, and this, for the Krisan refugees was an indication that Buduburam was better and safer.

The study also noted that refugees considered themselves as being discriminated against, especially in the job market and in accessing institutional services. However, the study noted that refugees distinguished between peaceful co-existence with the indigenous people and living without fear of
persecution as different facets of integration. That is, it is possible to peacefully co-exist among Ghanaians, but still harbour fears of persecution from their assailants from whom they fled.

5.5.1 INSECURITY AND PROTECTION PROBLEMS
Refugee security issues varied in responses given by the interviewees. Generally, the study noted that refugees enjoy enough security in the camp, albeit an inadequate police presence. This does not suggest that serious attacks on the refugees are impossible. There is an easy access road to the camp areas, and hence serious attacks on the refugees would be difficult to prevent. This is to say, that camp security had serious loopholes. Since the establishment of the settlement some 12 years ago, only a couple of minor security infringements had taken place.

The report of an attempted rape of an indigenous woman by a refugee and the subsequent anger by certain youngsters towards the refugees; and other similar incidents in the camp; the report of theft by refugees and attacks by the indigenous people are all examples of insecurity. Secondly, the study found that since restricted refugee movement after the November 2005 riots (an organised protest march of 800 refugees from the camp to the Ivorian border, to draw attention to what they considered unliveable conditions and to demand resettlement) was lifted the refugees enjoyed more freedom of movement and association in the area.

With specific reference to Togolese and Ivorian refugees, cross-border persecutions were possible if they were not actually the case, as recounted by the interviewees. The Ivorian refugees risk possible attacks because of the location of the camp. The researcher noted Ivorian-registered cars in the study area, the study cannot categorically claim or disclaim that such users were possible spies from Côte d'Ivoire.

On the other hand, the research did not consider the Togolese refugees as facing such immediate cross-border threats. However, travelling across the western border to the eastern border in Ghana is possible in a day. Thus, the study considered the fears of the Togolese community as being significant since they face possible attacks might have a well-founded fear of persecution.
5.5.2 THE FEAR OF LOSING DONOR ASSISTANCE
The UNHCR and the Red Cross society provide the refugees with their basic necessities with regard to food items, shelter materials and educational materials. The study noted that some refugees trade in some of these items to complement what they have. Although they reported that the rations they receive were insufficient, they would rather have them than nothing. To some of the refugees the rations were their only daily source of living, given the fact that they had no other sources of a livelihood. This situation impacted negatively on the perceptions of the refugees in considering integration, because their immediate sustenance was not guaranteed given the withdrawal of donor assistance.

Thus the study found that refugees feared losing assistance from the donor agencies should they consider integration. The study also found that refugees considered receiving assistance from the host community as overly burdening the host community because the main economic activity in the area, fishing, was not high-income generating for communities. Thus, the longer the refugees depend on donor support, the longer they are considered vulnerable, and hence the necessity of acquiring their refugee status documents to enhance their chances of resettlement in a third country.

5.5.3 LACK OF REFUGEE STATUS
Refugee status, as discussed in the literature review does not only give an identity to the refugee or the asylum seeker, it also helps in differentiating refugees from both nationals and other migrants in the provision of goods and services, internal and international travels etc. The 1951 Refugee Convention, Act. 27, states that “any refugee in the territory of a state party and not in possession of a refugee travel document is, […] entitled to receive a provisional refugee identity certificate to use until his or her claim to refugee status is finally refused or until it is accepted and eligibility for a refugee travel document established,” (Hathaway, 2005:626).

Although, refugees who flee from generalised violence are granted refugee status en masse in Ghana, the study found that not all refugees in the Krisan Refugee Camp had been granted refugee status or had received their proof of
refugee status by way of a document. Interviewees who did not have refugee status indicated that without the refugee status, they could not access certain services and apply for jobs because they were not eligible for work permits. The study noted that receiving the refugee status also enhances their chances to be considered for a third-country resettlement programme organised by the UNHCR.

5.5.4 THE PERCEPTION THAT THIRD-COUNTRY RESETTLEMENT IS BETTER

Since the riots in November 2005 in the camp, the UNHCR has embarked on a third-country resettlement of refugees in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia. The study found that well over a thousand refugees from the Krisan had been resettled in these countries, whilst at the time of study some refugees were in orientation programmes for resettlement. Refugees in resettlement keep in touch with their colleagues in the camp through letters and telephone calls. Some refugees in third-country resettlement even send items to their friends in the camp, [Internet 20].

