

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

REFUGEE-HOST INTERACTION: CASE OF KRISAN REFUGEE
SETTLEMENT IN GHANA

BY

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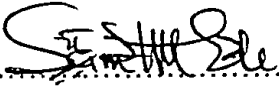
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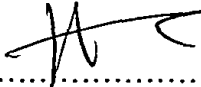
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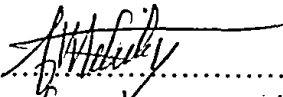
I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

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

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making. This could be done through education and the institution of periodic meeting for stakeholders.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife, Phidelia and my daughter, Edem for their love and patience.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CAR:	Central Africa Republic
CRS:	Catholic Relief Services
DRC:	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West Africa States
GRB:	Ghana Refugee Board
GRC:	Ghana Red Cross
HIV/AIDS:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICARA:	International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa
IDI:	In-depth Interview
IDP:	Internally Displaced Person
IRC:	International Rescue Committee
JSS:	Junior Secondary School
NADMO:	National Disaster Management Organisation
NGO:	Non-governmental Organisation
OAU:	Organisation of Africa Unity
PNDC:	Provisional National Defence Council
RAD:	Refugee Aid and Development
SPSS:	Statistical Product for Service Solutions
SSS:	Senior Secondary School
UCC:	University of Cape Coast
UK:	United Kingdom

UN: United Nations
UNHCR: United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNIDO: United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
USA: United States of America

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

The 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees defines a refugee as any person who, “owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country” (UNHCR, 1979; Cited in Schultheis, 1989:8). These people have crossed national boundaries and are, therefore, alien to the new environment in which they find themselves. Whereas immigrants and illegal migrants are ‘drawn’ to a country, refugees are ‘driven’ (Owusu, 2000). In the words of Owusu (2000: 1), “refugees seek not to better their lives but to rebuild it; to gain some part of what is lost”. But this statement is debatable especially in cases where refugees sometimes use their ingenuity to better their lives.

Forced displacement and refugee flows in particular are visible symptoms of deeper problems in the institutions and structures of many African countries and the world as a whole (Schultheis, 1989). This observation is confirmed by the number of forced displacements that were caused by political, ethnic, religious and other forms of conflict in developing countries in general

and sub-Saharan Africa in particular.

Keller (1975; Cited in Stein, 1986) has outlined ten stages of refugee experience. These are perception of threat, deciding to flee, the period of extreme danger and flight, reaching safety and camp behaviour. One only decides to flee if there is some perception of insecurity. The rest are repatriation, settlement and resettlement, the early and late stages of resettlement, adjustment and acculturation and finally residual stages, and changes in behaviour caused by the experience. These stages still characterize the refugee experience till today and probably constitute the content of being labelled as a refugee. Refugee camps, all over the world, have been characterized by anxiety, a situation described by Knudsen (1983; Cited in Chan and Loveridge, 1987:746) as "meaningless, uncertain, waste of time, boring and passivizing". The direction of refugee-host interactions is therefore, to a large extent, controlled by this statement. This is because refugees are capable of doing anything whether legitimate or illegitimate when they are hard pressed by unpredictable environments.

The pervasiveness of forced displacement in nearly all parts of the world within the 20th Century has made observers refer to the century as one for refugees (Owusu, 2000). The world has witnessed widespread displacement and large numbers of people. For instance, mention could be made of the refugee influxes in the Great Lakes region of East and Central Africa and those of the West African sub-region in the early 1990s. This could be attributed to ethnic violence and political instability that have plagued the world, especially

developing countries, during the period. In view of the role interactions between refugees and host populations play in refugee survival, there is the need to study refugee-host interaction across a broad spectrum of issues.

This study is therefore, on refugee-host interaction in an area in Ghana. It identifies refugee-host interactions at three levels – social, cultural and economic. These interactions – intermarriage, issues of livelihood, language problems etc. – are necessary for the welfare of refugees and are likely to be the antecedents of whatever coping strategies that refugees adopt to survive in their new environment. Apart from this, healthy interaction is a key factor in temporarily integrating refugees into the host community pending the implementation of a “durable solution”— repatriation, integration or resettlement.

Problem Statement

According to Jacobsen (2003: 72), “refugees’ pursuit of livelihoods can increase human security because economic activities help to recreate social and economic interdependence within and between communities and can restore social networks based on exchange of labour, assets and food”. Human security as used here refers to economic, civil and political security. Sometimes, the activities of refugee populations have implications for both the refugees and the host populations because of the number of refugees involved. A case in point is a village in Ngora District of Tanzania with a local population of about 10,000, which hosted more than 400,000 refugees within its boundaries (Whitaker,

1999). In such situations where refugees outnumber the host populations, the impact of refugee activities and those of organizations involved in the welfare of refugees on host communities, especially the physical environment, cannot be overstated. Among the social interactions between refugees and host population is the issue of intermarriage. Harrel-Bond and Voutira (1992) have indicated that the most common method of survival for refugees who are scattered among the host is to intermarry with the hosts. Marriage is used as a strategy to cope in the new environment because the indigenous spouse is more stable and therefore will be better positioned to offer the necessary assistance to the refugee spouse. This is likely to improve refugee-host peaceful co-existence. In this situation, refugee women who migrated with their partners will be disadvantaged as they are already married. The men, on the other hand, might be affected or not affected if they wish to practice polygyny.

Economically, refugees usually take advantage of existing employment opportunities in the host community. This is often in the informal sector, since refugees are usually not allowed to take employment opportunities in the formal sector. Where refugees take advantage of economic opportunities in the informal sector, they compete with the host community in this respect because they serve as a source of cheap labour (Whitaker, 1999). Zackariya and Shanmugaratnam (2003) found out that displaced Muslim women who were taking casual jobs on farms in southern Sri Lanka posed threats to the local labour force because they were charging less and were therefore preferred by farm owners to locals who also depended on this source of income for their livelihood. There was also

gender dimension to these threats since farm owners found it easier to control women than men probably because of women's physical disposition. Contrary to this finding, Whitaker (1999) found out that in western Tanzania, which hosted over 400,000 refugees from Rwanda, Burundi and Congo D.R. between 1993 and 1998, it was the men who took up casual jobs on farms sometimes far from the camps whilst the women were left to take care of the family and/or to take up casual jobs on farms around the camps. This may be due to the distance between the farms and the camp. This situation where refugee labour is preferred to that of the host could result in conflicts since refugees have to compete with the local people for these opportunities and, therefore, has the potential of threatening refugee-host co-existence.

Refugees are also likely to influence some of the cultural practices of the host community. Language usually serves as a major cultural diversity between migrants in general and the host community. Bihi (1999) describes cultural identity as an important asset enabling refugees to cope with many adversities, to find support from others, and to help them function as normal human beings. He concluded that refugees should be able to choose whether they maintain their cultural identity or not. But are these interactions always simple and of benefit to both refugees and their host? These interactions are sometimes complex and of benefit to only one party.

Where refugees from a neighbouring country are camped just near the border, one would expect the cultural difference to be minimal and any attempt by the refugees to maintain their culture is likely to have a minimal effect on

their interactions with the host. This argument is, however, based on the premise that refugees and host share the same culture but are only separated by artificial border lines drawn by colonial masters as in the case of many African countries.

Problems associated with refugee status can be classified into three: those relating to conditions in the origin which made people flee (Valtonen, 2004), those encountered at destination which mostly concern how to survive in a new environment and lastly the plan for the 'future'. The issue of survival at refugee destinations is a major problem facing refugees. This issue is characterized by different refugee activities, some legitimate (e.g. agricultural activities) others not (e.g. prostitution).

A major factor that affects the success of refugees in their new environment is how their activities are able to fit into the socio-cultural circumstances of the host community. Thus, the level of acceptance of refugee activities is a function of refugee-host peaceful co-existence. Often the activities of refugees tend to be illegal partly because of restrictions in the policy regimes within which they are expected to operate. For instance, policies often prevent them from taking opportunities in the formal sector. Besides, some refugees take advantage of their situation to carry out what borders on criminal activities. These have the potential of threatening refugee-host peaceful co-existence. Among some refugee women sex becomes a 'currency' with which they are expected to pay for things ranging from passing school examinations to crossing a border (UNHCR, 2004).

Knowing how refugees and host populations interact and the

implications of these interactions on both of them is essential for temporarily integrating refugees into host communities. The activities of refugees often form the bulk of their coping mechanisms, making refugee-host interaction a complex one. Sustainability of these activities is thus, viewed in the framework of socio-cultural norms of the host.

Objectives

The main objective of the study was to assess the nature of the interactions between refugees of the Krisan Refugee Settlement in the Western Region of Ghana and the host communities and the implications of such interactions on both the host communities and the refugees themselves. Specifically, the study sought to:

- explore the perceptions of the host population of refugee behaviour;
- assess the nature of refugee activities on both the host community and the environment; and
- analyse the nature of refugee-host interactions in their new environment.

Hypotheses

The study was guided by the following hypotheses:

- Host population's educational level has no significant relationship with their perception of refugee behaviour; and
- Refugees' socio-demographic background (number of years as a refugee,

age, educational level, marital status, status of place of residence before displacement and number of dependants) has no significant relationship with whether refugee goals have changed.

Rationale for the Study

In 1999, Africa had 6 million displaced persons, of whom 3 million were refugees (Owusu, 2000). The remaining 3 million consisted of two million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and one million former refugees who had returned home. According to Owusu (2000), the challenge of understanding, managing and resolving the variety of refugee situations worldwide confronts international actors: governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), relief agencies, multinational organizations, host populations and the refugees themselves.

Available literature indicates that studies on African refugees have tended to address practical issues such as the allocation of resources within refugee communities and the administration of emergency and rural settlement policies. Research on African refugees have been limited to the Eastern African regions: Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Angola where until recently most of African refugee flows were concentrated and received significant international media attention. The limited interest in West African refugees is a clear manifestation of the relative recency of 'refugeeism' as a national problem (Owusu, 2000). According to the UNHCR (1999), in 1988 there were only twenty thousand refugees in the West African sub-region. The number shot up

to seven hundred thousand by 1994. Thus, the urgent need for West African refugee studies cannot be overemphasized. In Ghana, the Budumburam camp seems to be the one that has attracted attention of researchers (Owusu, 2000). Any study on refugees of other camps (such as Krisan Refugee Settlement) in Ghana will add to the already scanty literature on refugees in Ghana in particular and West African sub-region in general.

Also, the issue of refugees having significant impact on host communities (both natural and cultural environment) situates the study in the context of human-environment interrelationships, one of the four traditions of geography (Pattison, 1964). By the nature of the conditions surrounding their displacement, activities of refugees have always had implications for the natural as well as the human environment. The above makes the study a geographical study worth pursuing.

The Study Area

The study area is the Krisan Refugee Settlement and the Sanzule, Krisan and Eikwe communities (Figure 1). The refugee settlement is about a kilometre from the Krisan village. Krisan Refugee Settlement, a camp in Nzema East District of the Western Region, was initially located on the land of both Krisan and Sanzule and was consequently named as Sanzule-Krisan Refugee Settlement until it was moved to its current location on the land of Krisan hence the name Krisan Refugee Settlement. Though the people of Sanzule have over the years claimed that the camp has no official name as at now and detest the

mentioning of the name Krisan Refugee Settlement, this name still dominates official literature on the camp.

