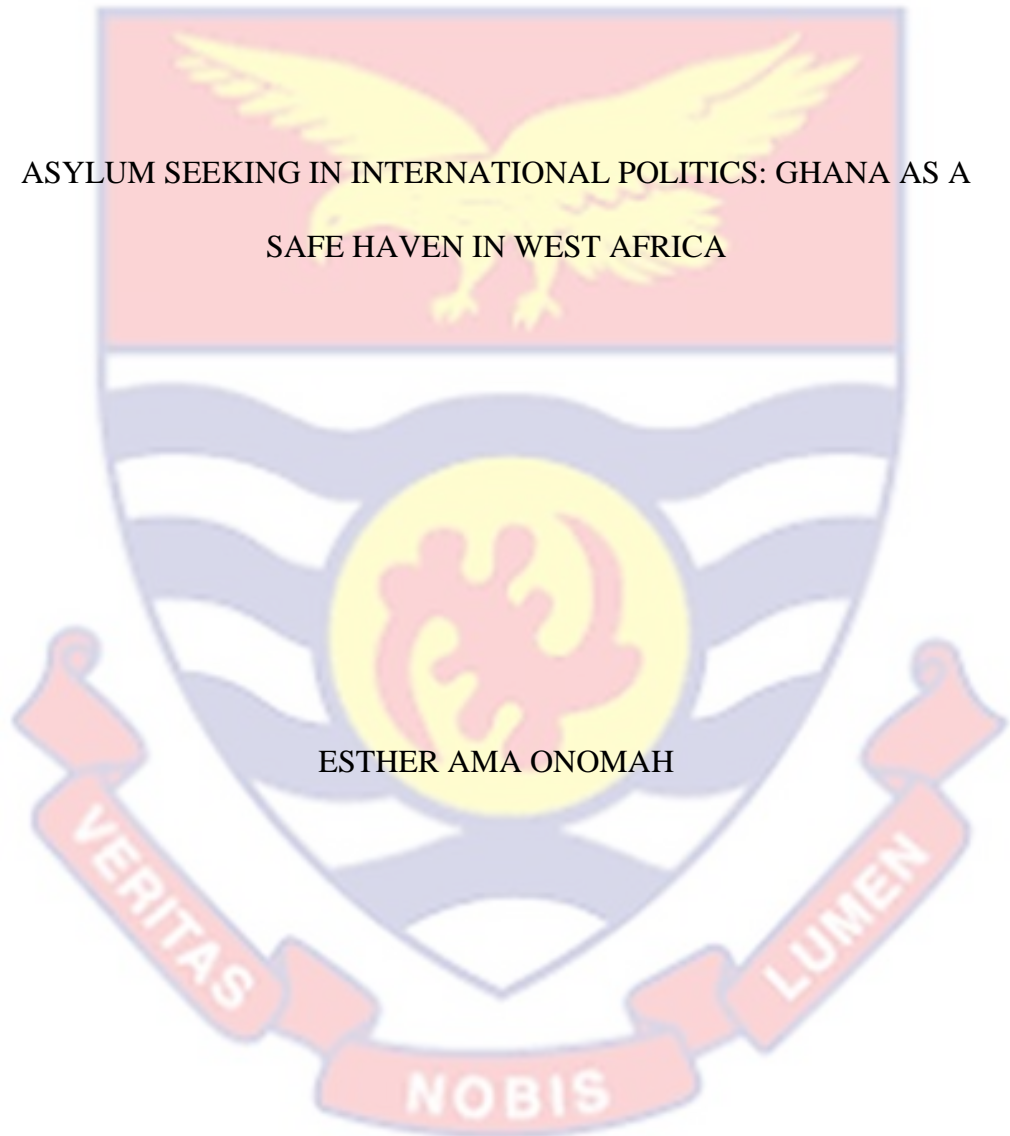


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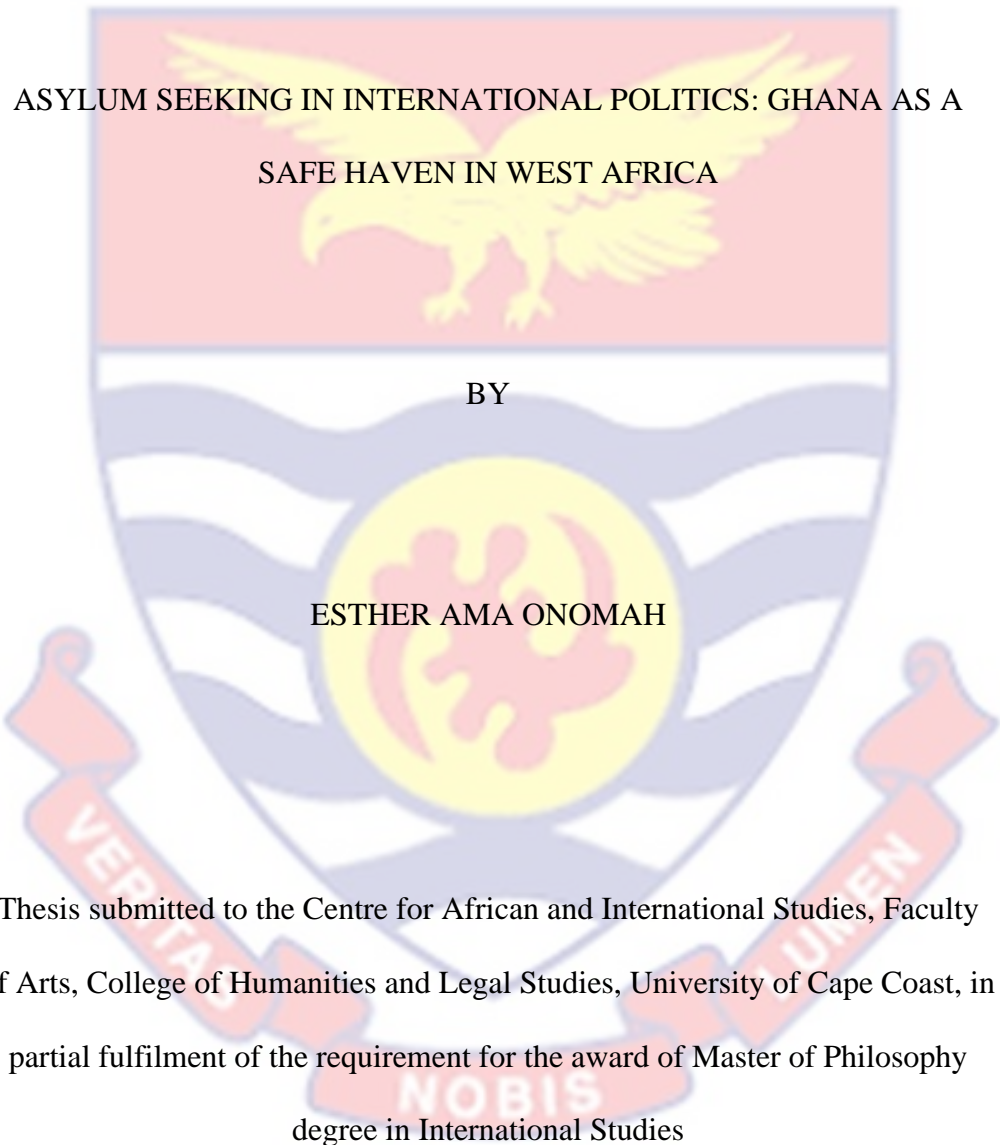
ASYLUM SEEKING IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: GHANA AS A
SAFE HAVEN IN WEST AFRICA



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2022

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST



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SAFE HAVEN IN WEST AFRICA

BY

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Thesis submitted to the Centre for African and International Studies, Faculty
of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast, in
partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Master of Philosophy
degree in International Studies

JANUARY, 2022

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature Date

Name: Onomah Esther Ama

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis was supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisors' Signature Date:

Name:

Co-Supervisors' Signature Date:

Name:

ABSTRACT

Asylum seeking have had an impact on every country on the planet in some fashion. States that do not produce asylum seekers are affected by the refugee crisis whether or not they provide relief to refugees. The term refugee applies to any individual who has escaped persecution and have gained the legal right to stay in the country of protection while an asylum seeker is an individual who have escaped persecution and whose claim for protection in the asylum country is yet to be determined. The West have been associated with being a safe haven for refugees with the highest intake of refugees. However, African countries including Ghana have contributed to tackling refugee crises in the world today but the literature pays less attention to them. Using the rational choice theory, the macro and the meso migration theory, this thesis argued that Ghana is a safe haven for asylum seekers and as such enhances the state's relation with the home countries of the displaced persons. Using case study under the qualitative research approach, the study discovered that family ties, geographical factors, and language are some of the pull factors of asylum seekers to Ghana. It also revealed that despite challenges such as discrimination faced by refugees, Ghana satisfies the major indicators of a safe haven which includes provision of health, security, shelter, livelihood support and training and educational needs that ensure continuity of life for refugees in West African. The study, recommends that there should be policy improvement that should include labour law for refugees that is void of discrimination. In all, the study provides information for the recognition and contributions of Ghana to global refugee issues.

KEYWORDS

Asylum seekers

Ghana

Humanitarian

Refugees

Safe Haven



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DEDICATION

To my mother; Ayivi Rebecca, thank you for your continuous support and belief in me.



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LIST OF ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

AAB	-	African Affairs Bureau
ADRA	-	Adventist Development Relief Agency
GES	-	Ghana Education Service
GHS	-	Ghana Health Service
GRB	-	Ghana Refugee Board
KVIP	-	Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pit
NADMO	-	National Disaster Management Organization
NHIS	-	National Health Insurance Scheme
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organisation
OPE	-	Organization of Peoples Empowerment
UNHCR	-	United Nations High Commission of Refugees
UN	-	United Nations
UNFPA	-	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
SHEV	-	Safe Haven Enterprise Visa



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A safe haven is described as any physical space or network that provides temporary or permanent protection to individuals. Asylum seeking/refugee is a core issue in international affairs. Ghana, together with non-state actors, plays a significant role as a safety net to asylum seekers. To show her commitment, Ghana became a signatory to the principle of international humanitarian law in 1992 and has been the recipient for many displaced persons. However, refugee studies in Ghana have paid less attention to examining the factors that make Ghana a safe haven. Therefore, this study argues that Ghana is a safe haven for asylum seekers in the West African sub-region. The study also contends that Ghana's acceptance of the displaced has improved her relations with their home countries.

Background of the Study

Each day, across the globe, people make one of the most challenging decisions to leave their homes in search of a safer and better life. Many people around the world have witnessed losing the house they grew up in. They might just travel as far as the next village or town. Sometimes they have to leave their country altogether for a short time or a lifetime (Amnesty International, 2014). There are many explanations why people around the globe are seeking to rebuild their lives in another place. Many people leave for career or education (Amnesty International, 2014) whereas others are forced to flee as a result of violence or violations of human rights, including slavery, and armed conflict. Some people no longer feel safe and may have been targeted because of who they are or what they do or believe in (Amnesty International, 2014). People who move as a

result of the above reasons to other countries in search of a safe haven and officially apply for international protection are described as asylum seekers.

Since time immemorial, the question of seeking asylum has existed. Every country around the world has been affected by refugee crisis in one way or another. This is because almost every nation has been involved in violence or chaos which has produced millions of refugees and states unaffected have provided material assistance and relief to the displaced (Pitterman, 1984). The West (Europe, North America and Australia) has been the most sought-after continent by asylum seekers in the post-colonial era. Although African countries also play major roles in serving as a safe haven for asylum seekers, they are not known for stability or refuge.

When an individual is outside his/her country and unable to return home because they are at risk there, the need for international protection arises because their home country is unable or unwilling to protect them. According to the European Union Directive (2011/95/EU), international protection is the recognition by a foreign state of a non-citizen or a stateless individual as a refugee or as a person qualified for subsidiary protection (EU, 2015). Persecution, death threats, armed warfare, and serious public unrest are examples of risks that necessitate international protection.

The term 'asylum seeker' denotes someone who requires international protection but the person's claim for protection (refugee status) has not yet been determined (Philips, 2013). Cohen (2008) defines "Refugees" as those who sought international protection and have acquired the lawful right to stay in the country of asylum. Most scholars, on the other hand, use the term "refugee" to

refer to anyone seeking asylum, regardless of whether or not their claim is accepted.

The term safe haven is a location or person that may be designated by a state and allowed to accept newborns that meet the statutory criteria, but a 'safe haven' is a place in most instances (Buhl, 2004). Emphasis will be on safe haven available to individuals' fleeing any form of abuse or violence, particularly people who are displaced from their country (Freccero, & Seelinger, 2013). Safe Haven may also not necessarily refer to a single physical structure or traditional safe house model. Pearmain (2005) sets the following criteria as a significant aspect for the experience of a safe haven: profound experience of inclusion, the experience of acceptance, and no judgement.

Since the end of the Second World War, Africa has undergone a shift in migration flows. This trend is also taking place in Europe, North America and several countries in the Middle East. Migration here is usually caused by involuntary factors in these countries of origin (United Nations, 2006). That is, although the large movement of migrants is not a new phenomenon, the images (migratory flow) of the past few years following post-colonialism and the post-Cold War era has shocked the world's conscience: rickety boats piled high with people seeking safety; women, men and children drowning in their attempts to escape violence and poverty (UN, 2016). As indicated by the UN (2016), Africa's transition from the colonisation to independence was marred with violence and political turmoil.

These laws guarantee that other states unaffected by war or chaos take in those affected (Holzer, 2012). This ushered world politics into a new blossom of international humanitarian order where we have states giving refuge to those

who are affected by conflict or those whose lives are in danger (Cahill, 2013). Prominent countries known for this new international humanitarian order are the United States of America, Britain, Australia, France, and Germany.

Ghana is surrounded by French nations/countries on the western, northern and eastern borders. During the colonial era, Ghana then the Gold Coast hosted asylum seekers from the French colonies like Cameroon and Ivory Coast because of the severity of the French policy of assimilation. Since the independence of Ghana in 1957, “Ghana has become the Mecca of African freedom fighters” (De Smith, 1957). For instance, immediately after independence, Nkrumah and Padmore assisted in the Southern African independence and liberation struggles as a crucial component of Ghana’s foreign policy. In that effect, Ghana provided asylum to people like Mariam Makeba of South Africa and Hastings Banda of Malawi.

Nkrumah set up the African Affairs Bureau (AAB) at the Flagstaff House, tasked with the duty to oversee the welfare of freedom fighters from Southern Africa. Padmore declared that Ghana would ensure freedom fighters’ allegiance by providing support before appealing to countries such as the United Arab Republic or the Soviet Union (Thompson, 2015). It was not only the triumph of the war for independence’s which is on the line but also the political convergence of the liberation movements with Pan-Africanism. Padmore realized Ghana had a profound advantage over other nations, being the first sub-Saharan nation to have achieved independence. So he wrote to Kojo Botsio, the Minister of External Affairs on 27 February 1959, declaring that:

African people south of the Sahara instinctively look to Ghana and its Prime Minister for assistance in the hours of

their troubles and distress. For this, we should feel justly proud, and meet their appeals with the sympathy which we should extend as a duty. (Affero General Public License, 1959).

In May 1959, the African Affairs Bureau welcomed the first political refugees from French Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Belgian Congo, Angola, Nyasaland (Malawi) and Mauritania. The Bureau had a hub which was a shelter for freedom fighters in Accra and was later to be used as a first stopover centre for freedom fighters on their way to training camps (Affero General Public License, 1959). That same year, Holden Roberto, former leader of the União dos Povos de Angola (UPA), was leaving Ghana for Guinea because the immigration authorities in Ghana were unable to provide him with documentation. This made Padmore react angrily against the Ghanaian authorities. Hence, immediately after the massacre in Sharpeville (21 March 1960), Ghana opened the door for South African political refugees (Grilli, 2018).

As an “oasis of peace” in the West African sub-region, on 30th December 1992, the Republic of Ghana for the first time introduced a law on refugees (Ghana Immigration Service, n.d). In August 1993, the law was published in the official gazette. This law acknowledges Ghana's acceptance and ratification of the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees, the 1967 UN Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, and the September 1969 African Union Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (Ghana Immigration Service, n.d).

This 1951 UN Convention, to which Ghana is a signatory, defines a refugee as someone who has a justifiable fear of persecution on the grounds of race, faith, nationality, association in a particular group or political opinion and outside his/their country of origin. Ghana introduced the law on refugees because Ghana for the first time (1990) was faced with over 50,000 asylum seekers from Liberia and there was the need to enact laws to address the situation. Ghana, since this period, has been accepting asylum seekers from neighbouring countries like Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone and Togo.

Statement of the Problem

According to Tyler (2016), asylum and immigration issues are significant on the domestic political concerns of affluent governments and nations. Scholarly works such as those of Ozyurek and Gerken (2017) examined Australia as an asylum-friendly country. In 2014, the Australian government had significantly improved its refugee programme by introducing the Safe Haven Enterprise Visas (SHEV) which could provide a pathway for unauthorised maritime or asylum seekers to have a permanent residence after their arrivals.

Gareth Evans, Australia's Minister for Foreign Affairs (1991) claimed Australia had proved itself as a safe haven by demonstrating her preparedness to address a variety of global concerns, especially the refugee crisis (Evans & Grant, 1991). Evans and Grant contended that Australia would continually support important contributions in that department. So, according to Robinson (1998), in the early 1990s, Australia accepted the highest number (137, 000) per capita of refugees than any Western country.

In 2019, the American Immigration Council claimed that the USA has welcomed more refugees than any other nation in the world and this ability tends to play a significant role in world politics. That is, the more USA admits asylum seekers, the more it can influence the scenes of politics in the world.

However, in Australia, Western Europe and the United States, asylum-seekers are subjected to incarceration where tough asylum and immigration rules are gradually established. Australia is closing its borders and leaving asylum seekers on the high seas to die; Europe is warding off asylum seekers by building a fortress with policies and America is building a wall (Tyler, 2006). For instance, comparing the number of asylum seekers from 2018 with 2019 in the US, it is observed that the number had reduced from 45,000 in 2018 to 30,000 in 2019. This represented less than 50 percent of the asylum seekers accepted into the country (American Immigration Council, 2019).