A very high proportion of refugee interviewees indicated that the camp had harsh living conditions coupled with low protection and security measures. They emphasised the need to be resettled in a third country where they could exploit better economic and job opportunities for their livelihood and protection.

It is beyond the scope of this study to infer that the demands of the refugees for a third-country resettlement are only for the sake of escaping the harsh living conditions and lack of economic opportunities in Ghana, and in Africa as a whole, and that they are taking undue advantage of their refugee status and of the principle of non-refoulement, as enshrined in International Law (the prohibition of forceful repatriation of an asylum seeker) that protects them.

Such a position could compromise the need for the host country to protect them and specifically the need for the international community to seek durable solutions to their plight. However, certain findings strengthened this perspective at the time of the study. The Liberian refugees in the Buduburam Refugee Camp had rioted in demand of a third-country resettlement in Europe or the
United States of America (similar to the November 2005 riots at Krisan) and a stipend of $100 should they continue to stay in Ghana; and $1000 should they repatriate, [Internet 21].

Thus, the study found that for those refugees who do not want to repatriate, integration into Ghanaian community is not an option. They believe that a third-country resettlement is the only solution when the camp is closed down in June 2009. This perception that ‘a third-country resettlement is better’ thus challenges any consideration and perceptions of voluntary integration in Ghana.

5.6 RECOMMENDATIONS
Whilst all durable solutions remain voluntary and optional, refugees cannot be compelled to repatriate, integrate or go on to third-country resettlement. They wilfully participate in the efforts made by refugee managing bodies in any given situation. The refugee community, the host community, government agencies, the donor community and the UNHCR which represent the international community should all be seen as working together, not only in seeking humanitarian assistance for refugees, but also in exploring means and avenues to achieve a durable solution for the refugees.

Excluding refugees from the integral process of policy formulation and understanding of the decision-making processes that affect the core reasons for being in exile, as well as the frustration among refugees become inevitable. When refugees are the end-receivers of such processes and in a protracted situation where such processes remain the norm, refugees in Krisan proved to understand the three durable solutions.

However, with particular reference to local integration, which the government has made optional, according to immigration requirements, the refugees interpret this as a forced integration within the vicinity of Krisan. Firstly, this indicates that proper explanations of local integration and other forms of reintegration and resettlement have either not been fully explained to them and/or the refugees refuse to understand them so as to present their plight as commendable for a third-country resettlement.
Secondly, it indicates that they have not been an integral part of decision-making processes, especially with regard to finding durable solutions. This emphasises the fact that they are significant in the implementation of decisions that they do not own. This, thus, explains the riots and resentment that sometimes ensue in the camp. It is a phenomenon that unambiguously signals a critical need for refugee involvement and input into the processes and policies that shape their lives in exile.

It is important to comprehend the considerable benefits that refugees’ experiences can contribute to improving refugee management in Ghana.

- **Refugees should not be kept too long in a camp or a special settlement**
  This study found that Krisan was not in any strategic plan of the government for refugee settlement. Thus the continued stay of the refugees in the area was an ad hoc decision by the local government. With the impending closure of the camp in 2009, this study recommends that the camp should not be used as a refugee reception centre because of its proximity to the Ghana-Côte d'Ivoire border. Without any strategic planning for the reception of these refugees they had to wait too long for a durable solution.

  From the onset of the arrival of refugees, the GRB and the UNHCR should encourage immediate integration processes by assisting refugees in exploring self-employment opportunities anywhere in the country.

- **Separation of refugees fleeing from generalised violence from those under threat of persecution in their home country**
  It is particularly important for refugee management to have an idea of refugees who are likely to return to their country of origin at the onset of peace at home. By accommodating refugees from different categories together, refugees fleeing from generalised violence take advantage of certain protection solutions. For example, a third-country resettlement meant for refugees with serious protection problems the need to demand similar/same treatment.

- **Educating refugees on a third-country resettlement**
Refugees should be educated on their rights and privileges. By international law, refugees have the right to work and to be treated as the nationals of the country of asylum. However, with respect to durable solutions, in particularly a third-country resettlement, refugees should be circumspect in demanding such privileges in order not to demonstrate ingratitude to the host country that gives them protection.

- **Avoid giving wrong impression to host community about third-country resettlement**
  The UNHCR’s resettling of refugees in Western countries, with the agreement of the governments of those countries involved, gives the host community, which is equally poverty stricken, the impression that the government of Ghana is resettling refugees in better economies. This can embitter the youth of the host community towards the refugees and at the same time obstruct government’s effort to assist the refugees in finding a durable solution by local integration.