Location and Establishment of Krisan Refugee Camp

Located off the Takoradi-Elubo trunk road along the Alabo Kazo-Eikwe road, Krisan village is sandwiched between Sanzule and Eikwe, both coastal communities (Figure 1). The Krisan Camp was initially set up in 1996 to accommodate Liberian refugees who were driven out by civil strife and persecution (UNHCR, 2004). The centre began to host Sierra Leonean refugees in 1997 when political unrest resulted in some of its citizens seeking refugee status abroad. Togolese refugees, who form about thirty-nine percent (517) of the refugee population at the time of this study, now dominate the camp.

The camp has semi permanent structures (buildings constructed of cement blocks and roofed with corrugated iron sheets) that point to the fact that it has been in existence for some years. Tents and other structures that normally characterize the early period of refugee arrival have been replaced with houses built with cement blocks and roofed with corrugated iron sheets. Access roads, though not tarred, connect the various segments of the camp.

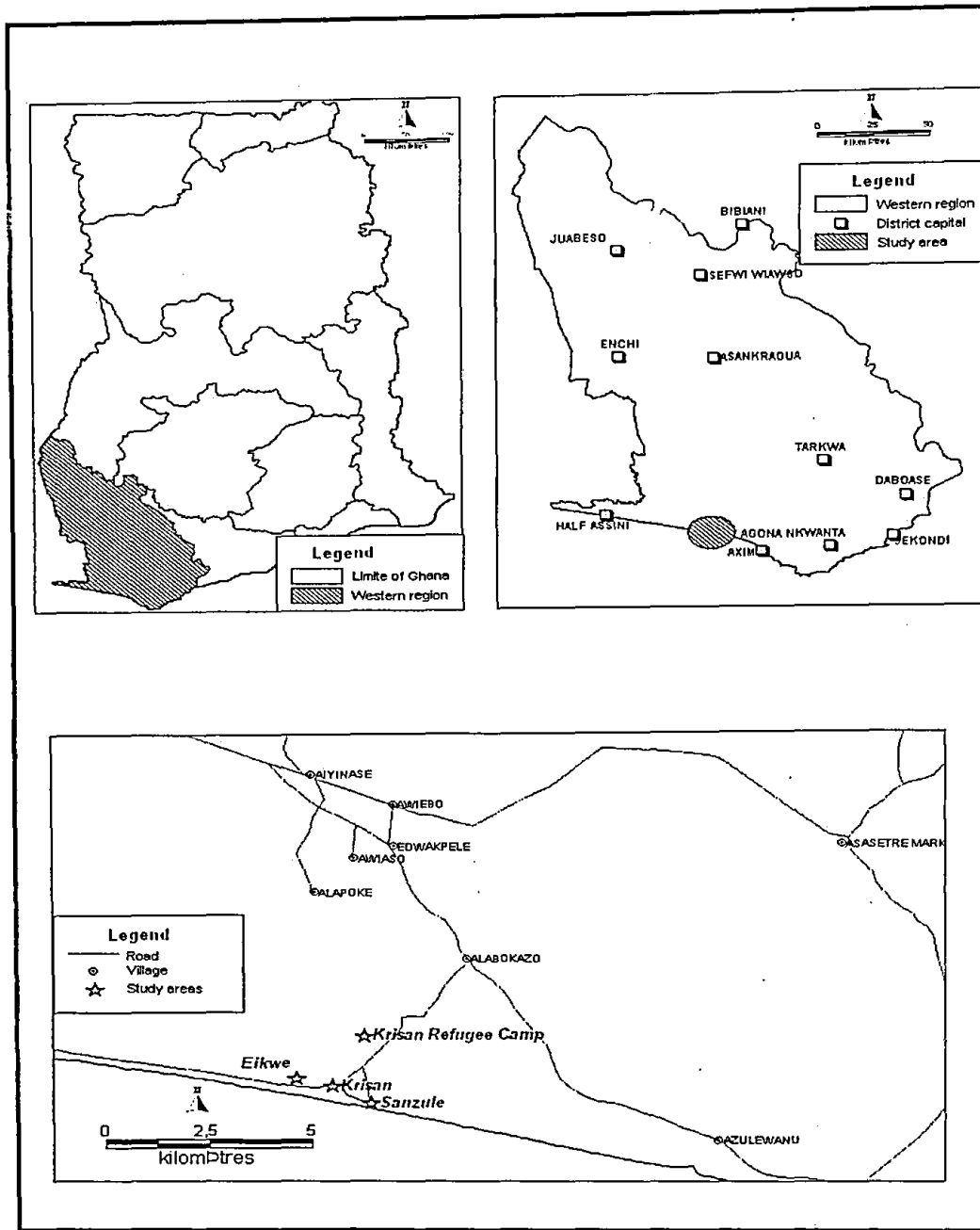


Figure 1: Maps of Ghana, Western Region and Nzema East District showing the Study Area

Source: Geographic Information Systems Unit, UCC; 2006.

The camp has a clinic that attends to refugees. The nearness of the camp to the Catholic Hospital at Eikwe (2 km) is an asset since serious medical situations can be quickly sent there for prompt attention. There is a school

manned by refugee teachers. Few sporting facilities are available and include a football park and a basketball pitch. A first sight of the camp points to a typical African village where things are hierarchically organized. Small table shops selling essential goods such as milk, soap and rice dotted the settlement (Plate 1).



Plate 1: A Shop in the Krisan Refugee Settlement

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Population

Although, the current population of the locality is not available, the population of Krisar, during the previous censuses of 1948, 1960, 1970 and 1984 show corresponding population sizes of 344, 487, 557 and 697 (Table 1). The estimated population for 2000 is less than 1,000.

Table 1

Population of the Host Communities from 1948-2000

Year	Community									Total		
	Sanzule			Krisan			Eikwe			M	F	T
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1948	-	-	566	-	-	344	-	-	273	-	-	1183
1960	-	-	638	-	-	487	-	-	1208	-	-	2333
1970	294	346	640	227	330	557	342	500	842	863		1176
2039												
1984	529	711	1240	227	380	697	489	612	1101	1335	1703	3038
2000	774	843	1617	441*	437*	885**	751	1026	1777	1960	2306	4279

* Calculated by using the 1970-1984 inter censal growth rate

** Calculated by using the average of the three inter censal growth rates

Source: Ghana Statistical Service, 1987, 2002; Census Office, 1971.

Table 1 shows a steady increase in the population of the host communities since the 1948 Population Census. The highest increase (97%) was

recorded in the 1948-1960 inter censal period. The population, however, decreased significantly (13%) in the 1960-1970 inter-censal period. In the next inter-censal period (1970-1984), the population of the host communities increased by nearly half (49%). Another significant increase of 41% was recorded between 1984 and 2000. In all the periods the proportion of females was always higher than that of males.

Internal Administrative Structures of the Krisan Refugee Camp

Administratively, the camp manager is responsible for the day-to-day affairs of the camp on behalf of the Ghana Refugee Board. Currently, the camp is divided into four administrative units known as Welfare Committees headed by Chairpersons. The sole responsibility of these committees is to seek the welfare of the refugees. Their main activities include settling disputes between refugees and mediating between refugees and camp management. The Executive bodies of the Welfare Committees serve as the coordinators between the refugees on one hand and the Ghana Refugee Board and its implementing agencies on the other. The Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and the National Disaster Management Organization are the current agencies operating in the camp. The Country Office of the UNHCR only functions as a collaborative agency assisting the national agency responsible for refugees.

Socio-Economic Activities

Agriculture

Agriculture (farming and fishing) is the main occupation of the people of this district, employing about 70% of the total population with about 4,000 people engaged in fishing. This figure excludes fishmongers (Nzema East District Assembly, 2004). This primary activity is the predominant occupation in the rural areas of the district. The district is forested due to the heavy rain that is experienced in that part of the country. Axim, the district capital, is the wettest part of Ghana with an annual rainfall figure of about 190 centimetres (Dickson and Benneh, 1988). Crops cultivated include coconut, which is processed into coconut oil for sale, cocoa, oil palm and rubber.

Tourism

Tourism occurs in the district (Nzema East District Assembly, 2004). With a coastline of about 70 kilometres, the tropical climate provides a destination for sun seekers. The district is home to Fort St. Antonio, one of the oldest historical monuments in West Africa, built by the Dutch in 1515. Other tourist attractions include the *Boboayinsi* Island with a lighthouse (in Axim, the district capital) and *Nkroful*, the birthplace of Ghana's first president Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The Tropical Rainforest, the long coastline (70km), the navigable *Ankobra* River, the *Anhuyame* Mysterious Rocks and the Crocodile Pond at Baku are potential tourism sites. Apart from the tourism potentials of the district itself, the adjacent *Jomoro* District has tourism facilities which create

employment opportunities in the informal sector. For example, during one of the reconnaissance surveys, a Sierra Leonean refugee claimed that he has been sending his art works to *Beni*, a town in the *Jomoro* District where tourists register before embarking on a trip to *Nzulezu*, a village built on water.

Cultural Activities

The indigenous people are the *Nzemas*, a sub-group of the *Akans*. Their main language is *Nzema* although *Fanti* and *Twi* are also spoken. Their culture does not differ significantly from the other *Akan* groups. Their cultural festival is the *Kundum*, which is celebrated between September and October each year. This occasion serves as a tourism period and refugees and host population do take advantage of the market created during this festival.

Chapter Organization

The whole study is organized into six chapters. The first chapter deals with the introduction to the study. This includes background issues of refugee-host interaction in general and some specific activities in particular. The second chapter is devoted to the review of relevant literature as well as conceptual and theoretical issues. This includes empirical evidence of refugee-host interaction and policy issues ranging from local to international perspectives.

The third chapter outlines the research design and other issues concerning data and methods employed in the study. Among the specifics are the study area and issues of sampling. Data collected from the respondents are

analyzed in chapters four and five. Socio-demographic background of respondents are analysed in chapter four. The fifth chapter analyses refugee-host activities and relationship in the Refugee Hosting Area (RHA). A synthesis of the main issues emerging from chapters four and five are outlined in the sixth chapter. It also includes a summary of main issues, recommendations and the implications of the main findings for policy making and further research.

CHAPTER TWO
ACTIVITIES OF REFUGEES IN HOST COMMUNITIES AND SOME
CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

Introduction

The total population of concern to the UNHCR (refugees, internally displaced persons, returned refugees who still need help to rebuild their lives, stateless persons and others and all asylum seekers in general) declined from 20.8 million in 2002 to 17.1 million in 2003 (UNHCR, 2004). The proportions of refugees in these totals were 10.6 million and 9.7 million for 2002 and 2003 respectively. In 2002, the number of refugees constituted 51% of the population of concern to the UNHCR whereas that of 2003 was 57%. The decrease in the absolute number of persons of concern is the result of refugees having access to durable solutions - voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement in a third country - especially voluntary repatriation. About half (53%) of the world's refugees are currently assisted by UNHCR (UNHCR, 2004). The focus of this chapter is to review both empirical and theoretical discourse on the activities of refugees and their host, which will then form the basis of understanding refugee-host interaction in the study area.

Patterns and Trends in World Refugee Flows

Problems of forced migrants, especially those of refugees have attracted the attention of all facets of society. The sources of attention are as diverse as the geographical spread of the incidence of forced migration (Table 2).