The above studies have focused on the recognition, policies and the fact that the Western countries are the most sought-after as a reason to brand them as safe havens. Meanwhile, other countries are also accepting a large number of asylum seekers but do not get this recognition. The literature has also overlooked developing countries and continents which are safe havens for asylum seekers.

Since 2000, the number of refugees worldwide has been mostly hosted by developing countries (United Nations High Commission of Refugees (UNHCR), 2014). According to the UNHCR (2015), Africa hosted the world's largest displaced people 30%, while the USA 16%, Europe 17%, Asia 11% and the Middle East and North Africa 26% (UNHCR, 2015). The proportion of

refugees hosted by developing countries increased to more than 87% in 2013 (UNHCR, 2013).

In 1993, Ghana hosted about 150,059 (Ghana Refugee Statistics, 2020) asylum seekers, representing 1139.02% of the annual percentage change in displaced persons granted asylum. Despite this intake of asylum seekers by Ghana, the literature has not focused on examining Ghana as a safe haven for asylum seekers. The existing literature has focused on complexities of refugees integration in Ghana (Agblorti, 2011; Agblorti & Awusabo-Asare, 2011; Essuman-Johnson, 2011), Ghana's management of refugee issues (Amemasor-Doe, 2018); refugees problems and coping strategies (Dako-Gyeke & Adu, 2016) and Ghanaian media reportage on refugees (Dela-Dem, 2018). Thus, it appears there is the paucity of literature in refugee studies specifically looking at Ghana as a safe haven. In light of this knowledge gap in the literature, this study aims to examine Ghana as a safe haven for asylum seekers and as such enhance her relations with the home countries of the displaced.

Objectives of the study

The study sought to address the following specific objectives;

1. To explore the motivating factors for asylum seekers to choose Ghana as a destination.
2. To assess Ghana as a safe haven for asylum seekers in the West African region.
3. To examine the impact that Ghana's intake of asylum seekers has on its relationship with its neighbours.

Research Questions

1. What factors and knowledge inform the decision of asylum seekers to move to Ghana?
2. To what extent can Ghana be described as a safe haven for asylum seekers?
3. How has Ghana's intake of asylum seekers affected its relationship with its neighbours?

Significance of the Study

The world's perception of Africa as a conflict zone implies the continent, (Armed Conflict Location Event Data (2015) and for that matter, Ghana, is not stable to serve as a place of refuge for asylum seekers. This makes this study significant in ascertaining Ghana's role as a safe haven. The study provides insights into the impact of Ghana's humanitarian assistance which also helps to address the numerous expectations of Ghanaians concerning the prospects of humanitarian aid from non-state actors.

This study is useful to the directorates of the Ghana Refugee Board, stakeholders such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Interior and the United Nations, the African Union, and the Economic Community of the West African States. It highlights the effectiveness of the asylum policy drafted and enshrined into the Ghanaian Constitution in 1992. Humanitarian NGOs in Ghana will be aware of the importance of enforcing refugee and humanitarian laws when drafting future asylum/refugee policies.

This work adds to the existing literature on refugee study and issues regarding Ghana's security, asylum-seeking and the politics of asylum-seeking. Knowledge of the governance of asylum seekers will help the country to

formulate effective refugee policies to manage the refugee situation in Ghana. It also serves as a basis for future researchers who are interested in the area.

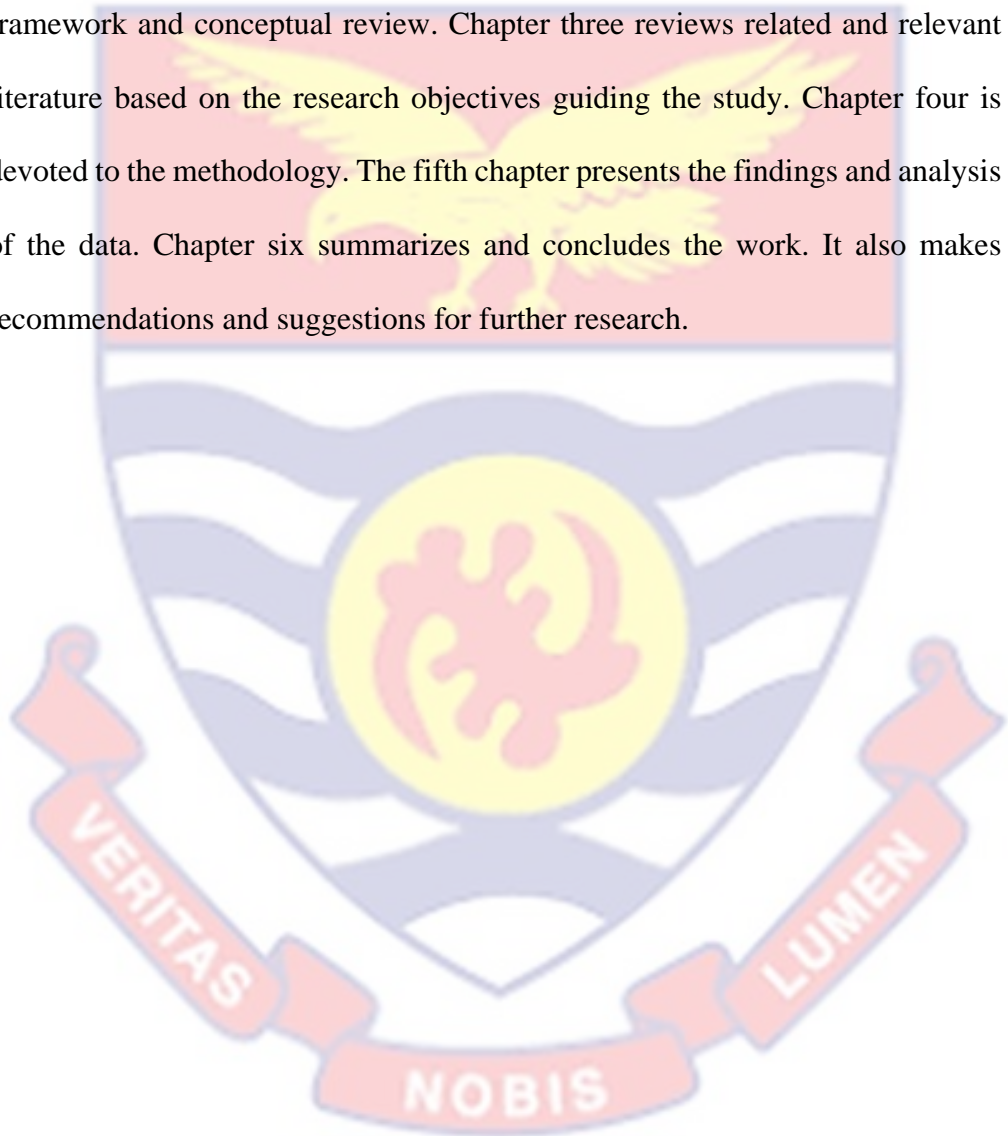
Delimitation of the Study

Asylum has many dimensions. There is international politics, foreign policy, nation branding, humanitarian policies, domestic policies, security and culture. This study explores Ghana's humanitarian policies, its international appeal by way of projecting Ghana as safe to host asylum-seekers and how this affects Ghana's international relations with her neighbours in the West African sub-region. The study focuses mainly on the period from 1992 to 2020. The significance of this period is a result of the fact that Ghana for the first time formulated an asylum policy and for the first time Ghana had hosted a large number of asylum seekers during these periods.

The study focuses on the closed Budumburam camp (which was inhabited by Liberians), Egyeikrom camp and Ampain camp (inhabited by Ivorians) because of their large number. The study does not focus on the Klikor Refugee camp which hosted asylum seekers from Togo because the camp has been closed since 1997 with almost all refugees repatriated with a few integrating into the Klikor community, leaving about 200 refugees who were transferred to Krisan refugee camp. It is hard tracing these few as most have died and some may have moved away from the camps. The study does not focus on the Krisan camp and Fetentaa refugee camp which has been home to thousands of refugees of nationalities like Ivorians, Congolese, Sudanese, Sierra Leoneans and many more because of their small number.

Organization of the Study

This work is categorized into six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction, which gives an overview of safe haven and asylum seekers, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions and objectives, significance of the study, limitations, delimitations, definition of terms, and the organization of the work. Chapter two is the theoretical framework and conceptual review. Chapter three reviews related and relevant literature based on the research objectives guiding the study. Chapter four is devoted to the methodology. The fifth chapter presents the findings and analysis of the data. Chapter six summarizes and concludes the work. It also makes recommendations and suggestions for further research.



CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This study assesses Ghana as a safe haven for asylum seekers in the West African region and Ghana's relations with the home countries of the displaced. This chapter reviews concepts such as safe haven, asylum seeker and refugee. The chapter also presents the theories underpinning the study: these are the Meso Migration Theory, Macro Migration Theory, and the Rational Choice Theory.

Conceptual Review

Safe Haven

Following goods and money, the movement of persons has been denoted as the third wave of globalization. The scale, complexity, and effect of this phenomenon are all rising (Vanham, 2019). However, human mobility is not a modern phenomenon. Migration has long been connected to livelihoods, society and natural disasters in human history and culture.

“Safe haven” is an internationally recognised term assigned to a geographical area designated to protect from harm (Buhl, 2004). However, one’s safe haven may also be a place another person has no protection. This term or concept holds different meanings in different contexts as a result of contradictions between intent and usage. As a term, it has been applicably used to interpret many different kinds of locations, from buildings to camps and to entire cities that had been designated as safe for those fleeing from violence elsewhere. Freccero and Seelinger (2013) accordingly postulate that to connect the term to local and global politics, the term operates across scales. Also, as a

practice, it often houses alternative political projects such as the containment and control of human mobility. Likewise, in the geographical scope, the term has been used in the context of migration and refugee flows.

Arguably, there are numerous debates about whether the provision of protection in the form of geographically designated safe havens is applicable. Nevertheless, Pearmain (2005) sets the criteria as an important aspect of a safe haven environment by identifying the following principles: a deep experience of participation, awareness of acceptance, and no judgement. The study, however, adopts the meaning of a safe haven to be any physical space or network that provides temporary or permanent protection to individuals as a working definition for this research.

Asylum Seeker

Thousands of people every day seek asylum in several countries across the globe. As established as a fundamental human right in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), “everyone has the right to seek and enjoy asylum in other countries and should be free from persecution” (UN, 2017). The term ‘Asylum’ is a Latin word that means ‘sanctuary’. A sanctuary was a place where criminals and debtors sought safety from and where they could not be taken without committing sacrilege. The idea of an individual's right to seek asylum emerged alongside the more conventional concept of asylum as a right given by states to individuals. This alternative view of asylum was started to be expressed in international instruments by the early twentieth century (Asylum Insight, 2016). The 1951 UN Refugee Convention from which most scholars and states use as the yard stick today to determine their asylum policies does not describe the term ‘asylum’ or asylum seeker.

However, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights spells out the right of asylum in article 14 thus “Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution” (UN, 2017). This defines asylum as an international protection system granted to individuals fleeing persecution from their home countries. Goodwin-Gill (2008), however, defines asylum as a safe space and the state's right to provide security in the exercise of its sovereign authority over its territory. This right extends to the admission and removal of foreign nationals in the host nations.

The term “asylum seeker” is widely used to identify people who have not been granted international protection (or have not yet been granted international protection). Several governments describe asylum seekers as people who are awaiting the result of their asylum applications (Bradby, Humphris, Newall, & Phillimore, 2015). Scholars like Douglas, Cetron, & Spiegel (2019) have also defined the term as any individual seeking asylum, waiting for a decision on a refugee claim in accordance with applicable international and national conventions, and seeking protection from persecution or serious harm in a nation other than their own. Asylum seekers are often held in asylum countries while their appeals are being heard. This research adopts this definition as a working definition of who an asylum seeker is.

Refugee

The French word *réfugié* which means “hiding place” became the English refugee we have today. The term is also found in Latin called ‘fugere’ which means “to flee”, or safety from threat or agony. In Western culture, the word was first used in referring to the French Protestant after the first Edict of Fontainebleau in 1540. The term referred to Huguenots finding a safe place

against Catholic persecution (Hornak, 2017). According to the 1951 UN International Refugee Convention on the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees, a person who is outside of their country of nationality due to a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of their ethnicity, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion is considered a refugee if they are unable or unwilling to apply for asylum in their home country. This definition of a refugee is vague and hard to determine whether it includes people who flee their country as a result of violence/war and if it includes individuals whose status has been granted or not.

Almost all African countries were still under colonial control by the end of the 1940s. In the political and ideological atmosphere of the Cold War, refugees were seen as a West European phenomenon. After World War II, efforts to address the refugee dilemma were unmistakably European. For example, the 1951 Refugee Status Convention only applied to people who became refugees because of events that happened before January 1, 1951 (in Europe only). The Convention's coverage of refugees in Africa and elsewhere was not expanded until the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted. Approximately two-thirds of the OAU's new member states achieved independence during the 1960s. This result of ever-increasing masses of uprooted and safety seekers were just one of the many obstacles they faced (Nobel, 1982).

In the OAU's Convention Regulating the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, adopted at the OAU summit in Addis Ababa in 1969, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) described a refugee as:

a person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, faith, nationality, membership of a specific social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and owing to such a fear, is unable to avail himself of that Country security or who, owing to external hostility, occupation, international dominance, 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 to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or national (OAU, 1969).

Scholars like Nindi (1986) and Moussalli (1992) adopted this definition in their studies on refugees. However, this description excludes “economic refugees” or individuals who have been coerced to leave their homes and seek asylum elsewhere, typically due to war or civil unrest but have not crossed an international border. Internally ‘displaced’, (any individual who meets the requirements for being a displaced person) who are similar to refugees, are common in some Africa countries. This distinct definition of OAU specifically incorporates “objective criteria, based on the circumstances existing in the country of origin, for assessing refugee status, and requires neither the elements of deliberateness nor discrimination inherent in the 1951 Convention definition”. However, it only focuses on the criteria for determining the status of a refugee but does not indicate whether one becomes a refugee after being granted legal status by the country of asylum or not.

Cohen (as cited in Stone, 2018), concludes that any human being who needs security is a refugee. Shacknove (1985) explains the different meanings of refugees to be as a result of different jurisdictions. Most states have their municipal concepts, with the rest of them adopting the UN Convention framework. Cereci (2020) defined a refugee as someone who has been forced to leave the home country because of persecution based on race, faith, nationality, political views, or membership in a specific social group (for example LGBTQ people). A 'refugee,' according to US law, is someone unable to return to his/her home country due to a "well-founded fear of persecution" based on race, membership in a specific social group, political opinion, faith, or national origin (American Immigration Council, 2020).

In Kenya under the Refugee Act 2006, a refugee is described: as an individual whose membership of a particular social group or political opinion is beyond the country of his nationality and due to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, faith, sex, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, and is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the security of that country.

The Act further defined the word as any non-citizen who is outside of his previous place of habitual residence and is unable or reluctant to go back because of a well-founded fear of being persecuted for either of the aforementioned reasons (Kenya Law Report, 2012).

The term refugee is used by some scholars to cover all those who are seeking asylum, regardless of the recognition of their claim but these two terms are conflated and used interchangeably (Derluyn, Mels, & Broekaert, 2009).

Many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa do not distinguish between the two categories of "asylum seeker" and "refugee," using both terms interchangeably in their local legislation. The 1998 Tanzanian Refugee Act, for example, uses the term "asylum-seeker and/or refugee" throughout to imply that the protection provided to one category is equally provided to the other. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the domestic law of 2002 uses a similar approach in terms of wording.

A 'refugee' differs from an asylum seeker in that his or her position has already been determined, and thus he or she should generally be a person with a settled living situation in a new nation, either temporarily or permanently, outside his or her home country (d'Orsi, 2015). This research uses the term asylum seeker to mean those who have left their home country in fear of their lives and are in a different country for refuge but whose refugee status has not been granted. The study may also use refugees to apply to asylum seekers who have escaped persecution and have gained the status or the legal right to stay in the country of protection.

War, religious and political persecution are some reasons why people move from one geographical location to seek asylum in other countries. Because asylum-seeking is a safety-sensitive matter, essential factors are considered in selecting asylum countries. The Macro migration theory uses economic conditions as an important consideration for choosing an asylum country. The theory section gives more information on the consideration for choices of asylum countries.

Theories Underpinning the Study

The study was conducted using the Macro Migration Theory, Meso Migration Theory and Rational Choice Theory.

Macro Migration Theory

Macro theory is one of the oldest that emerged from the neoclassical school of thought. The neoclassical school of thinking was founded in the late nineteenth century, based on writings by William Stanley Jevons, Carl Menger and Léon Walras. The Neo-classical school of thought is based on the principle of "reasonable expectations," which states that each person seeks to maximize his or her utility, while each firm seeks to maximize its profits. This hypothesis also assumed that individuals had complete business knowledge. According to neoclassical principles, free markets would ultimately provide automatic full employment if wages are flexible enough to adapt in response to supply and demand equilibrium. Migration is also seen as a way to reduce income disparities in this global context of maximization. Neoclassical Migration theories are based on this fundamental idea and were created to understand labour migration as part of the economic development process. There are two types of theories: macro and micro theories. For the sake of this study, I address only the macro migration theory because it better explains the findings of this study.

According to macro migration theory, international migration, like its domestic counterpart, is driven by regional variations in labour supply and demand (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993). The macro theory describes the structural and objective conditions that operate as migration "push" and "pull" forces (Boswell, 2003). Economic issues like unemployment, low pay, or a low per capita income in comparison to the

destination nation are frequently the driving forces behind migration. The legal framework governing immigration and the conditions of the labor markets in recipient countries are both pull factors. Involuntary displacement might be caused by things like government repression, a concern for widespread violence, or civil war (Faist, 2000). The macro approach takes into account migration in terms of socioeconomic and physical factors such as wage rates, unemployment and climate (Boswell, 2003). Most macro migration theorists agree that macro factors like these are critical to understanding forced migration.