- **Foster regular official and informal interactions with the host community at decision-making level**
  Following from the above recommendations, misperceptions about refugees could be corrected if there was a regular official interaction with the leadership of the host community. This study noted that there was no regular official interaction among the management of the camp, the refugees and the leadership of the host community. The host community should be part and parcel of the decision-making bodies so as to share information that affects the perceptions of the host community about the refugees.

- **Encourage social cohesion by refugee involvement in communal activities**
  Encourage organised community activities and provide sufficient community facilities to enhance the process of building social bridges between host and refugee communities. Refugee youth should be encouraged to join the youth council so as to share their experience with the indigenous youngsters. Sports and social facilities are generally linked with the potential for a better quality of life. More frequent sporting games should be encouraged between the refugee youth and the host community. A community development approach can help to advance supportive networks and relationships of trust.
• **Establish a credit union**
  A Wikipedia definition of a credit union is, a cooperative financial institution that is owned and controlled by its members, and operated for the purpose of promoting thrift, providing credit at reasonable rates, and providing other financial services to its members. A credit union is aimed at poverty alleviation to the poor and low-income families. With the bleak economic environment at Krisan, the lack of job opportunities and soaring unemployment among refugees with skills could establish a credit scheme (mutual fund) from which they could seek loans at low interest rates to help them practise their skills or professions.

• **The GBR should improve the quality and scope of information given to refugees on accessing resources, such as education, employment and legal advice**
  The refugees seemed to lack adequate information and understanding of their rights and what is required of them. There was no mention of the involvement of the Ghana National Labour Council (GNLC) and Trade Union Cooperation (TUC) that could have given inputs to the refugees as to how they might gain employment or jobs. Employment should be encouraged from the outset, even if it is self-employment. As refugees generally have a strong desire to continue their education to empower them in becoming self-sufficient, it is of paramount importance that educational advancement should be an opportunity.

• **Encourage learning of the local language together with English for the refugees**
  Language is undoubtedly a viable tool to introduce one into a culture. Refugees should be encouraged to learn the local language alongside the English Language. This will foster interaction among refugees and enhance the exchange of ideas and information for mutual co-existence.

**CONCLUSION**
The lack of refugee status is seen as the most significant barrier to the participation of refugees in formal and inclusive sectors. It is seen as hindering their access to employment and voluntarily integrating into local communities. Refugees who had no refugee status but were hoping to be resettled in a third country were noted as having a prolonged stay in the camp and were seen to
be much more frustrated than others who only hoped that they would be resettled.

Both refugees and the indigenous people lacked adequate knowledge of each other; however, refugees seemed to have been affected by negative public perceptions of them, that is, refugees were seen to be presenting themselves as special people whose plight was resolvable only by resettling in Europe or a better country than Ghana. This inhibited their ability to establish strong social networks, which would be to their advantage.

The inability to participate in social networks, and access the informational, material and emotional resources had enduring implications; it gave refugees very little room for self and professional development. It is significant to note that a host of factors affecting refugee integration have an impact on refugees from the onset of their arrival and they tend to be much more acute especially when the host country did not have any strategic refugee plan to encourage integration or repatriation.

The study recognised that it is important to note that integration should rather be viewed as a process that could well be outlined before the formal acquisition of refugee status.

The findings revealed that although there is a temporal dimension to refugee integration, this was not a uniform process which could satisfy the varied and independent expectations of such a heterogeneous refugee population. The Ghana Refugee Board and the UNHCR are to be commended for the roles they have played in protecting refugees in these conditions and in such an unfavourable location.

The study comprehends that, but for the location of the camp, and the prolonged conflicts in the countries of origin of the refugees, more would have accepted various types of durable solutions proposed by these agencies. Unlike refugees at Buduburam who feel much more integrated it is equally important to understand and appreciate the suggestions of the refugees at Krisan for a third- country resettlement where they can feel well protected, and
at the same time accelerate their self-development goals to compensate for a
decade and more of stagnation in the camp.