Table 2

Persons of Concern to UNHCR by Region and Category in 2003

Region	Category					Total as at 1 st Jan. 2004
	Refugees	Asylum Seekers	Internally Displaced Persons	Stateless and other Persons	Returned Refugees	
Asia	3,635,700	48,800	1,565,400	224,200	713,700	6,187,800
Africa	3,135,800	166,100	571,600	66,500	345,100	4,285,100
Europe	2,207,100	366,500	1,038,500	594,600	35,600	4,242,300
North America	585,600	392,500	-	-	-	978,100
Latin America & Caribbean	38,300	7,200	1,244,100	26,500	300	1,316,400
Oceania	69,600	4,400	-	400		74,400
Total	9,672,100	985,500	4,419,600	912,200	1,094,700	17,084,100

Source: UNHCR, 2004.

Table 2 shows the distribution of persons of concern to UNHCR as at the end of 2003. Every region of the world has, one time or the other, been a refugee origin or a destination. Asia and Africa are the largest producers or recipients of persons of concern to the UNHCR. The least was recorded in the Latin America and the Caribbean sub-region. There has been a general downward trend in the world refugee population since 1993, though this was not regular (Table 3).

Table 3

Global Refugee Trend from 1993 to 2002

Year	Number
1993	16,305,525
1994	15,733,691
1995	14,896,087
1996	13,357,087
1997	12,007,850
1998	11,480,860
1999	11,687,226
2000	12,116,835
2001	12,116,835
2002	10,593,957

Source: UNHCR, 2004.

This downward trend was interrupted in 2000 when the total number of refugees rose slightly from the previous year's figure of 11,687,226 to 12,129,572 in 2000 (UNHCR, 2004).

The Refugee Situation in Africa

The trend in Africa has not shown any marked differences from the global situation. The seriousness of the refugee situation in Africa is due partly to the numbers involved and the concentration of recent refugee flows in Africa. Though the number of refugees in Asia is currently larger than that of Africa (Table 4), there are two characteristics of Africa's refugee situation. First, six African countries were among the ten largest origins of refugee flows in 2003 (Table 4). This is an indication of how current the refugee situation in Africa is. Secondly, Africa also ranked highest in terms of asylum destinations (UNHCR, 2004).

Table 4**The Ten Largest Refugee Flows in the World at the End of 2003**

<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Main Countries of Asylum</u>	<u>Total</u>
Afghanistan	Pakistan, Iran.	2,136,000
Sudan	Uganda, Chad, Ethiopia, Kenya Democratic Republic (DR) of Congo Central African Republic.	606,200
Burundi	Tanzania, D.R. Congo, Zambia, South Africa and Rwanda.	531,600
D R Congo	Tanzania, Congo, Zambia, Burundi, Rwanda, Angola and Uganda.	453,400
Palestine	Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Egypt, Libya, Algeria.	427,900
Somalia	Kenya, Yemen, United Kingdom (UK), Ethiopia, Djibouti, United States of America (USA).	402,200
Iraq	Iran, Germany, Netherlands, Djibouti, UK.	368,500
Vietnam	China, Germany, USA, France.	363,200
Liberia	Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Ghana, USA.	353,300
Angola	Zambia, D. R. Congo, Namibia, South Africa.	329,600

Source: UNHCR, 2004.

Similarly, Africa was still high on the list of countries with the ten largest flows of refugees in 2003: nine countries out of ten (Table 5).

Table 5

The Ten Largest Global Refugee Arrivals in 2003

Origin	Main Countries of Asylum	Total
Sudan	Chad, Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia	112,200
Liberia	Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Ghana.	86,800
D.R. Congo	Burundi, Zambia, Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda.	30,000
Cote d'Ivoire	Liberia, Ghana.	22,200
Somalia	Yemen, Kenya, Tanzania.	14,800
C A R	Chad	13,000
Burundi	Tanzania, Zambia, Rwanda.	8,100
Angola	D.R. Congo, Namibia.	1,500
Russian Federation	Georgia	390
Rwanda	Zambia, Uganda.	360

Source: UNHCR, 2004.

Table 5 also indicates that African refugees seek asylum in African countries. The only situation that is likely to change is where refugees are resettled. Refugees usually do not have enough resources to enable them settle in countries of their choice and are, therefore, content with seeking asylum in adjacent countries or within the same sub-region.

Sub-Saharan Africa has a long history as an origin and a destination of

refugees. This situation is as a result of the various political, ethnic, secessionist and resource conflicts that have plagued the sub-region over the five or so decades. Table 6 shows the protracted refugee situation in the sub-region.

Table 6

Protracted Refugee Situations in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1980-2001

Country of origin	Main host countries in Sub-Saharan Africa	Beginning year (total years)	Number of refugees at the end of 2000
Angola	Zambia, Namibia, DRC, South Africa, Congo Brazzaville	1980-2001 (20)	400,000
Burundi	Tanzania, DRC, South Africa	1980-2001 (20)	420,000
Chad	Sudan, CAR.	1980-2001 (20)	53,000
DRC	Congo, Tanzania, CAR, Zambia, Rwanda, S. Africa	1980-2001 (20)	350,000
Eritrea	Sudan	1970s-2001 (+30)	350,000
Ethiopia	Sudan, Kenya, Somalia	1970s-1994 (+25)	40,000
Liberia	Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire	1989-2001	200,000

Table 6 continued

	Sierra Leone	(12)	
Rwanda	Burundi, Tanzania,	1970s-1996	55,000
	DRC, Uganda	(+25)	
Sierra Leone	Guinea, Cote d'Ivoire	1991-2001	400,000
	Liberia	(10)	
Somalia	Ethiopia, Kenya	1988-2001	370,000
		(13)	
Sudan	Uganda, Ethiopia,	1984-2001	460,000
	Chad, CAR	(17)	
Uganda	Sudan, Kenya	1980-2001	20,000
		(21)	
West Sahara	Sudan, Kenya	1980-2001	110,000
		(20)	

Note: Number of years of protracted refugee situation in parenthesis.

Source: Jacobsen, 2003: 78

The table indicates continuous refugee presence of more than 20,000 in neighbouring host countries for more than 8 years. African refugees are concentrated in the Great Lake region of Eastern and Central Africa. Countries in this region were the major refugee producing and receiving countries. This explains the dominance of the region in terms of studies carried out on refugees.

The Refugee Situation in Ghana

According to the United States (U.S) Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (2003), Ghana hosted over 40,000 refugees by the end of 2002. This figure included 35,000 refugees from Liberia, about 5,000 from Sierra Leone and nearly one thousand from Togo. During the same period about 3,000 asylum seekers entered the country (U. S Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2003). A documentation exercise by UNHCR recorded 48,034 refugees and asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2004). During this period not only did Ghana receive asylum seekers but she also generated some refugees and asylum seekers with about 10,000 Ghanaian refugees found in Togo by the close of 2004. These refugees were generated by the ethnic conflicts that erupted in the northern regions of the country in the 1990s. Besides, nearly two thousand Ghanaians were also seeking asylum in Western countries for various reasons, some of which were political during the 1980s.

Ghana continues to be a safe haven for refugees in the West African sub-region and beyond. Hatch (1970: 16) generalises this in his statement that “there is a tradition and practice of hospitality in the continent, so that an African is always an African. If he leaves one society he will be accepted in another”. A manifestation of this is the varied nationals that seek refugee status in the country. As at 20th June, 2005 (World Refugee Day) there were twelve different African nationalities at the Krisan Refugee Settlement.

Policy Issues and Refugee Law in Ghana

The first global attempt at the definition of a refugee defined the concept (refugee) with reference to state of affairs rather than the identity of the country of origin. However, universal application was ruled out by a clause which restricted the Convention to events that occurred before 1951 (Suhrke and Zolberg, 1999). An optional clause in this Convention further limited the geographic scope to events in Europe. The Euro-centric restrictions were removed by the 1967 Protocol.

Refugee policy, unlike immigration policy, more often arises from the legal and moral obligations incumbent upon open societies by virtue of their membership of the international community (Suhrke and Zolberg, 1999). The international refugee law obligates states not to reject foreign asylum seekers if such rejection entails their being returned to a place where they are in danger of being persecuted (Suhrke and Zolberg, 1999). This is referred to as the *non-refoulement* principle. Apart from the UN Convention, there are regional documents that determine who a refugee is and how they should be treated. These documents were fashioned in a way to cater for some deficiencies in the UNHCR documents. Among them are the 1969 OAU Convention for African countries and the 1984 Cartagena Declaration for Latin America.

The 1969 OAU Convention on the Status of Refugees

The OAU Convention of 1969 recognizes the UN Convention of 1951, which was modified by the 1967 Protocol, as the basic and universal instrument

relating to the status of refugees. The OAU Convention, whilst accepting the "well-founded fear of persecution" that formed the basis for the UN Convention went further to include those fleeing from war and civil conflict. The Convention is most recognized for having extended the conventional concept of a refugee beyond the narrow scope of limiting those qualified as refugees to events before 1951 (Rankin, 2005). It is not out of place to think of this inclusion as an indication of the high prevalence of wars in particular and crises in general on the African continent. This has, consequently, introduced a process of group determination of refugee status on a *prima facie* basis as compared to the individual status determination procedures under the UN Convention. This collective determination of status has been the widespread imposition of restrictions on the freedom of movement of refugees in Africa.

In 1992, the government came out with a refugee law [Provisional National Defence Council (P. N. D. C.) Law 305D] which led to the establishment of the Ghana Refugee Board (GRB), the government agency responsible for refugee activities in Ghana. This law specifically recognizes that asylum seekers who qualify as bona fide refugees should, under no circumstances, be rejected but added that potential refugees should go through due process before being accorded a refugee status. It consequently authorizes that anybody or group of persons who entered the country illegally be declared prohibited immigrant(s), and thus, could be detained or be imprisoned unless such person or group of persons applied for such status within fourteen days of their arrival in Ghana (Government of Ghana, 1992). The law requires that

qualified refugees in Ghana be 'entitled to rights and be subject to the duties specified' in the UNHCR's documents on refugees. The law mandates the Secretary to the Ghana Refugee Board to designate places and areas in Ghana where he deems appropriate for refugees to live.

While recognizing the need for the GRB to withdraw the refugee status of any person or group of persons as it deems fit, the law also creates an avenue for the affected person(s) to seek redress through the filing of an appeal within fourteen days of being notified of the GBR's decision. But the decision of the Secretary to the board regarding issues of appeal is final and the affected person(s) shall cease to be a refugee and any protection due such person(s) and their families shall also cease after fourteen days of notification of the withdrawal of refugee status. Though the refugee law was largely informed by the UN 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, there are some articles within the two documents that are different. Whereas the UN Convention requires that host countries allow refugees to choose their place of residence, the Refugee Law stipulates that the place of residence of refugees shall be decided by the Secretary to the Ghana Refugee Board.

Also, the UN Convention mandates countries that are signatories to it to treat refugees as other aliens in terms of wage-earning employment. It stated that where aliens are not allowed to engage in wage-earning employment to protect indigenous labour, refugees should be allowed to do so. But this seems to be of theoretical interest since refugees in Ghana are not allowed to work in the formal sector. The law allows refugees to be accorded the right to basic

education. One visible item of refugee camps in Ghana is the establishment of basic schools usually manned by refugee professionals and not under the control of the Ghana Education Service. As in many developing countries, laws are theoretical documents that, in practice, are interpreted differently by indigenous people. It will therefore not be surprising to see some of these provisions meant to make life bearable for refugees not being observed to the latter.