Louis (2013) examined the causal and complex relation between migrations and development. He used the macro model to examine the remittance effect on growth. Boswell (2002) in *addressing the causes of migratory and refugee movements: the role of the European Union* used the macro migration theory in explaining migration and forced migration. In her work, the root causes (interactions between sending and receiving countries) are shaped by macro elements like economic underdevelopment, a weak state, high social disintegration, and migration networks. The immediate conditions that cause movement, which is macro, include the development of the armed conflict, persecution of persons, and so on.

De Haas (2010) states that, from a functionalist standpoint, the movement of labour from poor to affluent countries and regions and concurrent reverse capital flows from rich to poor places are what an ideal distribution of the production variables at the macro level is expected to look like. It is envisaged that this will close the economic gap between the origin and destination regions. However, these representations usually ignore how elements like violence, governmental repression, immigration restrictions,

poverty, and inequality can prevent individuals from moving, compel them to be displaced, or drive migrants into harsh employment situations. This explains why both immigrants and non-immigrant "natives" frequently profit unequally from the social and economic advantages of migration as they are already more affluent in their cultures of origin and destination. The macro migration theory only centres on what is pushing people out of their country of origin. It focuses on push factors such as war, unemployment, low per capita income barely focusing on the drives or condition that inform the forced migrants to move to a particular destination. Because of that, the study adopts the Meso migration theory to explain why forced migrant choose a particular destination.

Meso Migration Theory

Meso migration theory first emerged in the nineteenth century. The sociologist Thomas Faist emphasises the meso-level of migration (1997, 2000). He connects the rationale behind a person's migration decision to the systemic condition that informed them to move. Hoerder in Manning (2004), preferred to characterise the meso-level as a collection of arenas for the interaction of various forces, rather than a collection of mid-level institutions or a centre for a mid-level migration model. Hoerder's meso-level study increases variation in migratory situations while adding no new determinacy.

Meso migration theory is of the view that migration flows within a complex system of linkages between states. Here, they look at two concepts, namely systems and networks as factors that necessitate the migration of people be it voluntary movement or forced movement. It is expected that migration takes place within a migration network. That is a collection of countries bound together through economic, political and cultural ties, as well as migration

patterns. (Boswell, 2003). As a result, rather than a set of objective indicators, the factors that cause movement are regarded as the dynamics of interactions between two regions. Individual and collective actors (current and potential migrants, their families, enterprises, religious or social groups, and so on) form networks, which are linked by many social and symbolic relationships (Faist, 2000).

Once links are made, they can significantly affect the direction and volume of migratory patterns by providing resources that facilitate migration, such as information, contacts, and financial and social support. Chain migration occurs as a result of the flow of resources via networks, which makes relocating a more desirable and practical alternative for other network participants. Chain migration is the term for the process of mass, serial migration from one specified location to another. Forcible displacement can be explained at this meso level. It explains why refugees choose certain places as their final destination: systems and networks may make certain places easier to access or seek protection in, or more appealing as destinations (Bilborrow & Zlotnik, 1994).

Even though, the Meso migration theory helped in explaining how system and network played in the decision of a destination of a forced migrant, it is less relevant in explaining forced migration (Boswell, 2002). It failed to explore the fact that the destination countries of forced migrants are sometimes as a result of chance or strategic decision. This informed the use of the rational choice theory. The Meso migration theory was inadequate in examining what was pushing migrants out of their home country. Hence, there was the need to use the macro theory.

Rational Choice Theory

The Rational Choice Theory is “the process of deciding what options are available and then selecting the most preferred alternative based on some consistent criteria” (Levin & Milgrom, 2004). Adam Smith is believed to have propounded the theory. In his book *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* published in 1776, Smith expanded on his observations of self-interest and the invisible hand theory. Individuals driven by self-interest and rationality, according to the invisible hand concept, would make decisions that benefit the entire economy. According to the theory, people employ logical calculations to make informed judgments and achieve outcomes that are in line with their personal goals or interests. People consider their options and select the one that they believe is the best fit for them. Thus, it makes several contentious claims about how and why people make decisions (Boswell, 2003).

Gary Becker (Economics Science), one of the first to employ rational actor model promoted the Rational Choice theory widely (Becker, 1976). When faced with a variety of options, Elster (1989) notes that people usually choose the one that they believe would result in the best overall result. This rational choice theory is already a performance tuning method. The theory states that people do not choose things off the shelf at random. Instead, they employ a rational judgment process that weighs the costs and benefits of several options in comparison to one another. In the same way asylum seekers do not appear at the door of every country because they escaped persecution and violence from their home country.

According to Levina and Milgrom (2004), The rational choice hypothesis is refuted by the fact that most people conform to social standards even when doing so is counterproductive. A further flaw in the rational choice

theory is that it ignores context- or situation-related factors that may impact a decision. Decisions that deviate from the rational choice theory's tenets may be the result of factors such as emotional state, social context, environmental circumstances, and the way options are presented to the person. The theory also fails to examine the fact that choice of destination is not determined by the use of rational calculation only but the availability of systems and networks as well. The rational choice theory also failed to examine what is pushing migrants out of their country of origin. Because of these shortcomings, the macro theory and the meso theory was adopted.

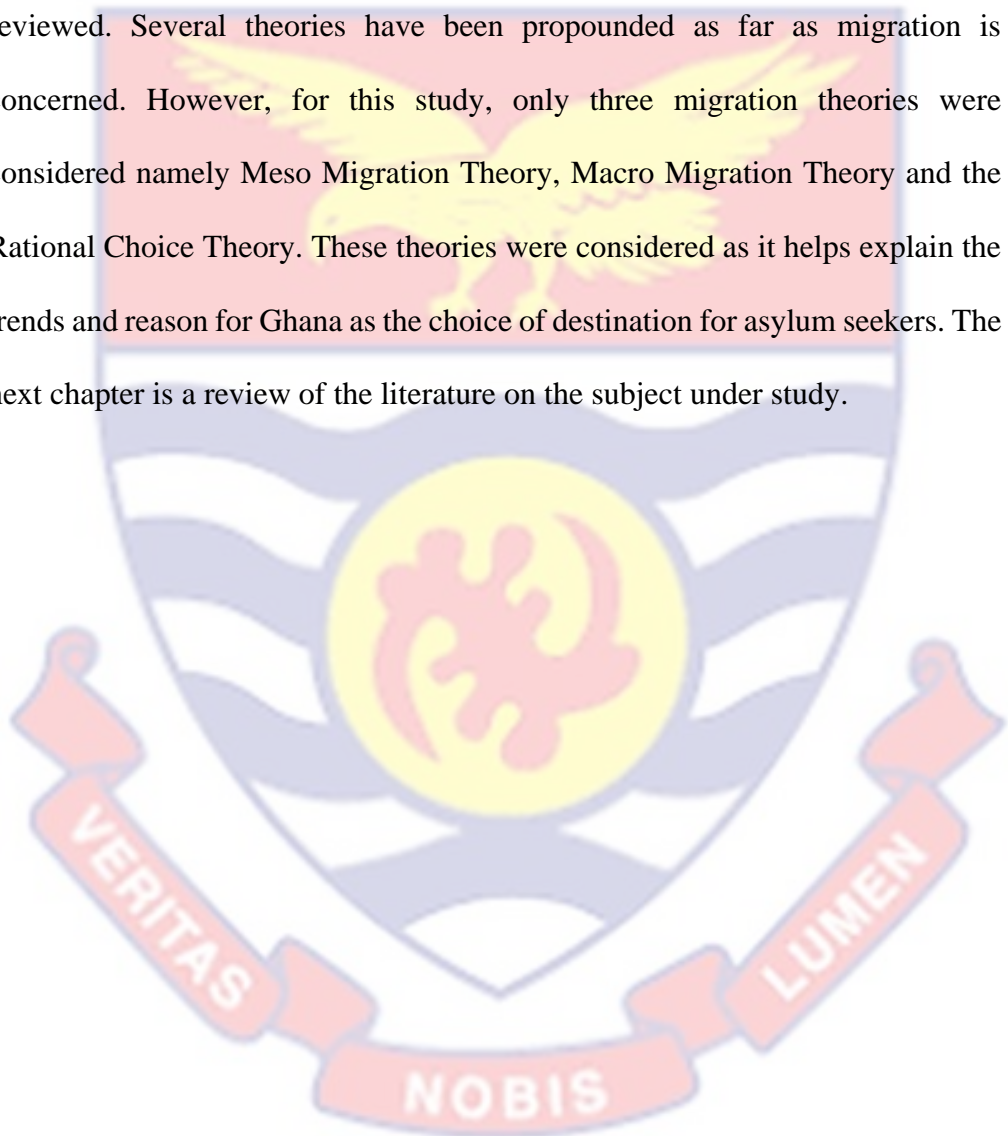
Faist links the Macro, Meso and Rational Choice theories by connecting the structural Macro and Meso migration models to the rational individual migration decision models. The model connects all three theories to the effect of the migration of the individuals (asylum seekers). According to Faist, social ties and social capital in households, neighbourhoods, societies and more formal institutions aid migrants in their migration decision-making and transition process, acting as a resource and integrating mechanism.

According to Hagen-Zanker (2008), these three theories complement each other. The role of systems, networks, pull factors and rational choice is crucial in explaining and understanding the trends and volume of asylum seekers moving from their home countries to their asylum countries (migration). Whereas Macro theory explains the reasons for forced migration, Meso theory explains the choice of destination. The Macro, Meso and Rational Choice Theories apply to the current study because the three theories give useful reasons for international migration. The current study seeks to examine Ghana as a safe

haven for asylum seekers and as part of the study, it explores the choice, pull and push factors of asylum seekers in Ghana.

Chapter Summary

This chapter was dedicated to the review of concepts and the theories guiding the study. Concepts such as safe haven, asylum and refugees were reviewed. Several theories have been propounded as far as migration is concerned. However, for this study, only three migration theories were considered namely Meso Migration Theory, Macro Migration Theory and the Rational Choice Theory. These theories were considered as it helps explain the trends and reason for Ghana as the choice of destination for asylum seekers. The next chapter is a review of the literature on the subject under study.



CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The chapter reviews major and relevant studies on refugee studies. This study is interdisciplinary as it discusses issues that intersect with other disciplines including migration studies, international relations, and refugee studies. However, the questions this study seeks answers to are related to the sub-field of refugee studies. This chapter aims to bring to fore scholars within the field of refugee studies. It is also to demonstrate understanding of the field, the different phases, studies and development it has undergone, and identify the gap in the literature. The chapter is grouped into three themes. First, I undertake a review of studies on the selected global refugee situation. Second, I focused on major studies in the refugee situation in Africa and thirdly, I reviewed studies on refugees in Ghana.

Selected Global Refugee Situation

Disciplines such as international affairs and international law, anthropology and sociology, as well as economics, demography, geography, psychology and history are among the areas that distinctively take root in refugee studies. The emergence of refugee studies as a distinct area of study has no clear beginning, and its evolution might be described as fragmented. However, scholars such as Sir John Hope Simpson, Adams, Kulisher and Atle Grahl-Madsen, just to mention a few, began to focus on refugees as a significant problem deserving academic exploration in the early twentieth century, particularly after 1920, in response to massive refugee moves that occurred during World War I and other European wars.

Sir John Hope Simpson is one of the pioneering scholars of refugee studies. In his work *The Refugee Problem* (1939), under the authority of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in anticipation of the Evian conference, he attempts to define the regional extent of the study of refugees. He limited his research to refugee movements from Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and the Russian Empire. He also narrowed his attention to only two groups. One group comprised of refugees who were already getting support from the League of Nations, (Russians, Armenians, Assyrians, Greeks and Bulgarians). This group included those fleeing Nazi Germany.

The second group is those who were being considered for assistance by the League of Nations which included refugees from Italy, Portugal and Spain. While Simpson's works were detailed in several ways, Simpson overlooked some of the most significant European refugee groups during the interwar years, such as the 400,000 Magyar refugees in Hungary, who never obtained legal protection or significant assistance from the League of Nations. He also excluded a large number of refugees in China.

Adams (1939), a scholar in this field, admits that the Chinese were the largest group in terms of numbers but he dismisses them, along with Chaco War refugees, as 'internal migratory and relief problems rather than refugee problems'. In his work, *Refugees in Europe* (1939), Adams also acknowledges Simpson's territorial boundaries by solving the refugee problem. He did this by calling for a brief overview of the Bulgarian, Turkish and Greek refugees, and indicated they no longer counted as refugees because they had developed a new national identity.

Muslims who settled in Turkey were granted citizenship by a special council of ministers without having to meet the normal residency requirements (should have been a resident of Turkey for at least five years) (Adam, 1939). Refugees from Bulgaria, Turkey, Russia and other places were granted Greek citizenship. Greek refugees outside Greece were also granted Greek nationality by applying at the Greek consulate. The refugees whose status had now changed to citizens enjoyed the same conditions similar to citizens. Although Adam solved the refugee problem in Simpson's work, he, however, neglected the Jewish refugees as thousands of them sought asylum worldwide in 1930.

Developments during and immediately after World War II displaced about 60 million people. This was approximately ten times as many as were uprooted during World War I. Refugee scholars then expanded their reach to include various forms of refugees while simultaneously narrowing their attention to those in and out of Europe.

Kulisher (1948) in *Europe on the Move: War and Population Changes*, chronicled the movement of people in Europe and the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1947. His work covered people displaced in the Soviet Union and the German Reich before and after the Second World War, as well as post-war population movements of ethnic Germans to West Germany. He made a unique contribution to piecing together the incredibly complicated pattern of European migration. He records foreign (forced) migrations affecting millions of people permanently. He sees two major turning points in modern Europe's migration history. One flows west and abroad, while the other east into Asiatic Russia.

Atle Grahl-Madsen (1986) proposes an international refugee law in which, by cutting relations with a refugee, the home countries of refugees lose

the right to "shield" or function on the refugee's behalf before the refugee voluntarily returns to that state. He gives a thorough picture and understanding of the principle of security, as well as the various activities that it is commonly thought to entail. He describes the refugee's status as the quintessential unprotected person.

Atle Grahl-Madsen discusses the importance of security in international law and examines the relationship between nationality and security, as well as a state's right to protect its citizens both at home and abroad. That is, a refugee is still a citizen of a country hence the state can intervene (not be rendered as illegitimate) for their welfare in another country as states relate with each other. However, if a refugee wishes to waive protection (from their home country), the asylum state has the right to refuse the right to the home state.

Morrison, Director and Crosland (2000) report for the Refugee Council, they explored the illegal movement of refugees to the UK. The study conducted interviews with key officials from a variety of refugee-related organizations as well as refugees themselves. There were 27 case studies in total, covering five different countries. It included participants who had been in the UK for various durations of time, single people and family groupings, and those who had travelled to the UK via various sorts and lengths of voyages. The author made the point that many refugees flee to 'Europe' because of its prominence of peace and technological advancement, instead of a specific country within that continent. The author, however, portrays Europe as the Mecca for humanity and development and so people are keen on going there at all costs and in the process disregard the fact that factors influence people to seek refuge in a particular country.

In his study of asylum seekers in Canada, Barsky (1993) suggested that an individual's asylum-seeking ambitions can change dramatically while en route to the place initially chosen. Barsky claimed that occasionally, asylum seekers move to relatively far-off nations with little connection to their country of origin even if they might have sought safety in nearby nation-states where they have substantial colonial links or where there is linguistic similarity. This helps to understand why some asylum applicants relocate to another continent.

Crawley (2010) asserts that policymakers in the United Kingdom and elsewhere have great interest in the choices of asylum seekers and the reasons surrounding the location in which they claim asylum. According to Crawley (2010), there is a popular misconception that asylum seekers have a sufficient and comprehensive understanding of these phenomena that enables them to make fair and informed decisions regarding their final destinations. This study further discussed the choices made by displaced persons who come to the United Kingdom and the degree to which these choices are a result of luck or preference. However, the decisions taken by asylum seekers are seldom the product of a judgement call in which people have a thorough comprehension of all possibilities and analyse them in a deliberate process aimed at maximizing returns. So, it cannot be concluded that the United Kingdom was chosen because it was a haven for most people.

Selected African Refugee Situation

From the 1960s onward, a wide body of scholarship on refugees began to focus on the many forced migrants who had been produced as a result of decolonization and post-colonial conflicts in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Scholars such as Art Hansen, Aall and Hamrell, Milner and d'Orsi, just to

mention a few have undertaken extensive research in the field of refugees. This created what is currently considered in the literature as the African Problem.

One of the notable scholars in refugee studies in Africa is Art Hansen. Hansen (1979) explores the assimilation of Angolan war refugees into border villages in Zambia between 1966 and 1976. According to him, the Angolan refugees and Zimbabwe (the host nation) are symbolic of the majority of African refugees and their host. He asserts that African refugees are distraught and poor as a result of their displacement. And in comparison to other continents, most African refugees are advantageous in that they face less political prejudice.

Hansen (1979) opines that although the Angolan refugees may have crossed the international (inter-colonial boundary) borders, almost all African refugees are rural people who remain inside their ethnic group's territory. Being an Angolan refugee and losing their country's security does not entitle them to any privileges or demands of protection and assistance from any African nation. In Africa, national identities are very new, and national consciousness is low. In effect, African governments encourage rural refugees to settle and re-establish themselves in the countryside with some limitations, such as limited access to urban jobs and educational opportunities. This helps refugees to resettle with little or no support from the government.

Hansen gives an eye-opening experience of the refugee experience in Africa as it was one of the earlier scholarships on refugee studies in Africa. However, he failed to concentrate on the Angolan refugee experience only but tried to equate it to Africa. Africa is one of the largest continents in the world

and it would be flawed to use the experience of just one group to equate the experience of the whole.

Cato, Jacques, Eldridge, Legum, Matthews, Omari, and Smith, (1967) in their work, *Refugee problems in Africa* examined a series of refugee situations and problems that arose in the second part of the 1900s. While the refugee crisis is not unique to Africa, it has one of the world's major problems. Aall and Hamrell assert that the genesis of refugee difficulties in Africa is linked to the post-World War II political transition that engulfed the continent. This brought the total number of refugees in Africa, mainly south of the Sahara, to about 730,000. They suggest the African refugee crisis is fundamentally an African issue that requires effort, creativity and compassion on the part of African governments. To solve this problem, they recommend that policies introduced by African governments, in an attempt to curb the African problem, would need international assistance. They also recommend assistance from the home countries of refugees and assistance from potential asylum-seeking countries in Africa. This is because potential asylum countries are still emerging and have limited human and material resources. Also, it would be difficult for asylum-seeking countries to provide sufficient social and economic services for large groups of refugees without jeopardizing their national development plans and political development.