The local community has demonstrated a high sense of accommodation for the
refugees and their differences. However, social interaction has remained formal
through structures such as schools, churches, sport, etc. Strict restriction of
visitors to the camp and monitored movement of refugees have not given
adequate freedom for refugees to access opportunities in the areas and create
social opportunities with the indigenous people.
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ANNEX 2

Mr. Ampomah Mensah
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
Summerstrand South Campus
P. O. Box 77000
Port Elizabeth 6031
South Africa

21 July 2008

Dear Mr. Ampomah Mensah,

RE-PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE STUDY AT THE KRISAN REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

I refer to your email dated 6th May 2008, on the above subject and wish to inform you that the Board has no objection to your undertaking the study on the topic “An Exploration of The Perceptions of Ghanaians and Refugees on the Integration of Refugees into Ghanaian Communities: A Case Study of Krisan Refugee Camp in Ghana” at the Krisan Refugee Settlement from 6th May 2008.

It is noted that the study is purely for academic purposes.

Please get in touch with the Ghana Refugee Board Office on 021 784272 if you require further assistance.

By copy of this letter the Manager of the Krisan Settlement is being informed.

Yours sincerely,

E. Bentil-Owusu,
CHAIRMAN

cc. The Settlement Manager
Krisan Refugee Settlement
Krisan
Central Region
25 September 2008
207059783

Mr DA Mensah
c/o Salesians of Don Bosco Provincial House
PO Box 776
ASHAIMAN-TEMA
GHANA
218

Dear Mr Mensah

“AN EXPLORATION OF REFUGEE INTEGRATION: A CASE STUDY OF KRISAN REFUGEE CAMP, GHANA”

Your above-entitled application for ethics clearance served at the RTI Higher Degrees sub-committee of the Faculty of Arts Research, Technology and Innovation Committee.

We take pleasure in informing you that the application was approved by the Committee.

The Ethics clearance reference number is H/08/ART/PGS-003 and is valid for three years, from 25 September 2008 – 25 September 2011. Please inform the RTI-HDC, via your promoter, if any changes (particularly in the methodology) occur during this time. An annual affirmation to the effect that the protocols in use are still those for which approval was granted, will be required from you. You will be reminded timeously of this responsibility.

We wish you well with the project.

Yours sincerely

Jannet Nxati
FACULTY OFFICER

cc: Promoter/Supervisor
HoD
School Representative: Faculty RTI
Ref:

Contact person: Mr David A. Mensah.

Dear Participant

You are being asked to participate in a research study that seeks to explore the perceptions of the integration of refugees into Ghanaian communities: the case of Krisan Refugee Camp. We will provide you with the necessary information to assist you to understand the study and explain what would be expected of you (participant). These guidelines would include the risks, benefits, and your rights as a study subject. Please feel free to ask the researcher to clarify anything that is not clear to you.

To participate, it will be required of you to provide a written consent that will include your signature, date and initials to verify that you understand and agree to the conditions.

You have the right to query concerns regarding the study at any time. Immediately report any new problems during the study, to the researcher. Telephone numbers of the researcher are provided. Please feel free to call these numbers.

Furthermore, it is important that you are aware of the fact that the study has to be approved by the Research Ethics Committee (Human) of the university. The REC-H consists of a group of independent experts that has the responsibility to ensure that the rights and welfare of participants, in research are protected and that studies are conducted in an ethical manner. Studies cannot be conducted without REC-H’s approval. Queries with regard to your rights as a research subject can be directed to the Research Ethics Committee (Human) you can call the Director: Research Management at (0027) 41 504-4536.

If no one could assist you, you may write to: The Chairperson of the Research, Technology and Innovation Committee, PO Box 77000, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Port Elizabeth, 6031.

Participation in research is completely voluntary. If you do partake, you have the right to withdraw at any given time, during the study without penalty or loss of benefits. However, if you do withdraw from the study, you should return for a final discussion or examination in order to terminate the research in an orderly manner.

Although your identity will, at all times remain confidential the results of the research study may be presented at scientific conferences or in specialist publications.

This informed consent statement has been prepared in compliance with current statutory guidelines.

Yours sincerely

David Mensah
RESEARCHER

cc: UNHCR-Ghana, Ghana Refugee Board
ANNEX 5

PHOTOS OF KRISAN VILLAGE AND THE REFUGEE CAMP

Borehole Pump in Krisan Refugee Camp       Mosque in Krisan Refugee Camp

A Refugee displays provisions on sale      The type of houses in the Refugee Camp

A backyard garden in Krisan Refugee Camp   Some refugees keep livestock
The road to Krisan from the Refugee Camp

Krisan Village

The Krisan Camp Health Centre  The kind of boat that is used for fishing at Krisan