Conceptual Issues

The importance of conceptual issues in directing studies of this nature cannot be overstated. They serve as anchor for studies by setting their limits and informing the data collection instruments to be used. Some relevant conceptual frameworks reviewed with the intention of situating the study within their confines are the Concept of Evolutionary History, Conceptual Approach to Livelihoods in Conflict and Conceptual Framework for Refugee Integration.

The Concept of Evolutionary History

This concept was proposed by Belsky (1995; Cited in New Zealand Ministry of Education, 2004). Though very brief, its review has become necessary because of its dimension of various environmental demands. This concept views behaviour of people as responding to different environmental conditions and thus, allows us to examine how behaviour changes over generations in response to different environmental demands. Activities that refugees are involved in their various places of origin may be different from

their activities in the host communities as a result of the fact that they find themselves in a different environment. This offers explanations for the role of cultural differences in the interactive process for example, and is perhaps a way of looking at the developmental paths of societies/cultures. The model could be used to explain the spatio-temporal changes in the strategies and activities of refugees. The concept, however, failed to explain interaction between different populations.

Livelihoods in Conflict: A Conceptual Approach

This framework was used by Jacobsen (2003) to determine the impact of pursuit of livelihoods by refugees on the human security of host communities. Livelihoods here refer to the 'means' used to maintain and sustain life. 'Means', on the other hand 'connotes resources including household assets, capital, social institutions, and networks (kin, village, and authority structures) and the strategies available to people through their local and transnational communities' (Jacobsen, 2003: 74). According to Jacobsen (2003), forced displacement usually tends to worsen existing vulnerabilities and create new ones. For example, displacement can result in other forms of vulnerability such as gender and age. The loss of husband and children for some women may result in social and economic marginalization whereas loss of cultural adornments, clothes and head coverings can also affect women's identity and even restrict their mobility and participation in relief programmes like food distribution. This is likely to, seriously, affect women's activities and thereby reduce their interactions with

the host communities. In the case of men, loss of livelihoods as a result of displacement may increase their risk for military recruitment, either forced or voluntary, which could threaten security in refugee hosting areas (Jacobsen, 2003).

Sustainability is an important feature of livelihood frameworks (DFID, 2000; Scoones, 1998; Lautze, 1997; Cernea, 1996; cited in Jacobsen, 2003). Jacobsen's framework de-emphasizes the sustainability aspect and emphasizes the need to reduce vulnerability and risks that arise as a result of conflict; these are immediate concerns in any emergency situation. She refers to the pursuit of livelihoods, which underpins all interactions with the host community, as the availability, extent and mix of resources; the strategies used to access and mobilize these resources; and the goals and changing priorities of refugees. The framework, therefore, integrates refugee goals, resources, strategies and policy environment as essential components.

Refugee Goals

Initial goals of refugees are usually basic in nature. In any human institution higher goals are only desired if lower goals in the hierarchy are achieved. Immediate goals of refugees are likely to include the need for physical safety from violence, the threat of violence or intimidation; reducing economic vulnerability and food insecurity; find a place to settle; and locating lost family members. These goals underpin the activities of refugees and shape refugees' interactions with host communities. Jacobsen (2003) observed that if the basic

goals of refugees are achieved and refugees still remain in protracted situations, new goals would become priorities. These new goals may influence refugee-host interaction in different directions. Also, as refugees are exposed to new cultures and experiences including that of humanitarian community, they learn about their rights, acquire new skills and even increase their resource base. These invariably change their goals, which in turn affect their interactions with the host population.

Refugee Resources

Like the host population, refugees also have resources, some of which they bring along, others they acquire at their new destination. These may include access to economic, social and cultural resources such as household assets, capital and social institutions and networks (kin, village, authority structure). These resources could come from both local and transnational communities. In local communities, refugees are likely to be prevented from accessing resources such as land, employment in the formal sector and housing probably because of restrictions in the legal regime within which refugees are supposed to operate.

Refugees may also have some resources that are not available to the local people. These may include transnational resources provided by other refugees and co-nationals abroad consisting of financial resources as well as social capital from refugee networks and those from humanitarian agencies. Refugee networks encourage information flow and enable trade and relocation, and human capital creation in the form of education or skills not available in the host community

(Jacobsen, 2003). All these can enable refugees gain economic advantage over the host population.

Refugee Strategies

Refugee strategies refer to the range of activities engaged in by refugees to access and mobilize available resources. In the host community, refugees develop coping mechanisms and strategies that take advantage of available resources and opportunities (Jacobsen, 2003). These strategies include those activities permitted and supported by host government and aid agencies and those that are illegal such as prostitution and smuggling, which can harm both refugees and host community.

Jacobsen sees refugees' pursuit of livelihoods in two domains – the official space allowed for refugees, usually camps or organized settlements; and outside camps or organised settlements. In this first space, refugees can engage in programmes that are initiated by relief agencies or agricultural activities supported by host government. The other domain, outside camps or organized settlements, refugees take advantage of existing opportunities in the host community such as casual jobs on farms. This could be a source of worry since refugees may have to compete with indigenous people who were earlier on taking these opportunities. Refugees, thus usually move between these two domains using resources in both. They therefore have an edge over the host population which is likely to be concentrated in their own sphere.

Whatever refugees do in host community is generally determined by refugee policy environment within the host community.

Refugee Policy

Refugee policies and laws in the host country provide the general framework within which refugees are expected to operate. These documents outline the norms in the refugee hosting communities. Whether refugees go by these rules and regulations is a matter of morality and the desire of an individual refugee to function properly in the host community. Among policy factors preventing refugees from having a smooth interaction with host community are:

- Host government's desire that refugees be allowed only as temporary guests (no permanent residence);
- Poor standards of protection and physical security for refugees;
- Restrictions on freedom of movement and settlement; and
- Restrictions on property rights and employment (Jacobsen, 2003:79).

As a result of refugees' attempt to improve their living standards, they (refugees) are often found going contrary to the laws governing their stay in the asylum country.

A Conceptual Framework for Refugee Integration

This Refugee integration framework was proposed by Valtonen (2004) when she attempted conceptualizing refugee settlement processes in Finland (Figure 2).

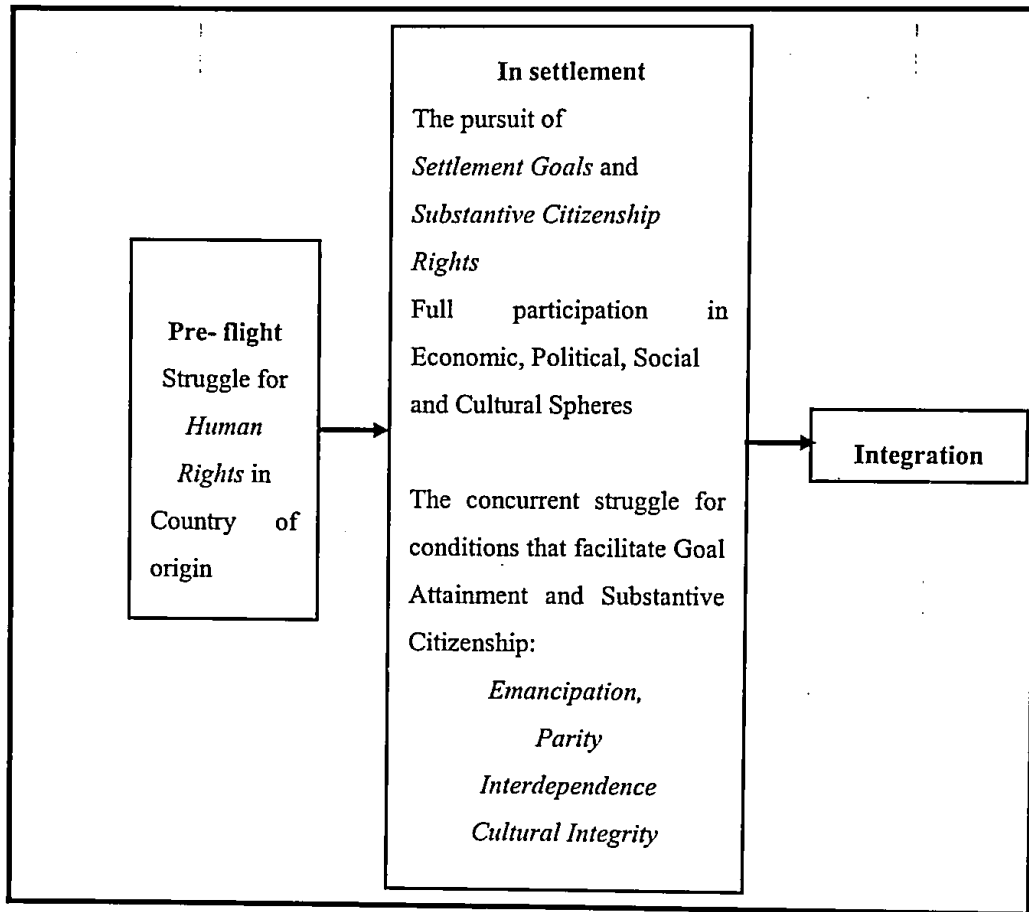


Figure 2: A Conceptual Framework for Refugee Integration

Source: Valtonen, 2004: 87.

Three stages identified under this framework are the Pre-flight period, the In- settlement and Integration periods. The pre-flight period involves the struggle against human rights abuses and other structural problems that characterize developing countries. These are the very reasons that cause people

to flee. Whilst in settlement, refugees endeavour to pursue their settlement goals and other substantive citizenship rights. These ideals entail the struggle for emancipation, parity, interdependence and cultural integrity. Attaining these ideals put refugees in a position to fully integrate into the host community. This is a gradual process making the integration process not a straight forward one. Another issue that is likely to prolong the process is the changing refugee goals. As immediate goals are achieved, it is not uncommon to see refugees setting other goals for themselves. This consequently makes the integration process a complex one.

A satisfactory performance at this stage ushers in the integration period which signifies a situation where refugees are able to participate in economic, political, social and cultural spheres of the host community. This is the zone of interaction between refugees and host population. This framework was adopted for the study based on the features discussed above.

Agricultural Activities of Refugees in Host Communities

Sometimes, camps/settlements are purposely sited in rural areas to boost local economies. This is intended to make land available to refugees for the cultivation of crops. For example, the settlement of Rwandan refugees in Uganda and Tanzania were purposely designed to take advantage of an underutilized region, where these settlements were seen as a component of a regional development strategy (Zetter, 1995; in Jacobsen, 2001). However, Kibreab (1989) has observed that UNHCR's policy of integration through

agricultural settlements is failing and at a very high cost (In Harrell-Bond, 2002).

Where refugees do not have access to land, they work as labourers on the farms of locals as noted by Whitaker (1999) and Zackariya and Shanmugaratnam (2003). Bucha (1988; In Brun, 2003) argues that displaced farmers represent one of the groups that have experienced the greatest rupture in their livelihoods because of displacement, and for Cernea (1996, 2000; In Brun, 2003) landlessness is a major cause of impoverishment among displaced rural populations.