In contrast to the more welcoming policies of the 1960s, Milner (2009) tries to explain why many African nations started to become reluctant to admit refugees in the late 1980s. He asserts that this shift has little to do with how refugees are viewed as a security danger or with the refugees themselves. Instead, broader political shifts provide a better explanation for this trend. These

shifts include the fact that refugees are fleeing complex civil wars with regional dynamics rather than liberation and colonial battles. Another major aspect is the drop-in donor support for long-term refugee relief.

According to Milner (2009), decisions about how to treat refugees (including whether to grant asylum) are linked to broader political estimations, such as the political effects and overall benefits of granting asylum, because African states are delicate and dependent on one another, as well as because state elites feel a great deal of insecurity. He also claims that democracy can negatively impact refugee protection. According to him, democracy is complicated and contradictory, and the manipulation of xenophobia is often utilized in multi-party politics in Africa and elsewhere. However, authoritarian governments, on the other hand, use xenophobia as part of their political repertoire.

Milner's book acknowledges the critical role of international and national non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in refugee protection. However, in addition to money, NGOs at the national and regional levels in Africa require political space in which to lobby and, on occasion, criticize governments. As a result, democratic reform may be required to boost local and regional NGOs that advocate for refugees.

The vast majority of African refugee travel occurs inside Africa rather than from Africa to the West, which is rarely acknowledged. A new and critical viewpoint on the continent's asylum-seekers and refugees is offered by d'Orsi's (2015) investigation into the experiences and difficulties of the refugee crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa. In his study, d'Orsi looks at the institutional, national, regional, and international frameworks that control refugee protection in Sub-

Saharan Africa as well as the contributions that African refugee protection has made to the world at large.

The book covered issues such as the concept and practice of non-refoulement. Non-refoulement is an international human rights, refugee, and humanitarian principle that prohibits states from transferring or expelling individuals from their jurisdiction or effective authority when there are reasonable grounds to believe they might face persecution, torture, mistreatment, or other serious human rights violations if they return. It also examined the problem of mass influx, the concept of burden-sharing, and the role of liberation fighters. d'Orsi is, however, flawed to assert that sub-Saharan Africa has adopted policies or laws of asylum but is incapable of enforcing these laws and uses DRC as an example. Sub-Saharan Africa is made up of over fifty different countries and the use of DRC should not reflect the rest of Africa. Again, d'Osi's view of sub-Saharan Africa not having a common approach to asylum is flawed as sub-Saharan Africa is made up of sovereign states and each state is at liberty to draft unique jurisprudence as it fits its constitution.

Shuman, Andrews and Ngom (2015) examined the growing tendency of expert views being sought in asylum hearings or refugee status determinations. The refugee crisis, according to the authors, is a profoundly human problem that produces desires, hopes and anxieties that impact political and legal spheres, and the plight of refugees has become one of the major human tragedies of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The chapters provide a compelling and coherent framework in an emerging subfield of research about African society and politics by depicting the African migrant experience before adjudicators in the global North on a broad scale. Shuman, Andrews, and Ngom,

on the other hand, were unable to provide a robust analytical framework for evaluating the transformative impact of this new reliance on expertise.

According to Konoutsey (2015), the year 2011 saw a huge surge of irregular migrants from North Africa crossing into Europe via the central Mediterranean, but the Italian government responded by policing its waters to locate asylum seekers and sending the boats back to their original destination, ignoring distress calls from migrants at sea. Following several deaths and disappearances, the world community, particularly European neighbours, condemned Italy's actions, citing the humanitarian concerns they had raised.

In 2013, Italy launched Operation Mare Nostrum (which involved the Italian air force and navy to monitor the strait of Sicily and rescue migrants) to address humanitarian concerns in the central Mediterranean by rescuing irregular migrants and minimizing mortality. From 2011 to 2014, the author looked into European policies against irregular migrants from Libya, as well as Italy's measures. Second, the study investigates whether Italy has violated the human rights of irregular migrants from Libya as a result of its responses. This is determined by examining the impact of Italy's policy on irregular migrants on the European Convention on Human Rights. The author, however, focused on African migrants and did not indicate if they were asylum seekers or not.

Nicholson (2018) asserts that many individuals who escaped persecution and war are split from their families, without being able to guarantee or know whether they are safe. Nicholson (2018) examines the restoration of family as a crucial element of bringing back greater normality to the lives of refugees and those in need of foreign security. It can ease the sense of loss felt by many who have lost their country, network and life as they knew it, in addition to the

family. In this sense, family support stretches beyond any conventional and cultural understanding of a family to include those who depend on each other and rely on each other. Although Nicholson may have touched on an important aspect of refugee lives, Nicholson failed to treat the topic within one jurisdiction so it is hard to know if the same situation applies to Ghana. They briefly touched on the subject in different countries.

Selected Studies on Refugee Situations in Ghana

Ghana has always been known for its exemplary tradition in hospitality to foreigners. However, scholarships on refugee studies in Ghana began in the 1990s when Ghana for the first time welcomed about 6,000 asylum seekers from Liberia. Essuman-Johnson, Agbloti, Awusabo-Asare, Dako-Gyeke and Adu are some of the scholars who have extensively researched the refugee situation in Ghana.

Essuman-Johnson (2011) explores the complexities of what follows when refugees do not return to their place of citizenship after the conclusion of a war. He paid attention to Liberian refugees. Repatriation is one of the three enduring solutions to the refugee issue that the UNHCR supports. Local incorporation in the refugee country and relocation in a third country is the other two lasting options. Repatriation to the country of origin when the cost for flight has been eliminated is the durable alternative that the UNHCR prefers. Interestingly, resettlement in a third world is the durable option some prefer most. This was the situation with some Liberian refugees.

Despite the efforts of the Ghana Refugee Board (GRB), the UNHCR and international organisations, a significant proportion of Liberian refugees have declined repatriation from Ghana. As of 2011, just 4,818 out of about 30,000

refugees have been repatriated and have taken advantage of the food, transport allowance and empowerment package as part of Liberia's post-conflict peace-building peace dividend. The remaining refugees who were not interested in local integration wanted repatriation to a third country. This demand was met with a lot of dialogue and resistance (demonstration) from the refugees. In as much as the above study was informative, it seemed to have paid attention to only a section or only one refugee group in Ghana. The methodology used in the research is not clear as the findings seemed to be a reported event. However, this study focuses on Ghana as a safe haven for asylum seekers over the years. It takes into account the safe spaces, provision of livelihoods and empowerment packages to ensure the continuance of life.

Agblorti (2011a) examined the host perspective on refugee integration in Ghana. He looked at the changing trends in Africa from a hospitable continent for refugees to a withered one as a result of the prolonged complexity of refugee situations. However, since independence, particularly the refugee flood in the early 1990, Ghana opened its doors to refugees, and succeeding governments have been hesitant to encourage the concept of local settlement of refugees. He discussed how positively the integration has been and the level of acceptance Ghanaians have for refugees. He also discussed the hiccups in integration. That is, he explored socio-cultural problems in the host society and considered some of the unique policy challenges affecting local integration of refugees from the host population's viewpoint. In doing this study, he solicited the opinions of the local population at the Buduburam Refugee Camp in Ghana on topics concerning prospective local integration of refugees residing there at the time.

The use of qualitative and quantitative data collection allowed the author to reach a larger population, generate rich, detailed and facial data. It also allowed the author to reach a level of comprehensiveness that each of the methods when used could have achieved. However, the study covered only one refugee camp hence it is very hard to tell if the reaction of the host nation would be similar this in the other parts of the country. The author also examined the perspective of the host nation only. It is safe to assume the reactions of citizens are not so accepting because Budumburam is a few miles away from the national capital hence citizens feel threatened they have to compete with integrated refugees also for livelihood. Whereas the author examined refugee integration, this study goes back in time to their first arrival as asylum seekers and how Ghana provided a haven for them then and even as their status changed to refugees.

Agblorti and Awusabo-Asare (2011) examine factors that can affect the assimilation of refugees in Krisan in the Western Region of Ghana. At Krisan, refugees were accepted and accommodated to some degree by the host population, but there were miscommunication on issues such as the use of natural forests. Agblorti and Awusabo-Asare further argue that the inclusion of refugees depends on the tolerance of the host communities for infringements and the willingness of the refugees to work within the community's appropriate table requirements. Where refugee activities affect the host population's institutions, peaceful coexistence is likely to be problematic.

The consideration of the host population and refugees in the Krisan settlement area was a good strategy in producing good unbiased research. The study targeted an equal number of genders. However, despite of the 180 people

(population) the researcher chose from a random sampling, the researcher was biased in interviewing only one adult member from a household because one adult member could not speak for the experience of an entire household. This study gives further insight into the refugee experience and their interactions with the host nation with refugees. Following the findings of their study, the authors recommended that stakeholders should communicate and discuss possible problem areas to safeguard non-violent co-existence in areas like Krisan.

Agblorti (2011b) discusses the consequences for refugee host ties of international aid to refugees at Krisan Refugee Camp in Ghana. In today's refugee situation, it is important for there to be non-violent co-existence between refugees and their host nations. The provision of humanitarian assistance to refugees on their first arrival to the rural area of the host nation is important. However, the situational conditions at these places determine the type and nature of assistance to give these refugees in order not to create friction between the locals and the refugees. Where refugee aid is considered to be above the average living standards in the host communities, discontent among the hosts is likely to occur. This can generate resentment between refugees and the host nation, placing peaceful co-existence at risk. It is established that to create a cosy environment for co-existence, aid should also consider the needs of local communities.

This article goes a long way to help my study as it relates to some issues that this study delves into. However, Agblorti mainly focused on the implication of assisting refugees from the host perspective only but failed to look at how this assistance equally gives these foreigners hope and security. Whereas his study focused on Krisan refugees, this study looks at two refugee camps and a

closed refugee camp (Budumburam refugee camp) which will not include Krisan refugees.

Dako-Gyeke and Adu (2017) examined refugee problems and coping strategies with focus on the experiences of residual Liberian refugees in Ghana. Despite attempts by host governments and the international humanitarian community to lessen the burden of refugees, the number of long-term refugee situations has increased. Disruption of their social networks was a major challenge. Refugees' social networks are the direct and extended relationships on which they are dependent for survival. Any rupture in their social networks could thus have a severe impact on their livelihoods and social cohesion, especially following voluntary repatriation. Disagreements concerning land and other amenities in the refugee settlement between the host community and refugees are one of the biggest problems.

The study is revealing as it captures some of the challenges of refugees in Ghana. The research design employed by the authors enabled an extensive engagement between the participants and the researchers to develop a meaningful pattern and experience of the refugees. However, the method of selection of participants is not clear. Whereas this study focuses on refugee challenges and coping strategies, the research understudy explores the safety of asylum seekers in Ghana.

Amemasor-Doe (2018) examined Ghana's management of refugee issues. The study examines the total count of vulnerable people in Ghana, as well as their demographic features. It also examines Ghana's plan for dealing with refugee crises in the country's numerous refugee camps and metropolitan regions. The study investigates 'three questions; the number of Persons of

Concerns (PoC) in the country and their countries of origin; the socio-demographic characteristics of the PoCs; the strategies the Government of Ghana uses to manage the refugee's situation in the country and the challenges the Government of Ghana faces in managing the refugees and the asylum seekers in the country '. However, the author only focused on an aspect of the life of the asylum seeker instead of the general well-being of the refugee.

Dela-Dem (2018) assessed the media reportage on Liberian refugees. He addressed the question of how the Ghanaian media related at the height of the Liberian civil war to the derogatory framing of Liberian refugees. Due to the shocking cold attitude of the inhabitants of some host nations, the very complicated topic of migration and refugees continues to hug news titles. There are thousands of documentaries in Europe and Africa that point to the hostile reception of often hapless refugees. While several reasons have been blamed for this challenge, it has emerged that the media is frequently at the forefront of inciting negative views of refugees in the form of reporting they put out for public consumption.

According to Dela-Dem, when the manipulation of the problems and the relative frequency of specific frames happens, the media can support or thwart the adoption and implementation of more successful and humane policies regarding refugees and other migrants. Dna Dela-Dem believes Liberian refugees armed the media with news that hindered their integration into the society in Ghana. Thus, even with balanced press coverage, Ghana's chances for successful social inclusion were blocked by Liberians. The study is significant as it revealed issues of media reportage on the Liberian refugees in Ghana. However, the study only paid attention to the role the media played in framing

the negative perception of the Liberian refugee. It also based its findings on secondary sources only with no primary source to collaborate his findings so it is hard to determine if the findings were accurate or not.

Chapter Summary

The review of the literature shows that there are existing studies on refugees. Having assessed earlier studies, Sir John Hope Simpson is one of the pioneering scholars of refugee studies. In his work, *The Refugee Problem* (1939) made attempts to define the geographic scope of the study of refugees. Adams (1939) admits that the Chinese were the largest group in terms of numbers but he dismisses them, along with Chaco War refugees, Kulisher (1948) in *Europe on the Move: War and Population Changes*, chronicled the movement of people in Europe and the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1947. Atle Grahl-Madsen (1986) discusses the importance of security in international law and examines the relationship between nationality and security, Morrison, Director and Crosland's (1998) report for the Refugee Council explored the illegal movement of refugees to the UK. Barsky's (2000), in his study of asylum seekers in Canada, noted that once an individual is en route to the destination they first chose, their asylum-seeking ambitions can change dramatically. Crawley (2010) asserts that policymakers in the United Kingdom and elsewhere have great interest in the decision-making of asylum seekers.

In Africa, attention has been paid to refugee studies. Hassen (1979) explores the assimilation of Angolan war refugees into border villages in Zambia between 1966 and 1976. Aall and Hamrell (1967) in their work, *Refugee problems in Africa* examined a series of refugee situations and problems that arose in the second half of the twentieth century. Milner (2009) aims to clarify

why, in the late 1980s, many African countries became hesitant to accept refugees, a pattern that contrasts sharply with the 1960s' more open-door policies. d'Orsi (2015) explores the peculiarities and problems of the refugee situation in Sub-Saharan Africa. Shuman, Andrews, and Ngom (2015) investigated the growing tendency of expert views being sought in asylum proceedings or refugee status decisions. Konoutsey (2015), examined 2011 as a year marked by a significant surge of irregular migrants from North Africa. The rehabilitation of family, according to Nicholson (2018), is a critical component in restoring normalcy to the lives of refugees and people in need of international security.

In the case of Ghana, Essuman-Johnson (2011) explores the complexities of what follows when refugees do not return to their place of citizenship after the conclusion of a war. Agblorti (2011) examined the host perspective on refugee integration in Ghana. Agblorti and Awusabo-Asare (2011) examine factors that can affect the integration of refugees in Krisan in the Western Region of Ghana. Agblorti (2011) discusses the consequences for refugee host ties of humanitarian assistance to refugees at Krisan Refugee Camp in Ghana. Dako-Gyeke and Adu (2015) examined refugee problems and coping strategies with a focus on the experiences of residual Liberian refugees in Ghana. Amemasor-Doe (2018) examined Ghana's management of refugee' issues. Dna Dela-Dem (2018) assessed the media reportage on Liberian refugees in Ghana. From above, several works have examined the refugee situation from global, African and Ghanaian perspectives. Most of these studies focused on themes such as refugee and humanitarian assistance, refugee and international conventions and refugee and security/insecurity.

Despite these studies, there remains a gap to ascertain if Ghana is a safe haven for hosting asylum seekers. The current study, therefore, examines how safe Ghana has been for asylum seekers from the perspectives of asylum seekers and the host nation. The study also explores how Ghana's position as a safety net boosts her relations with the home countries of asylum seekers. The next chapter discusses the methods and procedures used in carrying out the study.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter reflects and discusses the general procedures that is employed in carrying out the research. This methodology section outlines the actions that had been taken to examine the research problem and the reasons for applying the specific procedures or strategies used to define, pick, process and evaluate the data used to understand the problem. This allows the reader to objectively determine the general feasibility and reliability of the analysis. In this chapter, the researcher discusses the research design, study areas, population, sampling technique, data collection tool, data collection techniques, data processing and interpretation, the ethical consideration, summary and conclusion of the chapter.

Research Design

The qualitative method of data collection was employed in this research. Qualitative research has a distinct range of approaches on its own and it is not a statistically representative form of processing of data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It only includes analysis of data from a viewpoint and responses to this form of study cannot generally be assessed in statistical terms. The data obtained from this approach relies on the expertise of the researcher engaged in the process for easy understanding and this approach is critiqued for being subjective.

Despite these shortcomings, the qualitative approach helps me to examine and obtain an in-depth understanding of the issues and events related to the concept under study (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). Qualitative work has a human-centred and holistic view. It provides an understanding of people's views about their lives and the lives of others. It also allows the researcher to

produce an in-depth account that provides a vivid picture of the experience of the study participants (Holloway & Wheeler, 1996).

Qualitative data collection approaches are fluid and unstructured; they gather verbatim information or measurable characteristics: they generate results that do not usually take a graphical form and this was crucial to the study (Brink & Wood, 1998). There are a variety of qualitative research designs a researcher can choose from. Some of these designs include case studies, comparative, ethnography and phenomenology. The researcher however, adopted the descriptive case study approach. The sense of this approach is to allow the study of a complex phenomenon within its context.

Yin (2009) describes a case study as an experimental study that investigates current occurrences within its practical setting; where the boundaries between the phenomena and the context are not easily discernible, and multiple sources of evidence are utilised. Like most circumstances, the case study approach uses a particular region or a small group of people as objects of study (Zainal, 2007). This study selected Ghana as the case for the study. A case study was ideal as it allows to concentrate on a specific case (Shuttleworth, 2008). Also, a case study enabled the researcher to comprehensively analyse and interpret reports, newspaper articles, research articles and government policies on the refugee. The case study approach allowed the researcher to carefully analyse the data in a particular context.

Irrespective of the thoroughness of the case study review, this approach has received criticism such as bias and small samples. Notwithstanding, the researcher considered it was the best design for this study because it provided a good foundation for a detailed investigation of the case under study.

Study Area

The Republic of Ghana is a nation situated in the Gulf of Guinea and along Atlantic Ocean in the West African sub-region. With a landmass of 238,535 km² (92,099 sq mi), Ghana is bordered by the Ivory Coast in the west, Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east and bordered on the south by the Gulf of Guinea. The administrative units of the Republic of Ghana consist of 16 regions and a total of 216 districts for local government.

Ghana is located in a volatile region where there are constant issues of civil wars (Liberia and Cote d' Ivoire) and insurgencies (Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Mali). This has displaced many from their homes (countries) and Ghana has become an option for them to seek asylum. Ghana in her effort to host asylum seekers designates lands for the construction of refugee camps. Refugee camps like Budumburam (the refugee camp that hosted more than 50% of refugees in Ghana in the 1990s), Egyeikrom, Krisan, Ampain (currently the camp that hosts about 51% of refugees in Ghana)

Buduburam

Budumburam is on Fetteh territory, which is under the traditional authority of Gomoa-Fetteh and has a head who represents the interests of the Fetteh chief. Buduburam, a Fante-speaking tribe, makes up the majority of the village residents, is mostly farmers in the central region.

Budumburam is 35 kilometers west of Accra and 7km west of Kasoa. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), together with the Ghanaian government, opened the Budumburam refugee camp in 1990. The camp was built to host Liberian refugees escaping the civil war in Liberia. Given

the nature of their move, Liberians were afforded protection by the Government of Ghana.

Ampain Camp

Ampain is a small town about 57 kilometers from Elubo, Ghana's border town with the Ivory Coast. It is located in Ghana's Western Region, in the Ellembelle District, about 7 kilometers from Esiam and 2 kilometers from Kamgbuli. It has a population of around 1,100 people, the majority of whom are from the Nzema ethnic group. Nana Nyanke Frofre is the Chief of Ampain. An elementary school, junior high school, and a community school are all located in Ampain. Because Ampain lacks a health facility, locals must rely on the Esiam and Kamgbuli clinics, with critical patients being sent to the Saint Martin De Porres Hospital in Eikwe, which is 13 kilometers distant.

Fishermen and small-scale farmers have always made up the majority of the local population; the two most significant crops are cassava and rubber. On the other side, significant investments in this region's economy and employment have come from the Ghana Gas Pipeline and current road development projects. The Ampain Refugee Camp, which opened on March 19, 2011, was the first of three camps set up to house displaced Ivorians fleeing the violence that erupted after their presidential election in November 2010.

Egyeikrom

Egyeikrom is a rural community in the Central Region's Komenda Edina Eguafo Abirem Constituency (KEEA). The locals mainly work in agriculture, cultivating palm trees, pineapple and acacia. The Egyeikrom camp was established on 20th July 2011 to host mainly Ivorian asylum-seekers and refugees who fled violence in Côte d'Ivoire after the 2010 presidential elections

and could not get a placement at the Ampain because it was full. The camp, which covers 53 acres, is made up of a mix of plastic tents and semi-permanent transitional shelters. The camp hosts about 1,459 refugees.

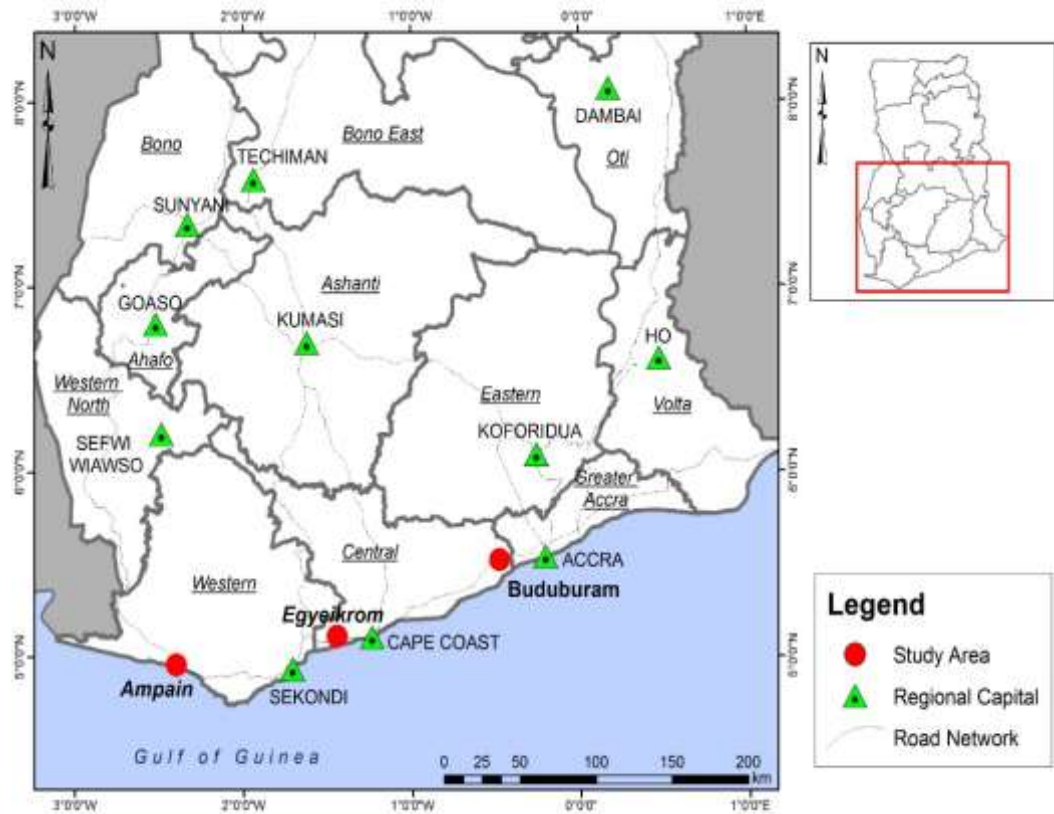


Figure 1: Map indicating the Study Area.

Source: Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC, 2020.

Study Population

The population of the study is the entire number of all components of the phenomena to be studied that occur in the field of inquiry, and is available to the researcher and includes the exact number of persons, items or tests with common characteristics. The study population for the research was refugees, the organization that oversees the operations of refugees (Ghana Refugee Board), as well as the non-governmental entity, UNHCR. The population includes former refugees from the Budumburam refugee camps, current refugees of the

Egyeikrom and Ampain refugee camps. The Ghana Refugee Board and the UNHCR are included in the study population because of their direct relevance to the study.

Sample Procedure and Size

Data collection is essential to research as the theoretical framework is used to give a better interpretation of data (Bernard, 2002). As a result, the selection of the participants and from which the data is obtained must be carried out with sound judgment, particularly since no volume of research makes up for incorrectly collected data (Shaw & Trebitsch, 1986). Sampling allows researchers to study a small minority of units rather than the entire population (Salganik & Heckathorn, 2004). In qualitative research, purposeful sampling is widely employed to locate and select information-rich samples relating to the topic of interest.

The participants for the study were chosen using a purposive sampling technique. The purposive sampling method, which is also referred to as judgemental sampling, is the intentional preference of the respondent or participant based on the characteristics that they possess. It is a non-random strategy that does not require fundamental hypotheses or a set number of informants (Tongco, 2007). Generally, the researcher determines what information is required and then sets out to find persons willing and able to supply it based on their knowledge and experience (Bernard, 2002; Lewis & Sheppard, 2006). The relevance of the purposive sampling approach was determined by the researcher's ability to sample the participants according to their connection, experience, knowledge, and competence in the study's topic.

The total sample size for this research was 25. The reason for this number is that when I got to the various camp they behaved as a family and they would not separate. They gave me similar responses so I clustered them as similar responses and subsequently, I decided to interview one participant in each cluster. This number included officials of the Ghana Refugee Board (including Natural Disaster Management Organisation Officials), United Nations High Commission of Refugees and individual refugees. The Ghana Refugee Board is the institution charged with the management of activities relating to refugees in Ghana. Consequently, their views were crucial to the achievement of the research objectives. The United Nations High Commission of Refugees choice was informed by the fact that it is an international agency stationed in Ghana with the key mission to ensure diplomatic security, humanitarian aid and to pursue sustainable alternatives for refugees. They have been operating in Ghana since independence. They provide tremendous insights on humanitarian assistance in Ghana.

The researcher also had one-on-one interviews with integrated refugees from Budumburam, refugees at Egyeikrom and Ampain. This was important to achieving objectives one and two that sought to examine the factors that motivated asylum seekers to choose Ghana and how Ghana has been safe for them. The Ghana Refugee Board respondents are government employees while the UNHCR personnel are employees of the United Nations. These participants were selected to provide insight on the refugee situation in Ghana and how Ghana's intake of asylum seekers improves its relations with the countries of the displaced. These participants are significant due to their knowledge of issues regarding refugees in Ghana and their experiences.

Data Collection

The study made use of both primary and secondary data. The sources of secondary data included the 1992 Constitution of Ghana, Ghana Immigration Statistics from 1960 to 2021, uncatalogued files such as letters from Padmore to Botsio from Affero General Public License and News reports from the African Live news website was used. Reports such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations High Commission of Refugees reports on global trends, conventions relating to the status of refugees, missing out on refugee education in crisis, who are refugees from UN and UN agencies were also used. This enabled the researcher to tackle inconsistencies, analyse critically and compare different sources.

Interviews were also conducted with individuals and institutions. In qualitative analysis, interviews are one of the main approaches to data collection. Interviews were conducted over a definite period, from November 2019 to August 2020. As a powerful technique for controlling and assessing the reactions of individual respondents (McNamara, 1999), these interviews helped to uncover the story behind the perspectives of the interviewees and for seeking in-depth information on the subject.

The researcher conducted a semi-structured interview (SSI). The researcher used this approach because it allows the use of dialogue with one participant at a time and uses a mixture of closed-ended and open-ended questions frequently and allows for follow-up questions especially in cases that needed further clarifications. This allowed the researcher to probe further into unforeseen and unexpected issues.

An interview guide was used by the researcher during the one-on-one interview process. Some questions had been listed on the guide which acted as a reference for the interview to the fulfilment of the study objectives. This was to ensure that the interview did not deviate from the pre-specified research objectives allowed flexibility.

Data Collection Procedures

I held meetings with prospective study participants from 20th November 2019 to 30th August 2020. Meetings were held with the Programme's Director of the Ghana Refugee Board, One (1) camp manager from Ampain and Egyeikrom (National Disaster Management Organisation), seven (7) former Liberian refugees, five (5) refugees from Egyeikrom refugee camp, Eight (8) Ampain refugee camp and the two (2) personnel from the UNCHR to fulfil two purposes. My initial contact with participants was to present myself to them and create familiarity. My second visit was to inform the participants of the scope and purpose of the research. I then clarified the intent and aim of the research and informed them of the condition of privacy and confidentiality I was going to adhere to. I also requested permission from the participants whether they were willing to be included in the study or not. Fortunately, all of them readily agreed to the request, and thereupon took part in the study.

Before the interviews commenced, arrangements had been made for participants to be interviewed in a location that they felt comfortable with. The goal was to make the participants feel safe and at ease by instilling in them a strong sense of confidentiality that would encourage them to be honest when answering the interview questions. I read the objectives of the research to the

participants and answered all necessary questions or concerns raised by the participants before the actual interview commenced.

The venues for which the interviews took place were residence, refugee camps and the offices of the participants, and the interviews lasted for about 30 to 40 minutes. During the interview sessions, I recorded each session with permission from the interviewee alongside note-taking of non-verbal cues. This allowed the researcher to interpret the data collected in the analysis section.

Data Processing and Analysis

Data was obtained from the conducted interviews (and then transcribed), retrieved documents and reports which were varied and scattered and as such needed to be coded. The gathered data were coded manually to identify concepts and major ideas running through the data. These codes helped to organise the data into analysable units and to generate major themes in the data concerning the research questions.

Once the data was organised, I proceeded to the next stage in data analysis by applying the content analysis approach. The content analysis offered insights into complex human thinking and language models as well as permitted coding and categorization. They were grouped and eventually encoded into words in line with identical responses.

I then moved on to the final phase of the analysis process, which is interpretation. The data was critically examined in order to remove the sections that weren't pertinent to the study's objectives. Here, I discussed the results by providing reasons for, justifications for, and explanations for the findings.

Ethical Issues

Ethics play a very important role in every research process. There are many ethical issues from the choosing of the subject to the analysis of data acquired from the field. Davidson and Layder (1994) explain that research ethics are the actions of scholars additional to their duties and tasks to individuals participating in research and evidence. Stemming from Davidson and Layder's (1994) postulation, the Centre for African and International Studies, University of Cape Coast, on the researcher's behalf, issued authorised letters to the participants.

The participants were also apprised of the aims of the study and were told that their responses or views were considered confidential and would be specifically used for only academic purposes. In an attempt to create a sustained atmosphere of ease, the researcher presented herself as a student undertaking research that is solely for academic purposes. Respondents who wanted to be anonymous were not identified in connection with the information they provided. Consent was also sought from each participant after explaining what was being asked of them before documenting the information. Except for those who wished their names to be made public, participants were assured that their identity was anonymized. As a result, all of the materials used (notes and tape recordings), as well as the comments obtained, were treated with extreme caution. The study ensured that respondents' lives or livelihoods were not jeopardized as a result of their responses.

Limitations of the Study

Research involves a wide variety of challenges. During the execution of the study, the researcher faced various obstacles. The first challenge was during

the data collection, where the researcher had to return to the same location many times to seek information from the participants. The researcher also did not get the opportunity to meet refugees from the Ampain refugee camp and introduce myself to them because of the Covid 19 pandemic. The pandemic prevented contact between outsiders and the refugee population. However, I communicated with the head of the Ampain refugee camp by phone to seek permission weeks before I visited the camp. This slowed the pace of the study. Finally, the issue of refugees is highly political and therefore, most refugees were afraid to speak freely about their experience as to whether they indeed felt safe or not. The researcher was able to resolve this problem by assuring the interviewees of anonymity and confidentiality. The assurance made the refugees feel at ease to share their experiences on the topic at hand.

Chapter Summary

This chapter explains the research perspectives, describes the critical examination of the study area, the research design, population, sampling and sampling methods, the data collection instruments used, the data collection process and the data analysis method. The qualitative research methodology is considered appropriate for this study. The key sources used in this research are the Constitution of Ghana, reports from Ghana, census data, reports from UN agencies and open-ended interviews. Interviews are administered over a specified amount of time. To efficiently minimize the bulk of data to analysable units, data has been gathered from coded questions and grouped in sequence. The study of the data is carried out using content analysis in the form of evaluation and categorisation. The data is collected manually by the researcher. The next chapter discusses the findings and discussions.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This study examines Ghana as a safe haven for asylum seekers in the West African region and as such enhances Ghana's relations with home countries of the displaced. This chapter presents the results and discussion of the data collected through interviews, reports and documents on the issue under study. The analysis takes into account the outcomes of the ideas and opinions expressed by the respondents by categorising similar ideas and diverse views. Based on the context of the research objectives, the data are discussed. Specifically, the study examined the motivating factors for Ghana as a destination for asylum seekers, the factors that make Ghana a haven for the displaced and how the intake of asylum seekers affects Ghana's relation with her neighbours.

The Factors and Knowledge that Inform the Decision of Asylum Seekers to Move to Ghana

This section of the chapter addresses the factors that informed asylum seekers to move to Ghana. It answers the first research question which is, *what factors and knowledge inform the decision of asylum seekers to move to Ghana?*

The Choice Factor

In the words of Crawley (2010), the definition of “choice” is to be understood in the context of the description of the conditions in which the people involved exit their country of birth. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that “everyone has the right to receive and enjoy asylum from oppression in other countries” (United Nations, 2020.). Spinks (2013) argues that people

flee their countries and seek asylum for many reasons. Some of the reasons include; political conflict, ethnic persecution and gender-based violence are just a few of the reasons that compel people to flee their homes and seek refuge in another nation. According to Crawley (2010), the majority of asylum seekers are believed to be economic migrants.

However, the research participants are migrants who left their home countries as a result of the experience of conflict/war. This is a 'push' reason that enables the participant to make a decisive decision to migrate. The dispute is the single largest explanation for asylum applicants moving to a particular country where the number of asylum claimants is mainly concerned with the escape from persecution or war. The lack of flexibility in the option to depart should not be perceived as suggesting that asylum seekers are helpless victims pushed by outside powers around the world. Forced migrants, like other migrants, make decisions, mostly from a limited set of options. As noted by Crawley (2010), the choices which asylum seekers may make depend on their country of origin, age, gender, socio-economic status and education. While discussing the 'options' taken by asylum seekers concerning places of destination, it should be noted that for many, there are minimal options and often no choices at all. From the data collected, it was revealed that choice is one of the factors that influence refugees and asylum seekers in selecting a preferred destination.

A member of the Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) in an interview stated that asylum seekers arrive at the various borders of Ghana for numerous reasons. The member adds that asylum seekers move to Ghana because it is their fundamental human right and it is up to the individual to choose a country where

he/she feel more protected (Padi, personal communication, November 28, 2019). In this vein, the choice has become the bases for one's decision of where they choose to seek asylum and where they would not go. The choice is a push factor that influences the destination for asylum and refugee seekers. Some situations, however, may not provide choice as a push factor for asylum seekers and refugees. For instance, the Liberia experience is a classic example. Interview with several of the participants from the closed refugee camp at Budumburam revealed that those from Liberia had no choice in choosing the country they sought refuge in their time of turmoil. The reason is that in the state of confusion, the only UN boat conveying civilians to haven brought them to Ghana. A participant noted that:

I came to Ghana unprepared. I was only fourteen then. I came to Ghana because that was the only available choice for me at the time. I only escaped and found myself on a ship and they said the ship was going to Ghana... Therefore, I did not have a say whatsoever in coming to Ghana to seek refuge (Ramsey, personal communication, January 30, 2020).