Other Economic Activities of Refugees in Refugee Hosting Areas

Brun (2003) noted that although internally displaced persons in Sri Lanka were not able to carry their shops with them, they brought along their business skills when they were displaced in the early 1990s. These entrepreneurial skills put refugees and internally displaced persons in a position to favourably compete with the host population and this is one of the factors that are likely to change local economies. Whitaker (1999) has noted five changes in the local economy of western Tanzania as a result of the influx of Rwandan refugees. Apart from agriculture, there have been changes in environment, market economy, infrastructure and development of resources and way of life. According to her, the influx of refugees and relief resources into Western Tanzania has altered economic opportunities for both refugees and the host communities. The increased local market has led to the upsurge in business and

trade conducted by both refugees and local hosts. She, particularly, mentioned that in many cases refugees were perceived as better at doing business than their local hosts. The Tanzanians attributed refugee success to better entrepreneurial skills although it may have been driven by the relative marginalization of refugees from agriculture (Wilson, 1985; in Whitaker, 1999).

Social Dynamics of Refugees in Refugee Hosting Areas

The presence of large refugee populations will, inevitably, alter the social environment in refugee hosting areas. Apart from raising the status of villages as a result of refugee influx, activities such as attending social functions (e.g. weddings and funerals) together and even competing in soccer and other sports activities were documented in western Tanzania (Harrell-Bond and Voutira, 1992; Whitaker, 1999). Indeed, Whitaker (1999) found out that Rwandan and Burundian refugees in Tanzania were sometimes asked to perform dances at local ceremonies. These interactions not only help refugees and host populations to entertain themselves but, more importantly, serve as an avenue for improving refugee-host relationships.

Impact of Activities of Refugees on Host Populations

Refugee activities and those of relief organizations have both positive and negative implications for host populations. It has been recognized that refugee migrations bring both costs and benefits to host countries (Baker 1995; Kuhlman 1994; Sorenson 1994; all in Whitaker 1999; UNHCR, 2004). The

magnitude of refugee impact on host populations is influenced by age, gender, physical ability, economic status and number of refugees involved. It was in response to the observed impact of refugee activities, especially on first asylum countries, that delegates attending the 24th meeting of the UNHCR Standing Committee in June 2002 urged the global body to undertake an analysis of implications of the long term presence of refugees in order to address its consequences and ease the burden on host countries (UNHCR, 2004).

Negative Impacts of Activities of Refugees on Host Communities

Refugees and internally displaced persons are often perceived as environmental degraders (Haug, 2003). Black (1994; cited in Black and Sessay, 1998) notes that this perception may be based on three factors: that refugee presence in a zone increases population-resource ratios; that refugees are poor and it could thus be argued that they are 'exceptional resource degraders'; and thirdly the assumption that refugees may ignore, be unaware of, or be excluded from the regulatory structures that are important for sustainable resource use. However, Kibreab (1997, in Haug, 2003) notes that environmental degradation before people have been forced to migrate or after they have been displaced is more a problem of misguided government policy than putting the blame on the activities of the poor. It has to be noted that degradation of the environment is a feature that is associated with any human society. Refugee presence, therefore, is not solely responsible for environmental degradation of any form but rather worsens already existing situations.

Refugees as Threats to Physical Resources

The issue of refugee presence mounting excessive pressure on local resources has been widely discussed in the literature (see Whitaker, 1999). This has been mentioned as one of the obstacles to local integration, although whether refugees are allowed to integrate locally depends, to a large extent, on who benefits and who loses from the continued presence of refugees and whether the interests of various actors, particularly the powerful ones, are being sufficiently served. Jacobsen (2001) outlined a number of ways in which refugees destroy local resources in an attempt to survive. These include (1) the destruction of fields and orchards, as witnessed in the forest region of Gambia where wild palm groves were destroyed and exploited by refugees from Liberia, which led to a decline in the production of palm oil and an increase in the retail price; (2) deforestation and destruction of plant cover, when refugees clear forest for farming or to obtain wood for construction or for charcoal burning; and (3) the overuse and destruction of rangeland when refugees bring along their livestock. Black and Sessay (1998) note that the environmental impact of refugee populations depends on three factors: the number of refugees involved, the time period over which they remain in the host country, and the form of settlement (i.e. whether in specially created 'camps' or 'settlements' or more dispersed settlement in local villages). In dispersed settlements, as in the case of urban refugees, their impact on the environment is not as conspicuous as in the 'camps' and 'settlements' which are characterized by widespread degradation.

Food shortage has been mentioned as another burden in RHAs, especially during the early stages of the arrival of refugees. Whitaker (1999) noted that the sharp increase (50%) in the population of Kagera and Kigoma regions of western Tanzania after the influx of Rwandan and Burundian refugees put enormous pressure on the local population and significantly threatened food security. In western Tanzania, a man who cultivated an acre of sugar cane had his farm cut down because the farm was along the route used by the refugees (Whitaker, 1999). The same man had his six acre cassava farm cut down to pave way for camp construction. These are clear evidences of the destructive activities of refugees. Theft of food crops was also high among refugees. The local population claimed that refugees scouted for crops ready to be harvested during the day when they were hired to work on farms only to return in the night to harvest them, a situation which they claimed made hiring refugee labour a cost rather than a benefit (Whitaker, 1999).

Pressure on Cultural and Social Infrastructure

Refugee influx is a threat to indigenous culture. This could lead to a total collapse in cultural values of the host population. Respect for the elderly, a major feature of an African society, was compromised in the Western Tanzanian situation. This was a result of economic opportunities created by the refugee presence which were not the preserve of any age group. Thus, the ability to take advantage of existing opportunities depends on one's ingenuity and other physical characteristics such as strength. As young men and women engage in

economic activities and become economically viable one would expect them to ignore social norms and values that hitherto, were the main characteristics of the traditional society. Where refugee population outnumber local population, substitution of indigenous values with that of refugees is common. This is not a phenomenon peculiar to refugee influx only but can be associated with any other economic opportunity that might come to an area such as construction works.

Social infrastructure and development resources are not left out. During the refugee influx in Tanzania schools were damaged when refugees slept in classrooms, burned desks as firewood and filled latrines (Whitaker, 1999). Health facilities were overstretched. These have implications for the health of both the local population and the refugees. Where the refugee concentration is high, which is usually the case in camps, the outbreak of diseases in epidemic proportion cannot be ruled out. Any attempt to prevent such a situation is likely to divert resources meant for other sectors of the host economy. Green (1994; in Whitaker, 1999) noted a situation where a contractor's equipment meant for the construction of a highway in Ngara district was moved instead toward camp construction. As these activities become pervasive one would expect resentment to set in the host population and any attempt to, locally, integrate refugees will be resisted. Apart from this, there is the issue of insecurity, a feature that has characterized refugee settlements over the years.

Benefits of the Presence of Refugees

The issue of regarding refugees as liabilities to host communities has been contested extensively in the literature. Apart from the traditional burdens that refugees are identified with, such as 'exceptional resource degraders' (Black and Sessay, 1998) and problems of security (Harrell-Bond, 2002; Jacobsen, 1999), there has been a counter argument that sees refugees as resources that could be used to propel the economies of host countries. There is evidence to attest to this fact, which has the potential of softening the stance of host countries to open their doors to refugees. Also, recent literature suggests that benefits to refugee hosting communities can outweigh the costs if structures are instituted to promote joint development (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil, 2003). When refugees are allowed to participate in the local economy, they contribute labour, skills and other resources. This improvement in local economy is more pronounced especially in regions that are underdeveloped and under-populated (Bakewell, 2000; Callamard, 1994; Zetter, 1995; all in Jacobsen, 2001).

The first benefit of the presence of refugees is the availability of additional human resources, a critical factor in any development process. Refugees are seen as a source of cheap labour in refugee hosting areas. This is based on the premise that refugees are people in dire need of essential services and therefore will take any offer. It has to be noted that the relationship between hosts and refugee labourers is perhaps not always an exploitative one. According to Whitaker (1999) many Tanzanians recognized the humanitarian needs of Rwandan refugees, though, and hired them even in low seasons when their

labour was not required. Refugees are known to be responsible for increases in agricultural production in the Tanzanian situation after the initial emergency phase. Whitaker (1999) found out that there had been a tremendous increase in food production between 1993 and 1996 with the presence of refugees (banana production went up from 396 metric tons in 1993 to 651 metric tons in 1996 and beans production gone up from 19 metric tons to 38 metric tons within the same period). Apart from refugees' contribution to the direct increase of food production, they also facilitate the growth of other businesses.

Larger refugee flows, over the years, serve as market for local industries. Not only do refugees themselves create the necessary market but other people such as workers of humanitarian agencies and the influx of media personnel also help in this direction. The creation of market as a result of unprecedented increase in local population has the potential of changing the status of refugee hosting areas. Mention could be made of the Tanzanian situation where the destiny of a typical rural area was changed for the better as a result of the arrival of refugees (Whitaker, 1999). Where refugee numbers are relatively larger than that of the immediate community, spill over effects are experienced in nearby communities. This situation can change the fortunes of a rural community, which hitherto, might have been characterized by primary activities. As a result of the large market base, investment opportunities could come from neighbouring countries, although it has to be noted that the presence of refugees in many instances is supposed to be temporary. With the influx of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), one would expect reduction in

unemployment in the refugee hosting area, since job opportunities are created in the refugee hosting area. Creation of job opportunities could also attract more people to the refugee hosting area making competition for available job opportunities keener. This brings the issue of 'who has what skill' to the fore, a source of worry to indigenes if the refugees have better skills and take up most jobs.

Refugees are people from varied backgrounds and so are their skills. Jacobsen (2001) has noted this as one of the reasons why the presence of refugees is likely to boost local economies. This is in consonance with Harrell-Bond's (2002) observation of Tibetan refugees in Nepal. According to her, these refugees brought their carpet-making skills to Nepal and the trade has, today, become the highest foreign exchange earner for Nepal, ahead of tourism. One significant aspect of this trade is that refugees started the carpet-making business immediately they arrived in Nepal, ruling out partially or completely any dependence on relief services during the emergency phase (Hagen, 1980; 1984; Jacobsen, 2001; all in Harrell-Bond, 2002). A study by Macchiavello (2003) found out that 30% of refugees in Uganda who took part in the study had their first degree suggesting that refugees are not just unskilled people from the rural areas. A similar situation was witnessed in Guinea where Liberian refugees were able to cultivate rice in the marshy areas, a practice not used in Guinea.

Apart from the above, refugees through their networks are able to attract remittances into host countries. Refugees like other populations might have some of their kinsmen migrating to other parts of the world especially the

developed world. These people serve as sources of support. Even in some instances a major means of displaced people coping with life is to let some people from the household migrate to Europe and other developed world to work and remit those behind as noticed with internally displaced people in Sri Lanka (Brun, 2003). Also, refugees who have access to resettlement packages to advanced countries remit those family members behind. These remittances can boost local economies and particularly create jobs in the refugee hosting area since refugees' disposable income would have increased.