This corroborates Crawler's (2010) survey which indicates that 2/3 of separated children usually had no or little knowledge about the country they seek asylum in. Morrison (1988) emphasises the fact that many refugees had very few options where to go, sometimes taking them to the United Kingdom is a mere coincidence. Some also did not have an idea where they were going until they got to Ghana. Doornheim and Dijkhoff's (1995) work, for instance, reveals that many asylum applicants did not choose the Netherlands directly, but rather

a different Western country. It can be deduced that, in such a situation, participants had almost no time to plan their voyages and left in a matter of days or, at most, weeks because their security was threatened if they did not leave the country.

There is also the issue of financing the journey to safe havens. It is usually expensive and asylum seekers or refugees may not have adequate resources for the potential cost involved. In most cases, people take the less expensive option available. This finding does not support the view that asylum seekers have enough information to make reasonable and informed decisions about their final destination (Cummings, Pacitto, Lauro, & Foresti, 2015).

Destinations could be a result of chance and not a choice. Barky (2000) captures this assertion in a more succinct way when he argues that no research of refugee mobility would be complete without discussing the decisive role that chance plays in the entire process. Any circumstance can impact a refugee's choice of the nation, from being in the wrong place at the wrong time to meet an agent for reading a specific newspaper story. From the burgeoning arguments, it is clear that choice plays a very paramount role in the final decision and destinations of asylum seekers. However, there are instances where these people are left with little or no option about where they go. And even in such circumstances, the option of choice plays out. This is because one may have arrived at a destination as a result of chance but they will have the choice of staying at the destination or not, provided the destination is safe for them or not.

The Family Ties Factor

The hope of reconnecting with other members of their families is a major deciding factor for asylum seekers and refugees to move to Ghana. An interview

with participants revealed their choice of Ghana as a destination for safe haven was because of family ties. For instance, a participant states that "... the first ship that rescued Liberians brought them to Ghana so I also followed the same suit to join my family and friends in Ghana in the refugee camp" (Desmond, personal communication, January 30, 2020). Many people split from their relatives in the quest to escape violence and war. This has made many such people to be disconnected from their families. One of the most urgent issues of asylum seekers, migrants and refugees is the need to relocate and reunite with their family members. Family reunion in the asylum-seeking nation is frequently used to ensure that their right to family life and unity is respected.

The UNHCR had an expert round table discussion on family unity in 2001 upon recognition of the situation in which asylum seekers found themselves before fleeing their country. The outcome was that international history suggests that family reunification is widely accepted and the practical difficulties in achieving it do not in any way undermine the duties of International Protection (Nicholson, 2018). Equally, UNHCR (2001) also affirms that refugee family reunification and other individuals seeking foreign protection are of great concern as they cannot return to their country of origin. The restoration of family unity is an essential component of getting the lives of asylum seekers, refugees and those in need of humanitarian security back to greater normalcy.

Family unity eases the sense of loss experienced by those who have lost their land, network and life as well as their families (Nicholson, 2018). In this way, family support extends beyond the conventional and cultural definition of a family to encompass others who lean on one another and rely on one another.

Capable of taking family members to refugees and other global security beneficiaries is also a vital way of safeguarding their health and of shielding them from danger. This quote from a participant is very necessary at this point:

Yes, I had a take in coming to Ghana. That take was because Daddy is from here and the civil war came into Liberia made the threat to leave, you know, the danger and unsafe environment for us it became practical to come to Ghana... Daddy had a marriage here before he left, traditional marriage. There was never a good relationship between my stepmother Suzzy and my mom and he was in England at the time and we didn't have much communication and connection with him. So, we were coming to stay with my stepmom in daddy's sisters' house Aunty Awurabena's house (Fynn, personal communication, January 22, 2020).

Being able to reunite with family members, plays an important role in helping asylum seekers to restore their lives. Besides, it provides vital assistance as asylum seekers make the transition into new and demanding circumstances. It affects their ability to settle into their new country profoundly which is also a critical step in their integration. It serves to promote greater economic and social stability. Accessible and timely family reunification processes often lead to ensuring safe and secure protection for family members, thus helping to minimize their vulnerability to the hazards of irregular travel and reducing smugglers' demand and trafficking threats.

The Geographical Factor

Another factor that determines the destination of refugees is geography. The majority of the world's refugees and asylum seekers are accommodated in developing nations close to major refugee-producing nations. Warfare has been a significant 'push' factor for the arrival of asylum seekers and refugees in Ghana. In West Africa, Ghana has been one of the number one refugee-hosting countries; it reflects the pull factor for the presence of asylum seekers and refugees from neighbouring countries especially from Ivory Coast. Neumayer (2004) concurs with this view when he avows that sometimes asylum seekers flee their home countries when their lives or the lives of their families are in jeopardy, and they are under extreme time constraints. Asylum seekers in such situations might only apply to the closest country of destination geographically.

In interviews with some Ivorian refugees, they suggested that the proximity influenced them to come to Ghana following a rapid deterioration of security due to fierce fighting in the wake of the presidential elections in 2010. Most Ivorian refugees before they came had no or little knowledge of Ghana. Most of them only knew Ghana as their neighbours, English speaking and a peaceful country. Therefore, their choice was because of their strategic geographical location to the country. A participant indicates that:

I only knew Ghana as a Pan African country because of the story of the first president Dr, Kwame Nkrumah...Ghana was the only opportunity I got. Umm, I fled from war, so the nearest country, because I was living in Abidjan, so the nearest country was Ghana (Koue, personal communication, August 13, 2020).

Another participant also revealed that:

I used to hear about Ghana. I did not know anything about Ghana except, Ghana is our neighbour. I only heard Ghana is an English-speaking country so everybody

wants to come here and learn to speak English. I also knew that Ghanaians were people who liked business...

I came to Ghana by road. From place to place. This place

I live, it was not, it was easier for me to come to Ghana

(Djety, personal communication, August 13, 2020).



Figure 2: The map of Cote d'Ivoire and its bordering states

Source: Sylvère Yao Konan for the Organisation Internationale pour les Migrations (OIM), 2009.

The views of Ivorian refugees together buttress the fact that proximity is a very important determining factor for seeking refuge. It also indicates that the

destination for asylum seekers in times of distress or disturbance is not always determined by their choice or influenced by others. It also goes to assume that asylum seekers' insight into potential destination nations is typically minimal, however, this information may improve throughout their journeys, particularly during transit.

The Language Factor

The colonial history of a nation continues to establish linkages in the form of language, culture, and institutions between countries. Being familiar with language and culture reduces the expense of moving to a foreign world. It follows that countries would want to accommodate asylum-seekers from countries they have social and economic ties with. Ghana as a country has had historical ties with her neighbours who sort refuge with them over the years. Within present-day Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, Gyaman also spelt "Jamang" was a medieval African kingdom of the Akan people. The wars associated with the rise of the Asante Empire in the late seventeenth century led to various Akan peoples fleeing into the Côte d'Ivoire forest region (Kwadwo & Emmanuel, 2013). Borders were drawn following the coming of Europeans and the signing of the Berlin treaty in 1884/5.

This illustrates Ghana's historical ties with her neighbour since prehistoric times. As a result of these ties and familiarity with cultures, there has been the immigration of citizens to and from each state (Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire) for businesses and a safe haven. The role of family and networks appears to be highly important in forced migration research and has in some cases been shown to influence destination country preferences although studies in this context are still constrained by small sample sizes (Crawley, 2010). A

glean from the statement of two participants- Koue and Kanga explains it better as Koue (2020) indicates, “We have many Ghanaians in our country ... many. Millions, Oh I am not lying. I am telling you the truth... when you reach Cote d’Ivoire, it is like you are in Ghana” (Interview, Koue, August 31, 2020). Kanga (2020) confirms Koue’s (2020) assertion by admitting that:

My great grandparents came from Ghana and settled in Ivory Coast. My parents always talked about Ghana. I was coming to Ghana to come and do business. I bought goods at Kumasi so I am familiar with Ghana... (Kanga, personal communication, August 13, 2020).

This situation is what Kwadwo and Emmanuel (2013) describe as the people the boundary could not divide. The importance of the historical trends, language colonial migration and legacies prompted some observers like Neumayer (2004) to postulate that certain destination countries would still be the choices of asylum seekers regardless of the policy changes. While language was not a major pull factor for some asylum seekers, to others it played a magnificent role in their choice or decision to come to Ghana. Migration is expensive since it requires abandoning familiar environments and communities, and adapting to new lifestyles. Consequently, features of destination countries that reduce the cost of resettlement and adaptation would attract a greater number of asylum seekers. Transition and adaptation costs are reduced if, for instance, the same language is used in both the origin and destination nations.

This finding supports the Meso Theory of migration where migration is viewed as a complex network of interstate linkages. It looks at notions like

systems and networks (current and potential migrants, their families, enterprises, religious or social groups, and so on) as well as the many social and symbolic relationships that bind them together as causes that push individuals to migrate, whether voluntarily or forcibly (Faist, 2000). Countries that have previous ties can also earn a high proportion of asylum seekers in those countries (Robinson & Segrott, 2002). This is due to the abundance of long-term residents of former colonies who can help with employment searches and offer some cultural cushioning to ease the cultural shock of moving to a new country. Liberia and Ghana have had ties over the years. This follows the mass migration of Ghanaians to Liberia in the 1970s.

Aside from economic reasons for the migration, the language was also another factor that determined the destination. As Ghana is an English-speaking country, same as Liberia. Many of these migrants naturalized and intermarried with Liberians. According to one participant:

I knew about Ghana growing up because my father moved to Liberia and became a naturalised Liberian even though he was a Ghanaian. Of course, even though he was born and bred here... And I think, even most importantly was because Liberia had a lot of Ghanaians coming over at the time in the 70s, mid-60s, 70s and 80s. All my grade school, my first grade, second grade, third teachers were Ghanaians. And when I got to high school just before the war, all my teachers I had Mr. Mensah, my Physics teacher was a Ghanaian. I had two or three more teachers, Mrs. Sarpong was also Ghanaian.

I had a couple of teachers that were Ghanaian... (Fynn, personal communication, January 22, 2020).

A glean from the above words of the participant proves the ties Ghana has with Liberia and therefore would determine the destination of most Liberians in the time of disturbance. According to Adserà and Pytliková (2015), fluency in the language of destination and the ability to quickly learn it is crucial to the effective transfer of established human resources to the countries of destination. They further asserted that migration flows to a country with the same primary official language as the country of origin are roughly 20% higher than migration flows to a country with the most distant language. A participant maintains that:

The war started in Liberia in 1989. Therefore, Sierra Leone started a war, so that was the only English-speaking country border in Liberia. So many people went there when the war started in Liberia and it was so difficult to continue to go there. Cote d'Ivoire and Guinea was not necessarily an option because they speak French and we wanted to continue our schooling. Ghana was the natural option (Fynn, personal communication, January 22, 2020).

English is commonly used in international transactions and media and is being taught as a second language in many countries. English is a labour-market commodity worldwide. The dream of developing one's English skills may also increase the attractiveness of English-speaking destinations. This was the case

with most Ivorian asylum seekers. Nevertheless, in the case of most Liberians, the language was the major pull factor because it assured them a continuance of their normal lives. This was mainly in the aspect of education as they had a great appreciation for Ghana's educational system. So according to one of the participants "I just kept telling, I remember telling my mother to come to Ghana because I wanted to go back to school" (Interview, Fynn, January 22, 2020).

The Extent to which Ghana can be described as a Safe Haven for Asylum Seekers

This section of the chapter presents the results on the extent to which Ghana has been safe for asylum seekers over the years. It answers research question number two which is, *to what extent can Ghana be described as a safe haven for asylum seekers?*

Ghana as a Least Fragile State

Ghana has been ranked the 108 least fragile states out of 178 countries in the world (Fund for Peace Report, 2020). According to the report, this rank includes Ghana's ability to promote good governance, Ghana's operational influence over her territory; provision of public services; the fight against systemic corruption and crime and the number of refugees it hosts. These attributes put Ghana on a stable status in the world and therefore pass Ghana as stable. A safe haven or place of refuge is understood to mean different things by different people. When some participants were asked if Ghana was safe for them, they gave the following responses:

Yes, Ghana is safe for me. First thing was that it brought relief to me because the gun sound I use to hear, I hear them no more. I had the impression that peace has been restored. The

fear I used to have before has vanished and yes just something like that...being in Ghana if you are in a war zone country and you come to Ghana, you would not see blue rebels, you would not see dead bodies on the street like you used to see before. Yes, you also learn the Ghanaian culture as well (Ramsey, personal communication, January 30, 2020).

In a similar vein, Gadu (2020) stated that:

Ghana is good because here is free. Is not worry. Eherh. So that if I have peace and if I get nothing in my stomach. I get nothing since morning, like if I want to sleep and somebody says take this rice and eat with your children and I eat and I have life is good. That all is good. You know someplace you do not have peace. Peace is very important. I am here because of the peace for me and my family...I am here because of peace and I see that Ghana is very peaceful...you see if, when you come to one country, it is not good at all. If when I the people say is not good, if you have peace and you sleep it is good (Gadu, personal communication, August 13, 2020).

Another participant, Djety (2020) further notes that:

I came to Ghana for security reasons. I am here I am accepted and protected; I am protected even though some... I am protected. I would ask people facing a war to come to Ghana. In the first place, we are looking for security (Djety, personal communication, August 13, 2020).

When an asylum seeker is accepted by the host nation, they tend to feel secure, which means that his or her emotional wellbeing has been taken care of. Safety or safe haven to all these participants means security and they enjoy all these in Ghana. The fact that asylum seekers whose status has changed at this point have a sense of security and ask that others facing disturbance in their country seek refuge in Ghana raises some interesting issues. One of these is the perception that Ghana is a stable, accepting and attractive place to seek refuge. This view arises not simply because of the universality of the English language and global communication flow that when millions of non-speakers of English hear about Ghana, it often inspires them to come here, but Ghana's buoyant and successful asylum policies, and the opportunities it offers. This explains what Pearmain (2005) identifies as a safe haven as an "experience of acceptance." It is because of the experience of acceptance that asylum seekers feel safe in Ghana.

Collaboration between State and Non-State Actors

Provision of a safe haven to asylum seekers has been one of the paramount missions of the Ghanaian government as a contribution of her quota to humanity. This is evident from the initiative Ghana took in drafting an asylum policy into her constitution following the huge number of asylum seekers from Liberia in 1990. In an interview with an official of the Ghana Refugee Board who doubles as a National Disaster Management Organisation official (NADMO), the employee stated that Ghana since 1990 has taken the necessary measures by establishing an institution called the Ghana Refugee Board to oversee asylum cases. Ghana has also established collaborations with state and

non-state actors to help create a safe haven for asylum seekers (NADMO Official, personal communication, August 2020).

Among the state and non-state actors are the United Nations High Commission of Refugees (UNHCR), Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), Church World Service (CWS), Organisation of Peoples Empowerment (OPE), Red Cross, Water Sanitation Hygiene (WASH), The Ghana Police Service, The Ghana Health Service (GHS), The Ghana Education Service, District Assemblies, and National Disasters Management Organisation (NADMO). All these collaborations make it possible for Ghana to provide a safe refuge for the destitute. A member of the UNHCR in an interview notes that his agency cannot boast of any achievement towards providing a safe haven for persons of concern but all achievement was made possible by the state (UNHCR Official, personal communication, August, 2020). The reason is that the UNHCR is a non-state actor acting on state soil and had no jurisdiction in Ghana. Their presence was made possible with the permission of the state and they are here mainly as watchdogs to ensure fundamental rights of refugees are not violated.

A participant from UNHCR notes that the primary responsibility of protecting asylum seekers lies with the state. Any achievement made in ensuring the protection of these persons was made possible because the state created the conditions necessary to achieve this. Furthermore, he describes the relationship Ghana has with the UNHCR as collaboration or partnership. This collaboration is made possible because the Ghanaian Government is a signatory to the 1951 International Convention of Refugees and has a refugee domestic law, PNDCL 305D (Refugee Law of 1992), and a refugee determination process. The 1992

Refugee Law sets out the requirements for refugee status in Ghana, creates a national Refugee Board, defines the process for requesting and granting refugee status and claimants' appeals, and outlines refugee rights and duties (Refworld, 1993).

These domestic and international laws to some extent complement each other and make it easier to implement designs or policies that protect asylum seekers. Ghana in its collaboration with the UNHCR provides land for asylum seekers to reside. This is seen with the establishment of the various refugee camps in Ghana such as Budumburam (closed but inhabited by integrated refugees) Egyeikrom, Ampain, Krisan and Fetentaa refugee camps. These lands are vast and about 141 acres.

The allocation of land to asylum seekers tends to put pressure on Ghana's resources and that is when UNHCR steps in and provides assistantship to the Government. This assistantship was in the form of funding or the provision of materials. The UNHCR supports the government to provide materials for persons of concern to erect structures for habitation. This is an attempt by the Government and the UNHCR to ensure that the fundamental human rights of asylum seekers are protected. The tent houses that provided shelter for people of concern have been changed into permanent block buildings. Currently, the UNHCR is giving out money to refugees to build their own houses. The idea is that if they built their own houses, they would build them well and this would prevent receiving a complaint from them and ensure dignified living.

Tents, the most common type of shelter used in emergency relief, are good for rapid response. In the aftermath of a disaster, tents provided a roof over

the heads of people very quickly. However, the simple reality of having a house, a right that most individuals take for granted as so fundamental, can significantly boost the physical and psychological conditions of refugees. The tent shelter meets the basic requirements for basic living conditions, privacy, protection, and familiarity (Better Shelter, 2015).



Figure 3: Some images of tent houses used as shelters by refugees in the Ampain camp in Ghana.
Source: Author, 2020.



Figure 4: The new block structures being put up by asylum seekers in the Ampain camp.