Security in Refugee Settlements: Threats or Strengths

Another issue that is probably a key factor necessitating the isolation of refugees into camps or settlements is the security problems associated with 'refugeeism'. The presence of refugee camps usually poses major threats to state security (Mills and Norton, 2002). As noted by Jacobsen (1999), many refugee camps today are places of insecurity and outright danger for both refugees and relief workers and by virtue of their destabilizing effect for those living around the camps. She lamented that despite these threats the attention of the international humanitarian community is rather directed towards physical assistance in terms of biological needs in the initial emergency phase. Provision of physical needs should be done hand-in-hand with the protection of refugees. Host countries also need to put in place measures to properly screen potential refugees to separate bona fide refugees from former combatants, who are likely to threaten peace and stability in refugee settlement areas. Mills and Norton

(2002) observed that the refugee camps in eastern Zaire allowed militants to have a base from which they carried out attacks against the new Rwandan government. Mahiga (1997; In Milner, 2000) also found out the presence of former Rwandan genocide perpetrators mingling with genuine Rwandan refugees in camps in Western Tanzania. Thus, the willingness of a country to accept refugee influx is a function partly of the country in question's ability to deal with security problems of refugees and partly to pledges from the international humanitarian community.

Malki (1995) described refugee camps as 'hotbeds of political foment' (in Harrell-Bond, 2002:19), therefore making it 'impossible to convince a neighbouring government that the country of asylum is not sanctioning political/military mobilization'. Thus, the presence of refugees has the potential of creating political tension between asylum country and its neighbours, especially where the refugees originated from these neighbouring countries. Refugee presence in an asylum country could be regarded either as a deliberate attempt by the asylum country to create a base from where the country of origin of the refugees could be destabilized or the refugees regarded as unwanted guests who are potential source of instability. But as noted by Jacobsen (2001: 15) "camps aggravate security problems but not all security problems are caused by camps". Which of these apply to a refugee hosting country, depends on the relationship between the two countries (country of asylum and that of origin) before the displacement of the refugees.

Host countries are not the only targets of insurgence from refugee camps but humanitarian workers are also sometimes attacked by militants in refugee camps. A case in point was the tragic death of UNHCR humanitarian workers in East Timor and Guinea (Martin, 1999). This has serious implications for the rendering of humanitarian services and protection of 'true refugees', especially during the early stages of refugee influx where these services are badly needed. This underpinned the call by the international community for a basic training in security techniques for humanitarian aid workers. As a result, many humanitarian agencies such as the International Rescue Committee (IRC) are scrambling to develop policies and protocols which will maximize the security of its staff assigned to insecure environments (Martin, 1999).

Host countries, most of which have their own security problems, now have to double their efforts in curbing internal insurgence and those from refugee camps. This reason underlies most African countries' refusal to accept refugees, let alone allow local integration as a means of solving the protracted refugee situation that has characterized the continent over the years. This statement is premised on the fact that every African country is a potential refugee hosting country.

Gender, Age and Sex as Factors in a Competitive Environment

There is evidence that suggests that the benefits of refugee presence are not something that is shared to people irrespective of their gender roles, age and sex. This points to the role of gender, age and sex as determinants of one's share

of benefits. Where low paying jobs are in high demand during emergency situations, men are found to be quickly taking these jobs to make sure they remain high on the economic ladder. The cultivation of banana, beans and maize, which in Tanzanian culture belong to women, was quickly taken over by men when these produce became expensive during the refugee influx period (Whitaker, 1999). This clearly suggests that it is not an issue of a particular job or crop being the preserve of women because of its content but rather the reward that accompanies it. This was demonstrated in Western Tanzania where Whitaker (1999) found that women are less likely than men to gain access to beneficial opportunities created by the refugee influx. They rather tend to suffer more from environmental degradation associated with refugee presence.

Gender disparity was also noted in marriage. Indigenous wives were compelled to accept any folly from their husbands as found in the Tanzanian situation. Availability of potential refugee wives posed serious threat to many local marriages. Least provocation from a Tanzanian wife was enough for her husband to go in for a refugee wife who was considered cheap (sometimes you do not even have to pay a dowry) and readily available (Whitaker, 1999). As a result, local wives were compelled to always obey their husbands even when they were being cheated (Whitaker, 1999).

UNHCR's principle of treating refugees of all ages equal has been a source of worry in refugee populations as it threatens traditional authority structures. Turner (1999) has documented how the equality created by UNHCR and its implementing agencies in refugee camps in Tanzania has challenged the

old order of hierarchical arrangement prior to displacement. This ideology of treating refugees as equals irrespective of their age often disregards authority structures and serves as a recipe for disrespect in refugee camps. It offers the youth a level playing field to compete favourably for any opportunities in refugee camps. Turner (1999) has specifically noted with shock the positions (as street leaders, NGO workers, political leaders and successful businessmen) held by young men in Burundian refugee camps in Tanzania. The youth, because of their physical disposition, are better placed when it comes to taking opportunities. This consequently improves their economic status which is a key factor in decision making at all levels in refugee camps. This issue of equal opportunities does not only challenge the existing power structures in refugee camps but also likely to threaten internal cohesion as 'old authorities' resist the activities of the 'new forces'.

Economic Status as a Determinant of One's Share of Business

Though the negative impacts of refugee influx situations are felt by all, the 'so-called' benefits of refugee presence, as a matter of fact, are enjoyed by those who are better prepared economically to take advantage of the situation. There is evidence that suggests that even the negative impacts are felt more by people who are economically vulnerable. People who are economically better off in host communities are more likely to take advantage of economic opportunities in emergency situations. This is because such people have created the necessary platform needed for a take-off in such ventures.

Whitaker (1999) has observed that the wealthy in the host communities in Tanzania were able to use their start-up capital to build profitable shops and restaurants and even invested in other businesses such as transport. Some even rented their properties including buildings and cars to relief organizations at very high prices. Proceeds were then invested in more lucrative ventures. Not only had those with strong financial background benefited from the situation but farmers who had surplus food crops also benefited by selling their surpluses for prices that had never existed. They then took advantage of the cheap refugee labour to expand their farms. This suggests that in such situations one needs to be better off in any way before you can benefit.

The 'poor' are not only unable to take advantage of emergency situations to better their lives but they are also made worse off by conditions created by such situations. As in developing countries, when there is a disaster of any form the poor are the most affected because they are already vulnerable. The poor could be particularly affected as a result of high inflation rate, a characteristic of refugee influx situations. The high prices for food crops sometimes compel some of them to sell all their produce, increasing the possibility of famine in their own homes. Rapid upsurge in prices of commodities could threaten the very survival of the poor. Poor hosts have to pay so much for essential goods like salt and sugar (Whitaker, 1999). It has to be noted, however, that the number of refugees involved has a direct bearing on how the rich and the poor are affected by refugee influx situations. The magnitude of the impact on both the poor and the rich is a function of the number of refugees involved in relation

to the host population. The magnitude of the change in social, physical and economic conditions in the host community depends, to a large extent, on the number of refugees concerned. The poor may therefore not always be disadvantaged. There is evidence that the poor, especially those living in communities near refugee settlements, are able to take advantage of the drop in daily wage to expand their farm holdings (Whitaker, 1999).

Indigenous people who depend on daily wage by working as farm labourers are threatened by low wages charged by refugees. Where they are not thrown out of work their negotiating strengths are completely eroded and this has serious implications for refugee-host relationship. This is because indigenes who are thrown out of work as a result of cheap refugee labour are likely to perceive refugees negatively, which then affect their interactions. In all, people's economic dispositions and ingenuity in emergency situations are largely responsible for the way they react to these situations. For example, indigenes with the needed capital to start some business will see the market created by refugees as an avenue to make profits whereas those whose opportunities were taken by the refugees will perceive them the other way.

Activities of AID Agencies

There is an increasing pressure on the donor community to recognize the fact that relief assistance to refugees should seriously consider the needs of host populations. Refugee relief programmes have been linked with local development policies by the Refugee Aid and Development (RAD) theories

since the 1980s (Betts, 1981, 1984; Gorman, 1993; cited in Whitaker, 1999). Hein (1993) has argued that “economic development and assistance to refugees are inseparable issues...because the ‘refugee’ is an indicator of world system dynamics” (in Malkki, 1995:506). This made the call on the humanitarian community to mainstream refugee assistance into local development policies stronger if ‘local integration’ of refugees is to be a preferred choice for refugee hosting countries. There was also an assertion by the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA) in 1984 that refugee assistance should be development-oriented and should take into account the needs of the host population (Whitaker, 1999). In spite of all these theoretical assertions, little has been done in linking refugee aid to development in refugee hosting communities. May be, as rightly pointed out by Jacobsen (2001), refugees are temporary guests and questions of development and human capabilities are put on hold. Investment in the development arena in host communities is not seen as a priority to the humanitarian community. A case in point was the reluctance of donors to include refugees in district development plans for the implementation of the Self-Reliance Strategy meant to locally integrate refugees in Uganda (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil, 2003).

Even where relief programmes are linked with development programmes in host communities, this is grounded in politics rather than a realistic assessment of the changing needs of the community. As Macrae (1999) noted, “the entitlement of populations to official relief or development resources depends not only upon the national political context but the interpretation of that

context by international political actors” (Pp: 5). Another argument that seems to strengthen the ‘relief model’ to the disadvantage of the ‘development perspective’ was the assertion by Crisp (2003) that a major characteristic of most of Africa’s protracted refugee situations is that they are located at peripheral border areas of asylum countries which are insecure and with harsh climatic conditions thereby making such places unattractive to central government and development actors in terms of investment. This assertion is likely to ward off any potential investor. On the basis of this, it could be argued that where the host government is reluctant to invest in these regions, there is no moral justification in persuading donors to do so.

Refugees are supposed to be worse off than the host population as a result of their limitations to access physical and other natural resources. In situations where refugees are better-off as a result of aid from humanitarian agencies local populations become resentful (Bakewell, 2001). As a result, any little misunderstanding between refugees and locals which, under normal circumstances could be overlooked, is blown out of proportion. Refugees who come with some resources in addition to the assistance from donor agencies are better placed to compete favourably with their hosts and even in some instances are economically better off. This is in contrast to the view held by host communities that refugees are strangers with no resources and, therefore, should be worse off. Host populations sometimes hold the view that because of rations from aid agencies refugees charge lesser as farm labourers, a situation that

makes the local labourers redundant. This was observed by Zakariya and Shanmugaratnam (2003) in a study of internally displaced persons in Sri Lanka.

It is clear that the presence of AID agencies would have varied impacts on refugees and host populations. Both refugees and host populations usually take advantage of relief programmes initiated by humanitarian agencies. The magnitude of impact on individuals depends on the ingenuity of the individual to take advantage of whatever opportunities that are created by AID agencies as well as the individual's level of vulnerability.

Implications of the Literature Review to the Study

Though the literature review might not have been exhaustive, it has nevertheless brought out the serious issues relating to the topic which have implications for both refugees and hosts. The direction of whatever implication there may be depends on how the individual was able to manipulate the situation or the vulnerability of the individual. Interaction is all about getting to know people better and this in turn influences people's subsequent relationships. Thus, interactions could only have two kinds of effect – negative or positive. Where host communities suffer severely in terms of physical deterioration in the emergency phase of refugee presence, indigenous people are compelled to create a negative image of refugees which consequently affect all future dealings with refugees. This may set the tone for conflicts.

The various consequences of refugee-host interactions reviewed were intended to direct the study in general and the analysis in particular. The

frameworks reviewed generally made the study focused. The context of the interactive process as discussed in the literature allowed for a thorough comparison with what pertains in the study area and therefore informs a discussion of findings. Thus, apart from giving the theoretical and empirical evidence of refugee-host interaction, the literature also provides the background for an in-depth analysis of relevant issues in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND ISSUES FROM THE FIELD

Introduction

This chapter outlines the various methods that were used to achieve the objectives of the study. Primary data were collected from respondents using questionnaires and interview guides whilst literature from academic sources and data from the UNHCR and its implementing agencies constituted the secondary source.