Source: Author, 2020

Any type of shelter is provided for all displaced people and circumstances dictate that not much of it conforms to the traditional image of a tent or tarpaulin, nor does it follow official requirements. The types of shelter and settlements provided for displaced people have a profound effect on their displacement experience. Because of this effect, Ghana improves the shelter of refugees over the years of their stay from a tent structure to a block building. Displaced people are searching for protection, warmth, emotional stability, some risk mitigation and the distress that accompanies displacement, and even some home semblance as time passes. What better way to create new homes and communities for asylum seekers but to construct block structures for them as a symbol? (Refugee Studies Centre, 2017).

A projected 2.5 billion individuals worldwide do not have access to improved sanitation. Unimproved sanitation raises the risk of sickness and mortality, particularly in long-term refugee settings where sanitation is limited to pit latrines. (Nyoka, Foote, Woods, Lokey, O'Reilly, Magumba, & Morris, 2017). Hygiene wise, when excreta from a human is separated from human contact, a facility is considered improved. Flush or pour-flush to a piped sewage system, septic tank, or pit latrine; ventilated upgraded pit latrines; slab pit latrines; composting toilets are among these options of improved facilities. (WHO/UNICEF, 2015).

The Ghana Government and the UNHCR ensure the provision of the basic amenities necessary for a dignified living. Amenities such as bathrooms, Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pits (KVIP), water closet, electricity and potable

water. They make sure not to create a situation that overcrowds these facilities. Therefore, when such a situation presented itself in 2011 at the Ampain camp, Ghana established a new camp at Egyeikrom to offer homes for the Ivorian asylum seekers. The Ghanaian Government and the UNHCR in collaboration with Water Sanitation Hygiene (WASH) also embark on sensitization programmes to educate the refugee population in the camps about hygiene and sanitation. These include the sharing of soaps, construction of sinks and taps stationed outside toilet facilities and this is to encourage the washing of hands after using the toilet.

Management and incontinence in feminine hygiene is another aspect of hygiene area WASH has assisted. WASH provides hygiene products and facilities to women and girls of menstrual age, and men and women with incontinence. This is an attempt to promote the dignity and well-being of refugees. WASH also offers access to water that is palatable and of good quality for drinking and cooking purposes, as well as for personal and household hygiene, without posing a health risk.



Figure 5: The image of the bathroom facility for asylum seekers at the Ampain camp.

Source: Author, 2020.



Figure 6: Image of some sinks stationed outside the toilet facilities of the Ampain camp.

Source: Author, 2020

Provision of Educational and In-Service Training Opportunities

Refugee education is generally not included in national development plans, although some of the largest host countries are taking measures to correct this. To guarantee the respect of the fundamental rights and rights of education, the Ghanaian Government and the UNHCR provide basic education to the young children who come to Ghana. Refugees stuck for such long periods of forced displacement find themselves in a position of uncertainty. While their lives may not be in danger in their host nation, their everyday lives may be. Rights should remain as important as physical, social and psychological needs. Education is regarded as a basic need, not a luxury.

There is clear evidence that quality education offers a place for protection for children and can minimise child marriage, child labour, exploitation and risky

jobs and teenage pregnancy. Education also gives refugee children the chance to make friends, become the abilities for self-reliant, be problem solvers and engage in teamwork. All this increases their employment prospects, opportunities and boosts their confidence and self-esteem. In all, education enables refugee children and youth to thrive, not just survive (UNHCR, 2016).

UNHCR funded the construction of all schools in the various camps from Kindergarten to Junior High School and hands them over to the national institution to manage. This is to ensure that UNHCR does not create a para system but to strengthen the existing one. The Ghanaian Government grants free education to all pupils. This tends to create a sense of inclusion among the refugees. In line with this, UNHCR grants scholarships to high-achieving students to further their education in Senior High Schools (SHS). DAFI (Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative) was also instrumental in providing access to higher education for refugees in Ghana. Equal chances are given to the refugees in the various camps. An ICT centre has been established to promote learning and research. Recreational facilities such as the football field, basketball court and game centres have been established to help manage stress and promote healthy and mental wellness. This is supported by the following response from an interview:

We came here from the beginning we had a school. This school was a French school and we had teachers in the man who used to teach our children. Even sat for the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) in Togo. Later stop three years. The government decided to stop school and our children

started going to Ghanaian school (Doubon, personal communication, August 13, 2020).



Figure 7: The image of the school facility constructed by the UNHCR at the Ampain camp.

Source: Author, 2020

Provision of Livelihood Support

Ghana in partnership with the UNHCR was able to provide livelihood support for the refugees. Ghana provided food kinds of stuff and money to asylum seekers. Asylum seekers on their entry into Ghana were given food cooked by caterers. Nevertheless, because of the number and for the sake of convenience the state decided to provide food items and money to families monthly. A participant expressed her delight when she stated that:

First time coming to Ghana I see that the people give money to the woman to cook for us but the food is not rich...but after that is bring food and money to give to everybody. They, we are saying this is good (when I first came to Ghana, a caterer was tasked to cook for us but the food was not good. After

sometime, that stopped and foodstuff and money were shared to them instead and everyone was happy about the change) (Interview, Gadu, August 13, 2020).

Food commodities such as rice and beans and an amount of money were given to each family at the beginning of every month. The objective is to guarantee that stateless people, returnees, internally displaced people, and asylum seekers can meet their basic needs and feel protected. This strategy gives them the laxity to decide what they want to eat and at what time they want to eat, instead of imposing a straitjacket food menu on them. It also allows them to pay for services. Livelihood programmes were also organised for refugees in the camps. The skills, properties and activities needed for a means of living constitute a livelihood.

A sustainable livelihood enables chances for a sustainable way of life while also enabling the next generation to manage stress and shocks and recover from them, as well as to maintain or enhance their skills and assets. The UNHCR in collaboration with ADRA and OPE organises artisan training programmes such as soap making, baking, dressmaking, hairdressing, farming and many others in an attempt to empower the refugees to make income and take care of themselves. This has earned many of these refugees' jobs both in and outside the camp. Financial support is given to refugees to set up their businesses or project.

Relief can be better by using a livelihood strategy. It prepares displaced individuals for one of the durable solutions while preventing the emergence of a condition of dependence. The syndrome of dependence places people in a pit

that makes it difficult for individuals to break away from dependence on external assistance. This is also because, after years of exile, fundamental rights and critical physical, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled (De Vriese, 2006). The livelihood programmes had a common denominator of being people-centred and participatory, promoting holistic analysis.

Self-reliance provides the individual refugees the ability to acquire a family, or a group to fulfil basic needs sustainably. This reduces refugee vulnerability and their long-term dependence on humanitarian assistance (De Vriese, 2006). An interviewee noted that:

I have worked for about six years as an electrician at the camp. So I am in charge of the polls and whatever is in the camp...but my certificate is from Ivory Coast and they are a bit confused when I show it but UNHCR has organised training with technology institution whereby after that I will get a certificate and I can show to anybody when there is any situation (Chey, personal communication, July 23, 2020).



Figure 8: The image of a livelihood training centre for refugees at the Ampain camp.

Source: Author, 2020.

UNHCR Realistic Guide to Empowerment concept defines empowerment as a system in which underprivileged women and men gain access to information, skills, and decision-making power in their communities, allowing them to exert some control over their own lives. (De Vriese, 2006). As part of GRB's empowerment programmes for refugees, the GRB assigns leadership roles to them. Because each camp is inhabited by a population of about three thousand five hundred (3, 500), there is the need to divide the camp into smaller divisions. The goal is to create a structured framework in which the refugees exercise their power and responsibilities. The UNHCR works together with the Ghanaian government for peace, order and good governance of the camp.

This encourages refugees to look actively for and solve issues, strengthen accountability and take pride in their work to ensure continuity. The Ampain camp, for example, is divided into eight zones and these zones have leaders. There is equal opportunity for all and zonal leaders are voted for. This allows refugees to enjoy some civic rights and their voice heard even though

they may be restricted to the camp. These zonal leaders are responsible for the day-to-day administration of their zones and they report to the camp manager. There is also the welfare council. This Welfare Council is made up of three executive positions. There is the camp president who acted as the mouthpiece of the refugees, the women leader who represented the women and the youth leader who represented all the youths in the camp. These positions were also voted for.

The settlements aim to provide a safe and secure environment for the refugees. As the camp is set up, security (state of feeling free from danger and threat) concerns is swiftly shifted from simply protecting refugees in the form of asylum. It establishes mechanisms for maintaining internal law and order in the camps. It also put in place governance and management structures that promote the welfare of the individuals and communities represented therein. The UNHCR provides support to the government to ensure that there is not only physical security but emotional security where people feel safe psychologically in the environment. So, in all the camps, there is a full-fledge police station. The UNHCR funded the construction of police stations and quarters in all the camps. The presence of a police station at the camp helps to maintain effective policing in the camp.

Provision of Health Care

Imperatively, the health needs of refugees and migrants must be properly addressed to fulfil the vision of the 2030 UN Sustainable Development Goals. In May 2017, resolution 70.15 on ‘Promoting the welfare of refugees and migrants’ was endorsed by the World Welfare Assembly (WWA). This Resolution encourages the Member States, in line with the New York

Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, to improve international cooperation in the field of refugee and migrant health (WHO, 2018). Health is a vital base in all the camps and the UNHCR provides health centres in all the camps and hands them over to the Ghana Health Service. The GHS posts its personnel to oversee the administration of these centres.

This allows refugees at the various camps to have access to good health within the camps. The prevention and control of disease, the reduction of needless impairments and early mortality all depend on having access to comprehensive and cheap health care services. Consequently, the Ghanaian government issues National Health Insurance cards to every refugee. This removes barriers such as the high cost of health care. An ambulance is also stationed at the various camps to attend to emergencies of asylum seekers at the camp. The GHS in collaboration with Adventist Development Relief Agency and UNHCR also provides mental health care to refugees to help them recover from the trauma they went through before escaping their country of origin.



Figure 9: The healthcare facility at the Ampain camp.

Source: Author, 2020.

Challenges facing Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Ghana

Whereas most refugees interviewed feel safe in Ghana, this is not to say they do not face challenges. These challenges have led some refugees to say Ghana is not a safe haven for them. One of the challenges that characterise Ghana's intake of asylum seekers was the issue of discrimination. These encounters took many forms such as incivility, intimidation and physical abuse, as well as unequal access to services. In an interview with one of my participants, he notes that discrimination is so visible, especially when it comes to employment. It is hard to come by job especially because of the language barrier, the non-recognition given to the certificate refugees present and their status. Most jobs require that the applicant should be a citizen. One participant disclosed her employer asked that she has sex with him before she could be offered employment because she did not have citizenship (Interview, Gadu, August 13, 2020).

Several participants noted that discrimination is also present in low-skilled jobs. There is no equal opportunity and no equal pay. A glean from the interview provides a vivid picture that supports this assertion:

In terms of a job, I have experienced so many things like that.

Before becoming a teacher, I was looking for a temporary job at Nduom University. So, we were working as labourers but anytime we go, some of the young guys like me go there to look for jobs but when we go there, the foreman has to select Ghanaians before. If there is a free space for one or two and there is no Ghanaian, then you can get the job. If you have a

job, it is very difficult to receive your salary. It can take time one month, two months before you get your pay but the Ghanaian people will have theirs at the end of the week. Even with taxis too. If you stand at the junction, a taxi comes, and there are some Ghanaian people, it will take them first before you. It is not like you will not pay the same amount as the Ghanaian people (Blay, personal communication, July 23, 2020).

An inflow of low-skilled workers adds to the competition for decreasing job opportunities. Those with the right certificate or expertise do not have the right certificate recognized by the Ghanaian government and institutions. Low wages result in some people leaving their jobs entirely. Employment challenges contribute to high levels of economic inactivity and without a simple path out, people feel stuck; they become dissatisfied and lose control, which can lead to anger and negative effects (Phillimore & Goodson, 2006). In an interview with a refugee, she notes that living at the camp was a life characterised by ‘survival of the fittest, a life filled with anxiety, a life filled with desperation, you do whatever you have to do to survive.’ Usually, it was very difficult, young girls were exposed to many things like prostitution and they were compelled to do these things because that’s the only way they could survive.

Ziersch, Due and Walsh (2020) argue that prejudice is a resettlement experience of most refugees and asylum seekers and is detrimental to health. Therefore, addressing discrimination is a health issue requiring urgent action.

This problem has resulted in what Power and Wilson (2000) describe as a feeling of exclusion from the mainstream and a feeling of not belonging. A participant says that she counted herself as a refugee because she was not accepted as a Ghanaian and is still not accepted as a Ghanaian. However, she had the Fynn name as one of her names blatantly and her father has his ancestry from Ghana (Fynn, personal communication, January 22, 2020).

Ghana has been largely safe but there have been challenges to this refuge. The reason is that once one seeks asylum, it comes with the notion that the country of asylum state is not responsible for employing the asylum seekers or refugees and the best refugees could hope for was to receive charity. According to Arendt (1951), refugee poses a great threat to liberalism. Arendt indicates that the disconnect between human rights rhetoric and reality stems from national sovereignty. She points out that human rights are intended to be universal. Nonetheless, we live in a world that does not equitably affirm the rights of all people. Rather, they place a premium on their citizens' rights. So, to some extent, Ghana complicit in a global order privileges sovereignty over human rights. However, Ghana does its best to make asylum seekers comfortable and protected in the best way possible.

Deprivation of Human Rights

Another challenge is the deprivation of the human rights of asylum seekers and refugees in Ghana. A refugee gave the following account.

I remember when we came here first. In 2012, it was one Saturday, October 13. We were woken around 3:00 AM. The whole camp was surrounded by Ghanaian forces with guns. We were not allowed to ask questions for what reasons. They

arrested about 43 people and they took us to the maximum-security prison in Ankaful in the central region. For what reason we did not know. We asked the UNHCR and the GRB why they arrested us but they did not give us any answer but got angry. I was detained for six days but others were detained longer. Some were detained for as long as, seven months without being presented to a judge. However, according to international law, one is to be presented to a judge following an arrest within 48 hours. The Ghanaian government neither charged us too. This was a big breach and step on the right of asylum seekers (Koutou, personal communication, August 13, 2020).

Another breach of human rights is the reluctance of the Ghanaian police to arrest those who commit crimes against asylum seekers. In an interview with the women leader of the Ampain refugee camp, she alleged that women who go to the Essiama town to work are usually raped and the Ghana police or GRB does little to bring the perpetrators to justice. This allegation was confirmed by the camp president and two zonal leaders. They also disclosed a rape incident where the victim had to be transferred from the Ampain camp to another camp. However, in an interview with officials from the GRB and the UNHCR, they debunk any such incident (rape) occurring without their knowledge. According to the officials, they take issues like that seriously and would have done everything to bring the perpetrators to book. This gives rise to controversy as it is hard confirming this allegation.

In 2008, 17 occurrences of rape, statutory rape, and sodomy were reported in the Buduburam refugee camp. One defendant was acquitted, one was on remand, and four cases were under investigation without charges being filed at the start of the year (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, 2008). Alleged cases of rape of refugees by citizens of the host country is not a new phenomenon but a global problem. This is because for any law enforcement to prosecute such a case, there needs to be proof of a crime and the lack of evidence makes it hard for prosecution.

Ghana's Increased Relations with the Home Countries of the Displaced

This section of the chapter discusses the results of the increased relations between Ghana and countries of asylum seekers. It answers research question three which is; *how has Ghana's intake of asylum seekers affected its relationship with its neighbours?*

Hosting refugees/asylum seekers is an important aspect of international relations and that helps to comprehend the interaction between refugees and global politics. They shed insight on the linkages between more generalized global political events and the reasons for and effects of forced migration on the one hand, and those between those factors and those consequences on the other. They also aid in explaining how nations and other players react to forced migration.

Refugee/asylum seekers have had a negative impact but it is not so for the case of Ghana. The role of Ghana in the settlement of African and international refugees can be traced back to its intervention in the 1960s Congo Crisis. Internal and external migration flows have presented Ghana with both challenges and opportunities. Voluntary migration, irregular and forced

migration has had a direct impact on the international image of Ghana and hence determines the nation's international relationships in the world (International Organization for Migration, 2020). Among the impact is Ghana's increased relations with the home countries of asylum seekers. Ghana has strengthened its relationship with the home countries of asylum seekers following her first mass host of asylum seekers in the 1990s. Ghana's relationship with Liberia before this period could be described as one that was good and antagonistic at the same time. This is because Ghana has had both cordial and hostile relations with Liberia before the period under study. However, the Fourth Republic with its continuance work towards facilitating and strengthening relations with home countries of asylum seekers changed the situation for the better.

In the 1980s, Ghana's relation with Liberia grew sour following the deportation of about 400 Liberians although Ghana denied having deported the Liberians. Liberia retaliated with the deportation of about 350 Ghanaians from Liberia in 1989 (United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009). This relation changed following Ghana's acceptance of about six thousand asylum seekers from Liberia in the 1990s. Ghana was one of the five leading ECOWAS member states that deployed peacekeeping troops in Liberia before the UN Security Council later sanctioned it. ECOWAS formed a consultative council, later referred to as the Standing Mediation Committee (SMC), comprising Ghana, Guinea, Gambia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, responsible for preserving peace and security in the sub-region on 30 May 1990 (Birikorang, 2007). Ghana also played a leading role in seeking to find a permanent solution to the Liberian conflict throughout the ongoing peace process lasting well over 14 years. For example, several peace agreements (Akosombo agreement) were

brokered in Ghana between 1994 and 1995 under the former Ghanaian president Jerry Rawlings (Birikorang, 2007).

Ghana's foreign policy, which prioritizes friendly connections and economic relationships with other nations, good neighborliness, and a dedication to international peace and stability, largely determines its political position in West Africa. The key to this is Ghana's policy on asylum. This policy, together with Ghana's intake of asylum seekers, has intensified a close relation with Liberians in the West African sub-region. This close relationship has resulted in Ghana assisting Liberia after the Civil War. Ghana assisted Liberia using the Volta River Authority (VRA) to help restore power to Monrovia. During the rule of President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Ghana agreed to provide technical assistance to Liberia in the power sector in 2007 (African Live, 2016).

Ghana's former President, John Dramani Mahama, in 2016 agreed to help Liberia resolve its electric power distribution problems with the help of Ghana Grid Company Limited (GRIDCo), which may provide technical assistance and training in both hydro and thermal electricity (African Live, 2016). There has also been discussion on advancing bilateral relations between the two countries on issues of trade, defence, and sub-regional integration. The agreement has also been reached on Ghana Armed Forces (GAF) providing training and technical assistance to Liberia (Boadu, 2016).

Ghana's relations with its West African neighbours, in particular Côte d'Ivoire and Togo, had greatly improved since 1990. Ghana, Togo, and Côte d'Ivoire have a strong preoccupation with national security. Repeatedly, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) regime accused both Togo and

Côte d'Ivoire of harbouring armed Ghanaian rebels planning to overthrow or destabilize the PNDC in 1980. The PNDC also accused both countries of promoting Ghanaian goods and currencies to be smuggled across their borders and thus, undermined Ghanaian politics. Both countries have also accused Ghana of such an act over the years (1984) and this has constantly created a rift between all countries involved. However, following the Ivorian Civil War in the 1990s, early 2000 (2002) and 2010 election, the relationship between Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire became cordial.

Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana are respectively the first and second cocoa exporters in the world. Côte d'Ivoire's crisis led to a rise in foreign prices for cocoa. Both countries have made efforts to pursue peaceful co-existence rather than setting up a violent, abrasively antagonistic, excessive and futile relationship with each other. To make this relationship a strong one, the president of Ghana His Excellency Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo paid a three-day visit to Cote d'Ivoire as part of his West African tour in 2017. In an attempt to reciprocate this, the Ivorian President, His Excellency Alassane Ouattara, embarked on a two-day visit to Ghana in 2017. The purpose of the visit was to further strengthen the existing ties between the two countries. Following the visit, President Ouattara had the opportunity to visit the Ivorian refugees who sought refuge in Ghana following the 2011 disturbance in Ivory Coast (Joy News Online, 2017).

A participant from the Egyeikrom refugee camp notes that seeking asylum has brought Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire together (Blay, personal communications, July 23, 2020). According to him, before Ouattara was elected president, they had many Ivorians living in Cote d'Ivoire but after the civil war

in 2011, they have Ivorian's living in foreign lands such as Ghana as a lot of them sought refuge or safety for their lives. Once these Ivorian refugees are in Ghana, a time would come for them to go back home and to do that, there ought to be a good relationship between the two countries. He notes that:

There is still good relation between Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire and this relation is seen in the collaboration Cote d'Ivoire has with UNHCR and the Ghana Refugee Board. They use to come here following the Ghana Refugee Board to talk to us, encourage us to come back to our country. That is what the government used to do (Blay, personal communication, July 23, 2020).

The fact that there is collaboration of any sort between the two states goes a long way to prove the close and good relations Ghana has with Cote d'Ivoire. Repatriation, which is a humanitarian effort to find lasting solutions to refugee problems, is aimed at enabling a refugee to exercise the right to return home in safety and dignity (Takahashi, 1997). Repatriation is not possible without the recipient state and the state of origin working together to foresee a safe return. The collaboration between Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire does not end here. It also explores other areas of cooperation between the two countries to maximize their cooperation. One of these areas is security. The willingness of both countries to follow a shared peace agenda (Strategic Partnership Agreement) is a sign of cooperation between the two West African countries.

Many economic and political factors have driven the desire for a peaceful co-existence between the two countries. For instance, Ghana and Cote

d'Ivoire are both in the early stages of economic development. They are developing nations that account for more than 60% of global cocoa production. The two countries have decided to align their cocoa production policies to control the decline in revenues from cocoa exports. They did this by signing the Abidjan Pact in 2017 thereby creating an OPEC for cocoa. This agreement is envisioned to increase earnings on cocoa.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presents the results and discussion. The data was analysed to meet the objectives of the study by analysing each research objective with the data gathered. The chapter discussed the settlement situation of the asylum in the areas of housing, education, livelihood programmes to empower asylum seekers; assigning leadership roles in an attempt to empower the asylum seekers and ensure continuity of lives. It was observed that the Ghanaian government issues the National Health Insurance card to all asylum seekers in Ghana. This gave people access to comprehensive and reasonably priced health care services that are critical for maintaining and promoting health, preventing and controlling disease, and reducing unneeded disability and untimely death. The Ghana Government and the UNHCR ensure the provision of the basic amenities necessary for a dignified living. Amenities such as bathrooms, Kumasi Ventilated Improved Pits (KVIP), water closet, electricity and potable water.

It was observed that Ghana satisfies indicators of a safe haven. However, there is the need to improve policies on asylum and the state laws that would see to the wellbeing of asylum seekers. The chapter also examined the enhanced relations between Ghana and the home countries of asylum seekers. It was observed that Ghana, before the 1990s, had both cold and warm relationships

with its neighbours in the West African sub-region. This has somehow changed because of the new status Ghana has achieved since the early 1990s. This status, compounded with Ghana's effort, has increased relations between Ghana and the home countries of asylum seekers.



CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to explore Ghana as a safe haven for asylum seekers in the West African sub-region and how that affects her relations with the home countries of the displaced. This chapter is made up of the

summary of the main conclusions of the study. The chapter also offers suggestions for the government and institutions to take into account in order to enhance Ghana's standing as a safe haven for refugees, as well as suggestions for future studies.

Summary of Research Findings

The study was guided by three objectives. The first objective was to examine the underlining factors for the choice of asylum seekers; the second was to examine the extent to which Ghana can be described as a Safe Haven for asylum seekers in the West African sub-region and the third objective was to examine how Ghana's intake of asylum seekers has impacted the politics and relationship with her neighbours in the sub-region.

To find answers to the research objectives, the researcher consulted secondary sources such as articles, documents. The researcher then interrogated primary sources such as newspapers, census data, reports of Ghana and reports from UN agencies. Additionally, 25 participants were individually interviewed by the researcher. These included representatives from the Ghana Refugee Board, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the UN High Commission for Refugees. Furthermore, the study also drew upon interviews of key resource persons, such as integrated Liberians (refugees) and refugees at Egyeikrom and Ampain camps.

The study revealed that a lot of asylum seekers come to Ghana because of proximity, peace and security, acceptance, provision of basic amenities, restoration of family unity, colonial history and language. While some had choices, others did not have a choice in deciding where to seek refuge. This may imply that Ghana perhaps has gained that great reputation as a safe haven for

asylum seekers to consider in their time of disturbance. This is because the reasons for the choice of Ghana by asylum seekers were a result of Ghana's reputation. This highlights Ghana as a safe place for asylum seekers.

The study further demonstrated the extent to which Ghana has contributed to creating meaningful space and avenues for asylum seekers to feel safe and ensure continuity of life. This was done by providing necessities such as shelter, amenities, education, health and physical and mental security. The provision of a safe haven has met challenges that have made a small number of asylum seekers feel insecure. This insecurity is a result of discrimination and unemployment. This was felt most with the unskilled and uneducated refugees as most of the skilled had gained employment as security guards, electricians, teachers in the camps and around the neighbouring environments

The study also found that Ghana's intake of asylum seekers has increased her cooperative engagement with the home nations of the displaced. Ghana's relation with her neighbours has improved over the years with the signing of bilateral development treaties with Cote d'Ivoire for economic development and repatriation. Similarly, Ghana has also developed good and strong diplomatic ties with Liberia over the years. This relation has manifested in different forms such as offering technical assistance to Liberia, forming committees to ensure safe and smooth repatriation of asylum seekers back to their home countries, forming bilateral relations for regional integration.

Conclusions

Ghana was home to some 13,500 refugees and asylum seekers as of December 2019. Ghana has been able to reinforce established alliances and to initiate alliances with non-traditional players in the private sector, academia and

government to foster a strategy for security and solutions. Ghana has decided to comply with the two statelessness conventions by 2021 and to help the UNHCR and United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) now (United Nations Population Fund) efforts to recognize individuals at risk of statelessness (Amnesty International, 2012).

Safe havens are as important to survival today as they were in the past. Throughout world history, safe havens have been critically significant as an oasis of security and stability in times of turmoil. Ghana to have proven to be a safe haven for asylum seekers. This notwithstanding has also revealed grave challenges but that does not influence/affect Ghana's status as a safe haven negatively.

Human rights are meant to be fundamental but we are living in a world of individual states that do not equally affirm all human rights. Ghana, which is largely committed to human rights, has not enforced rights outside the rights of its citizens. Thus, she gives priority to its own citizens' rights. This is evident in the realm of migration, where citizens have a right to some opportunities and non-citizens do not have. An example is the discrimination asylum seekers face in search of employment and the abuse of some rights by imprisonment without a charge and denial of legal representation or visit.

Moreover, Ghana seems to have contributed her quota to humanity by creating the enabling environment for asylum seekers to be secured and have continuity. The provision of empowerment programmes prepares and ushers asylum seekers back into society. Nevertheless, the problem is how many people get access to these programmes and what are the criteria used in the selection.

Although there are some shortcomings such as discrimination, unemployment and rape allegations, like all countries and their citizens, other Ghanaians face these same issues. The study has argued and proven that overall Ghana is a safe haven for asylum seekers and as such increases her cooperative engagement with the home nations of the displaced in Ghana.

Recommendation

Based on the findings of the study, this research proposes three key recommendations to help improve the asylum systems in Ghana and one suggestion for further studies.

Financial Support

The Ghana Refugee Board should be heavily financed as it involves a network of a large human population that would help enable maximum inclusion of people. This would help set more livelihood programmes for all instead of a selected few. Financial support into this sector would also ensure that proper and adequate facilities are given to asylum seekers at the various camps in Ghana.

Policy Improvement

There should be policy improvement that should include labour law (employment) for asylum seekers. There is a need to state clearly the labour policy for asylum seekers to prevent discrimination in the job market. Although the GRB is already running livelihood programmes, not all asylum seekers would venture into entrepreneurship. The labour law for refugees will help prevent dependency syndrome. This would also prevent poverty among the refugees and social vices in the camp.

Policy improvement should also include the education of asylum seekers and citizens on their status and the rights they are entitled to. This is an attempt to prevent miscommunication and expectations from asylum seekers and the host nation. This allows all parties involved to play their part and ensure harmony between asylum seekers and the state.

Although Ghana has refugee law in its constitution, there is the need to operationalise the procedural systems and asylum management to prevent the abuse of human rights of asylum seekers as the Ghanaian government faces asylum issues day in day out. By using the same potent mechanism used to uphold citizen rights, this will strengthen and enforce the respect for the basic human rights of asylum seekers. Justice for asylum seekers should be decided by the courts rather than being the sole province of politicians. There is also the need for Ghana Refugee Board to set up advocacy networks in Ghana. These networks will campaign for refugees' voices. It will also be in charge of educating the public on the rights and responsibilities of refugees. Without education, citizens see refugees as aliens competing with them but with education, they start seeing them as humans (people) first. This will also help achieve Permian's (2005) description of safe have (deep experience of participation, awareness of acceptance and no judgement).

Suggestions for Further Studies

The purpose of the study was to argue Ghana as a safe haven for asylum seekers in the West African sub-region and how that affects her relations with the home countries of the displaced. In the course of this study, I came across a few themes and topics during my readings and fieldwork for this project that I think merit more investigation. I found that there hasn't been much research on

how Ghana's position in global politics is impacted by her function as a safety net in Africa. Since safe haven is not only humanitarian but also political, the contribution of safe haven to Ghana's position internationally cannot be ignored, hence I suggest further research in this area.



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APPENDICES

Appendix A

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

RESEARCH TOOL

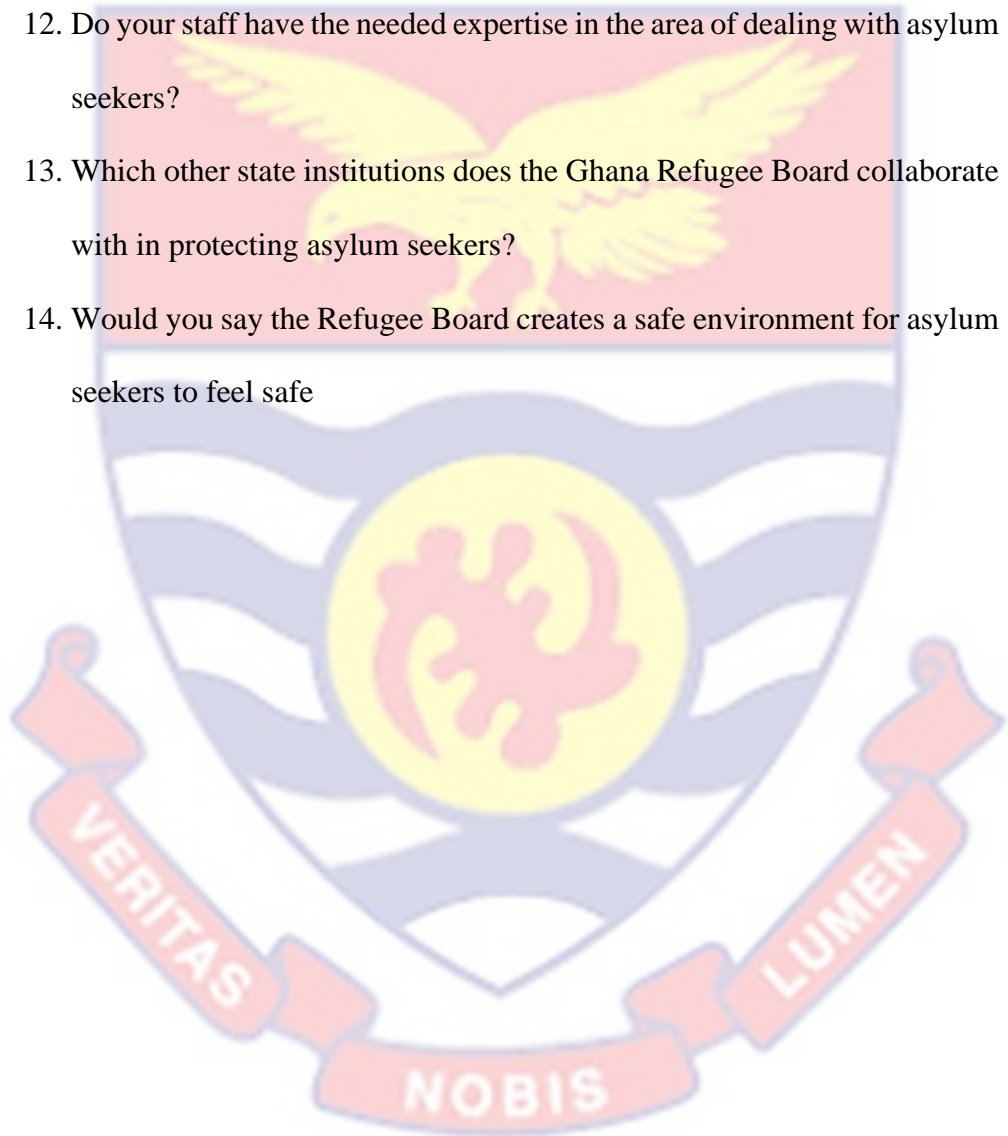
**APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE OFFICIALS OF THE
GHANA REFUGEE BOARD**

Introduction

I am Onomah Esther Ama, an Mphil student at the University of Cape Coast, Centre for African and International Studies. I am undertaking a research titled: *Asylum Seeking in International Politics: Ghana as a Safe Haven in West Africa*. The study uses the Ghana Refugee Board to ascertain Ghana as a bolthole for asylum seekers.

The purpose of the study is to explore the effectiveness of the Ghana Refugee Board as it relates to the safety of Asylees seekers and how that enhances Ghana's relations with the Asylees home country. As part of the study, interviews will be conducted with officials from the Ghana Refugee Board. Based on the findings of the study, appropriate recommendations will be made to help provide vital information to the institutions, stakeholders and

9. Enumerate some of the measures/programs that have been implemented to protect the rights of asylees over the years
10. How many asylum seekers have the Ghana Refugee Board received over the years?
11. What are the living conditions of refugees at the camp?
12. Do your staff have the needed expertise in the area of dealing with asylum seekers?
13. Which other state institutions does the Ghana Refugee Board collaborate with in protecting asylum seekers?
14. Would you say the Refugee Board creates a safe environment for asylum seekers to feel safe



Appendix B

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
RESEARCH TOOL

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE OFFICIALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSION FOR REFUGEES

Introduction

I am Onomah Esther Ama, an MPhil student at the University of Cape Coast, Centre for African and International Studies. I am undertaking a research titled: *Asylum Seeking in International Politics: Ghana as a Safe Haven in West Africa*. The study uses the United Nations High Commission to ascertain Ghana as a for asylum safe haven seekers.

The purpose of the study is to explore the effectiveness of the UNHCR, as it relates to the safety of Asylum seekers and how that enhances Ghana's relations with the Asylees home country. As part of the study, interviews will be conducted with officials from the UNCHR. Based on the findings of the study, appropriate recommendations will be made to help provide vital information to the institutions, stakeholders and policymakers of Ghana. The information you provide will be kept with confidentiality and used only for purpose of this study.

Kindly answer these questions



APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

CENTRE FOR AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

RESEARCH TOOL

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INTEGRATED (LIBERIAN)

REFUGEES AND CURRENT REFUGEES

Introduction

I am Onomah Esther Ama, an MPhil student at the University of Cape Coast, Centre for African and International Studies. I am undertaking a research titled: *Asylum Seeking in International Politics: Ghana as a Safe Haven in West Africa*. The study uses integrated refugees (Liberians), current refugees from Egyeikrom and Ampain refugee camps to ascertain Ghana as a safe haven for asylum seekers.

The purpose of the study is to explore the experience of asylum seekers and refugees and determine whether Ghana has been a safe place for them in their time of distress and how their presence in Ghana affects relations with their home country. As part of the study, interviews will be conducted with integrated refugees (integrated Liberian refugees) and current Ivorian refugees. The findings of the study will determine whether Ghana is a safe haven for asylum seekers/refugees in West Africa or not. Appropriate recommendations will be made to help provide vital information to the Ghanaian institutions, stakeholders and policymakers of Ghana. The information you provide will be kept with confidentiality and used only for purpose of this study.

Kindly answer these questions