Target Population

Two main categories of people constitute the population of interest. These are refugees in the Krisan Refugee Settlement and the indigenous population of Sanzule, Krisan and Eikwe communities. These settlements are adjacent coastal communities that interact directly with the refugees. Though the refugee camp is sited on the land of the people of Krisan, it has become necessary to include Sanzule and Eikwe for the following reasons:

- First, the old refugee camp was sited at Sanzule and the refugees have a long standing relationship with the people of Sanzule and this relationship still exists.

- Second, both Krisan and Eikwe are under the jurisdiction of one local authority with one assemblyman who represents the electorate of the area. Besides, the only hospital in the area is at Eikwe making Eikwe a key area in the interactive process.

In addition to these two populations (host communities and refugees), the personnel of UNHCR and its implementing agencies were also targeted for interview. These organisations included Ghana Refugee Board (GRB), which was being represented in the camp by the staff of the National Disaster Management Organisation (NADMO), the Catholic Relief Services (CRS), Ghana Red Cross (GRC) and Women Initiative for Self Empowerment, a gender based non-governmental organisation.

Due to the fluid nature of the number of refugees in the camp as a result of new arrivals on one hand and repatriation and resettlement of refugees on the other, figures used in this study were those available as at 2005 World Refugee Day (20th June, 2005). As at that date there were 1321 refugees at the camp. Currently, there are refugees from eleven African countries at the camp. These eleven countries are Togo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Congo, the Congo Democratic Republic, Rwanda, Cote d'Ivoire, Chad, Somalia and Eritrea. Nationals from Togo constituted the largest proportion of refugees (39%) and the least of one refugee each were from Eritrea and Somalia. In between these two extremes are the rest of the countries with refugee populations ranging from as low as three to two hundred and ninety (Table 7)

Table 7

Distribution of Refugees by Country of Origin

Country	Total
Togo	517
Liberia ¹	290
Sierra Leone	234
Sudan	204
Congo & Congo, DR	35
Rwanda	20
Cote d'Ivoire	16
Chad	3
Somalia	1
Eritrea	1

Source: Ghana Refugee Board, 2005.



Plate 2: The Researcher (Arrowed) and Some of the Refugees During the Fieldwork.

There was no data available on sex and age distribution of refugees in the camp. It was therefore not possible to get the number of the various sexes and their age distribution.

Research Design

Quantitative and qualitative techniques were employed in the study. Quantitative techniques were used to select respondents from both the host population and refugees. Qualitative techniques were also used to select and solicit information from the leaders of refugees and indigenes as well as UNHCR and its implementing organisations operating in the camp.

Determination of Sample Size

The desired sample size was calculated to be 359 using Fisher's *et al* (1998) formula (see Appendix G for the description of variables in the formula and the calculation). In order to create a level playing field for the two categories of respondents to ease analysis, the sample size was divided into two equal parts. Thus, 180 respondents each of host population and refugees were selected for the study. This number excluded the opinion leaders of the host communities and the refugees who were purposively selected

Sampling Procedures

For the refugee category, a multi-stage sampling procedure was employed in the selection of respondents. The entire refugee population was first divided into groups based on nationality. These country-specific quotas were again divided into two – men and women. With the help of the register used for distributing rations, random numbers table was used to select the respondents until the required number of males and females for each country was achieved. Since the study targeted only adults (18 years and above), the required sample size (180) was exceeded to allow for replacement should a minor be selected. The number of respondents to be selected from a particular country was initially determined based on the proportion of refugees from each country compared to the total refugee population.

These country-specific quotas were again divided into two – men and women. Refugees from Chad, Eritrea and Somalia were arbitrarily chosen

because their numbers were so small that no meaningful selection could be made. Table 8 shows the distribution of the refugee sample.

Table 8

Sample Size Distribution of Refugees by Sex and Country of Origin

Country	Male	Female	Total
Togo	35	35	70
Liberia	19	19	38
Sierra Leone	16	16	32
Sudan	14	14	28
Congo & Congo, DR	2	2	4
Rwanda	1	1	2
Cote d'Ivoire	1	1	2
Chad	1	1	2
Somalia	1	-	1
Eritrea	1	-	1
Total	91	89	180

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

Togo had the highest number because of their dominance at the camp. The remaining countries followed in that order. The leaders of the recognised four Welfare Committees in the camp at the time of the study were purposively selected and interviewed.

A combination of non-probability and probability sampling methods were used to select respondents from the host population. These were thought to be appropriate in order to ensure some level of representativeness. Using the chalking and listing done to facilitate the activities of the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), individual houses were selected randomly from the listed houses. Sixty-two houses were selected from Eikwe, 32 from Krisan and 56 from Sanzule. These figures were arrived at based on the populations of the various communities expressed as proportions of the sum total of the three communities. Any adult member met accidentally was interviewed from the selected houses bearing in mind the equal representation given to males and females. It was not possible to use a probabilistic method throughout because there was no pre-information about the host population that could facilitate the use of such method. Also, it was thought that anybody who resides in the host communities could give the necessary information needed for the study since interaction with the refugees was not a preserve of any individual or group.

Respondents were, subsequently, accidentally selected from the randomly sampled houses provided they were 18 years and above at the time of the data collection exercise. The chief or his representative and the Assemblyman of the communities were purposively selected as the leaders of the communities. These two personalities represent both traditional and the current political authorities in the communities (see Table 9 for the sample distribution).

Table 9

Sample Size Distribution of Host Population by Community and Sex

Sex	Community			Total
	Sanzule	Krisan	Eikwe	
Male	34	19	37	90
Female	34	19	37	90
Total	68	38	74	180

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

The last category of respondents was UNHCR and its implementing agencies. Officers in-charge of these organisations were purposively selected as they were considered to be able to provide information on the role their respective organisations were playing in the interactive process.

Research Instruments

Two data collection techniques were used in the study. These were questionnaire and in-depth interview (IDI). Different questionnaires were used to collect data from the randomly sampled refugees and the host population. Issues covered in the questionnaire for refugees were captured under six sections (Sections A to F). Section A covered issues relating to refugees' reasons of displacement, how they made their journey to Ghana and their immediate goals. The second section covered demographic and general background characteristics of respondents. These included age of respondents, their educational background

and marital status. Sections C and D were on issues of refugee activities in host community and the perceived impact of these activities on the host community.

The last two sections explored the relationships between refugees on one hand and host population and UNHCR and its implementing agencies on the other. Issues explored included various activities that refugees engaged in to survive in their new environment, types of resources needed for their activities and the sources of these resources (see Appendix C).

The questionnaire for the host population was similar to the first two sections dealing with general issues and background characteristics. The general issues ranged from knowledge of refugee presence in host communities to issues of host population's perception of refugees. The next two sections dealt with host population's activities and the perceived impact of such activities on refugees. The rest explored how the hosts were relating with refugees and agencies operating in the camp (Appendix B).

The IDI guide for the refugees was divided into six sections. The first section covered questions on reasons for displacement and mode of transport to Ghana. The second and the third sections considered issues concerning resources in both the host communities and the refugee settlement. Specific issues included resources in both refugee camp and host communities. The fourth section solicited information on the activities of the refugees in the host communities. The last two sections sought information on the relationship between refugees on one hand and the host and the implementing agencies involved in welfare activities on the other. Questions ranged from the assistance

offered to refugees and the host communities to their perception of refugee and host activities (see Appendix D).

The discussion guide for host opinion leaders was organised into five sections. The first section sought information on hosts' awareness of refugee presence and community response. There were questions on people's first impressions about refugees and if this had changed over the years. The next two sections covered issues relating to the use of resources by both refugees and host communities. Sections four and five were about the relationship between host on one hand and refugees and implementing agencies on the other (Appendix E). The discussion guide for the implementing agencies was similar to those of the community opinion leaders and the refugee leaders (see Appendix F for the details).

Pre-Field Activities

Reconnaissance Surveys

There were reconnaissance surveys to identify the likely issues that needed to be addressed before the data collection exercise. Three of these surveys were conducted at the Krisan Refugee Settlement. The Camp Manager was the contact person in the camp and he coordinated activities during the study. The others were at the country office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Ghana Refugee Board and the Ghana Immigration Service. The field office of the UNHCR based in Sekondi, which was responsible for the Krisan Refugee Settlement, was also visited.

Permission was finally sought from the Ghana Refugee Board, the statutory body responsible for refugee activities in Ghana.

Training of Field Assistants

Two field assistants were engaged to help in the data collection exercise. They were taken through the questionnaires. The training exercise was meant to build consensus on questions, bearing in mind the objectives of the study. All the in-depth interviews were conducted by the researcher himself. The intention behind this was to minimize, as much as possible, inconsistencies that might arise as a result of using more than one interviewer for the in-depth interview.

Pre-Test

Pre-test was carried out using Togolese refugees who were scattered along the border villages of the Akatsi District in the Volta Region. These refugees were not living in any organised camp but were rather staying with host households. Ten refugees (five women and five men) and ten members of the host community, with the same sex distribution, from Ave Hevi were interviewed. Based on the pre-test some of the response options were expanded.

Field Work

The actual fieldwork started with the host population on the 20th of August, 2005. The exercise with the host took some 40 days. The entire team started with the administration of the questionnaire on the first day of the visit.

This was intended to enable us discuss emerging issues and find solutions to them. The two field assistants continued the questionnaire administration whilst the researcher administered the in-depth interviews. As the data collection team was preparing to start with the refugees and the implementing agencies, a riot broke out in the camp on the 4th of November, 2005. This led to the suspension of the exercise for security reasons. The exercise resumed in the first week of March, 2006 and took another one month to complete.

Data Management and Analysis

The analysis process followed a structured format comprising editing, coding, and developing a frame of analysis and finally the actual analysis. These steps were strictly followed to ensure that the data were properly cleaned to ensure quality results.

Editing

Data collected from the field were checked for completeness of contents and for internal consistency in the responses. This was done by:

- *Inference:* Some questions in the research instrument were related. It was therefore possible to infer the answer to a particular question from the answer provide for a related question. However care was taken not to introduce new errors.

All the in-depth interviews were conducted in English language. This made the transcription less difficult since there was no need to translate into English

language before transcription. The transcription was carefully done not to introduce any error.

Coding

Templates for the questionnaires were laid after the pre-test using the Statistical Product for Service Solutions (SPSS) software. The data were subsequently coded after the data cleaning exercise. Responses for the few open ended questions were tallied to check the frequency of particular responses. This made it possible to code responses to these questions.

Data Analysis

The analysis was in two sections -- the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and the main issues involved in the interaction. Frequency distributions, cross tabulations and other descriptive statistics were used to describe the data. The binomial logistic regression was used to test hypotheses. The odds ratio remains the most common way of interpreting logistic regression analysis *albeit* other concepts such as the significant level or the P value. The odds ratio indicates the number of times an event is likely to occur. The P value on the other hand, predicts the probability that an event is occurring or not occurring.

History of the Study

Two major events occurred during the study period which had

implications for the study. The first was a feasibility study by United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) to examine the possibility of establishing some income generating activities in the host communities. Activities being considered were the establishment of a nursery to supply oil palm seedlings to farmers to form an outgrower scheme and subsequently providing an oil mill for the harvest from the oil palm plantations. This project was intended to provide employment for the host population. Apart from it generating incomes for the host population in the long run, it also had the potential to directly improve relationship between the host and agencies working in the camp as hosts will regard these agencies as partners in development, thereby improving relationships.

The second event was a revolt by over five hundred refugees, who later invaded the border town of Elubo, citing poor feeding and accommodation as reasons for their action (Achiaw, 2005a). They were forced back to the camp by officials of UNHCR, NADMO and the security services only for them to beat up their colleagues who failed to join the revolt to Elubo. They also vandalised the office of UNHCR in the camp including the store room where rations were kept pending distribution (Achiaw, 2005b). They set ablaze the warehouse of the UNHCR in the camp (Plate 3) and burnt one pick-up belonging to the Catholic Relief Services. As a result, six refugees were arrested. This adversely affected the relationship between the refugees and agencies working in the camp. The event delayed the research work.

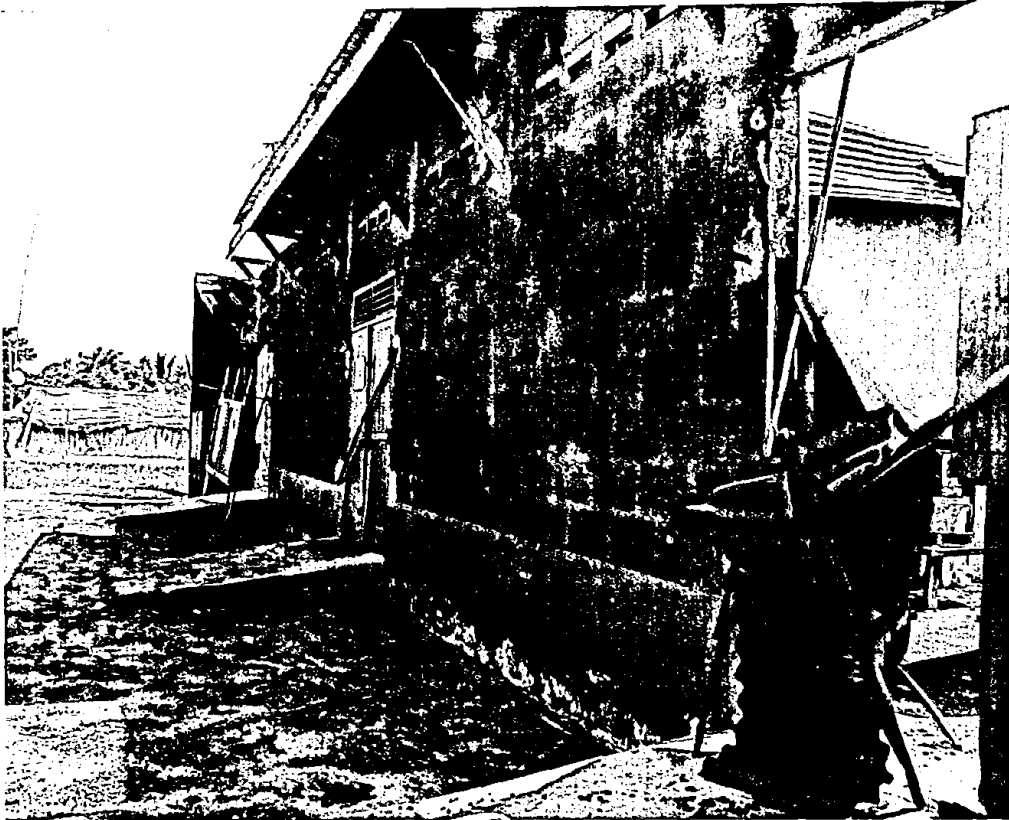


Plate 3: The burnt warehouse of the UNHCR in the Krisan Refugee Camp

Source: Field Survey, 2006

Problems and Limitations

As with any human endeavour, the data collection exercise encountered some problems. These were the refusal of the chief of Sanzule to take part in the study and the riot at the refugee camp. The chief of Sanzule thought the study was being used to entrench ownership of the camp to the people of Krisan. He contended that the former camp was sited on the land of Sanzule therefore the present camp should not be called Krisan Refugee Settlement. Rather, it should be called Sanzule-Krisan Refugee Settlement. All attempts by the research team, the Camp Manager and Assemblyman to convince him to respond to the

interview proved futile. But the Assemblyman of the Sanzule community was very receptive and was instrumental in educating the people of Sanzule about the purpose of the study. Locating some of the houses selected in the sample was also difficult due to the haphazard manner in which the numbering was done. Apart from these, the administration of questionnaires in the host communities was smooth.

Apart from the riot in the camp that delayed data collection, the exercise in the refugee settlement was generally smooth. There were instances the research team found it difficult to locate some of the respondents. They were finally located on a ration day because everybody was supposed to be represented in person. But once they were located they were willing to respond to the questionnaires, an indication that they had some problem that they would like to share with people. The whole exercise had been worthwhile.

Summary

In all, the data collection exercise took about 70 days. Response rate was 100% since the questionnaires were administered by the field assistants. Two major events that occurred in the Refugee Hosting Area during the study period were discussed in order to know their relevance to the study. The chapter was concluded with problems and limitations among which were the refusal of some key stakeholders to respond to the research instruments and the difficulty in locating some of the respondents. These problems were solved with the help of the Camp Manager and his staff and the refugee leaders.

CHAPTER FOUR
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS
AND ISSUES OF PERCEPTION

Introduction

Background characteristics of a group of people play an important role in how they interact among themselves and with other people as well as how they perceive issues. As noted by Whitaker (1999), the sharing of burdens and benefits of refugees by host populations is influenced by sex, age and class. In rural refugee hosting communities those who benefit from interactions are the better-off and the more visible hosts (Chambers, 1986). These people are well positioned before such influxes and are better prepared to take advantage of opportunities created. Conversely, the poor and the vulnerable hosts are not only deprived of their share but, more importantly, lose the opportunities available to them before such influxes (Brun, 2003). People's background characteristics combine in varying degrees to influence the way they relate among themselves and with other people. The focus of this chapter is two-fold. First, is to outline the background characteristics of the host population and the refugees. This subsequently forms the basis for the analysis of issues of interaction in the next chapter. Second, is a discussion on issues of perceptions as they relate to both refugees and host population.

Socio-Demographic Background

Education, Marital Status and Age Distribution of Respondents by Sex

Ages of the host population interviewed ranged from 18 to 67 years with a mean of 34 years. Out of the 180 hosts interviewed, about 42% were aged thirty years or less while 13% were more than 45 years. The ages of the refugees ranged from 18 to 64 with a mean of about 35 years (Table 10). There were no differences in the number of both sexes since the selection was of equal allocation except for the refugees where 91 and 89 males and females were respectively selected.

The largest proportion of males interviewed (24%) in the host communities were in the age group of 35-39 while that of females (24%) were in the age group of 25-29. Generally, concentration of host population interviewed was between the ages of 20 and 49. Significantly low percentages were recorded for below 20 and above 49 years (Table 10).

A similar trend was recorded for the refugees. Here, the concentration was between 20 and 44 years (Table 10). The 24-29 age group recorded the largest number of females and males (30% and 18% respectively). Apart from the 60-64 age group for female hosts and 55-59 age group for refugee males, all of which recorded 0%, the lowest proportion of respondents was in the 65+ age group for all respondents (Table 10).

Table 10

Age Distribution of Respondents by Sex

Age group	Host population				Refugees			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Less than 20	3	3.3	3	3.3	3	3.3	5	5.7
20-24	10	11.1	9	10.0	10	11.1	16	17.7
25-29	19	21.1	22	24.4	27	29.5	16	17.7
30-34	10	11.1	19	20.0	15	16.7	14	15.6
35-39	22	24.4	15	16.7	10	11.0	14	15.6
40-44	8	9.0	8	9.0	18	19.6	11	13.4
45-49	9	10.0	9	10.0	3	3.3	4	4.4
50-54	6	6.7	2	2.2	2	2.2	4	4.4
55-59	1	1.1	2	2.2	0	0.0	2	2.2
60-64	1	1.1	0	0.0	2	2.2	2	2.2
65+	1	1.1	1	1.1	1	1.1	1	1.1
Total	90	100.0	90	100.0	91	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Access to formal education was lower for the host population than the refugees. All the interviewed refugee males had access to formal education which was not the case for the host population. For the female category of both populations, 24% of female hosts had no formal education as against 19% of

female refugees. There were also disparities within the same target population. For the host population, males were more likely to have access to formal education than females, confirming the common knowledge in developing countries that education of males is preferred to that of females. For example, 52% of males interviewed in the host population had access to Middle/JSS education as against 38% for the females (Table 11). About 51% and 32% respectively of refugee males and females had second cycle education. This is an indication that the refugees had some skills which could be used to earn a living in asylum destinations if allowed to operate within these economies.

Table 11

Educational Level of Respondents by Sex

	Host population				Refugees			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
None	11	12.2	22	24.4	0	0.0	17	19.1
Primary	17	18.9	27	30.0	10	11.0	18	20.2
Middle/JSS	47	52.2	34	37.8	27	29.7	25	28.1
Sec./SSS	8	8.9	5	5.6	46	50.5	28	31.5
Higher	7	7.8	2	2.2	8	8.8	1	1.1
Total	90	100.0	90	100.0	91	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2006

Union through marriage is known to be a strong factor that can improve relationships between people of different physical, social, economic or political background. It is a force that unites people. Marriage, as an institution, allows people to see things differently. Thus, in the same community with similar characteristics, one is likely to see married people interacting differently from those who are single. Table 12 shows marital status of the respondents by sex.

Table 12

Marital Status of Respondents by Sex

	Host population				Refugees			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Single	29	32.2	25	27.8	41	45.1	10	11.2
Married	50	55.6	49	54.4	49	54.4	55	61.8
In-cohabitation	1	1.1	1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
Separated	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	3.4
Divorced	9	10.0	14	15.6	17	18.7	1	1.1
Widowed	1	1.1	1	1.1	4	4.3	20	22.5
Total	90	100.0	90	100.0	91	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

More males were single than females for both populations (32% and 28% for host population; and 45% and 11% for refugees). Forty-seven percent

of refugees and 55% of host population were married. Thirty percent of the hosts and 28% of the refugees were single. The proportion of married males in the host population was similar to married females (56% and 54% respectively). However, this was different for the refugees where the proportion of married males (62%) was about twice the proportion of married females (32%) [Table 10]. For the host population, divorce was slightly higher among the females (16%) than males (10%). Refugee males were more likely to divorce than refugee females. A wider range of about 18% was recorded (Table 10).

Married respondents were asked whether their spouses were from the other population. The data indicate that none of the host had a spouse who is a refugee. Conversely, four refugees had married from the host population. This figure though marginal, indicated that there was some form of social interaction between refugees and their host which had translated into marriage. To ascertain the nature of intermarriages between the refugees and the host population, the Assemblyman for Sanzule was contacted. He indicated that there were intermarriages between the indigenes and the refugees and subsequently showed a woman he claimed to be married to a refugee. Coincidentally, this woman happened to be one of the sampled hosts and was interviewed but she denied having a refugee husband. A respondent indicated that:

There were marriages between the refugees and us. There are all forms of social interaction. There are few marriages but casual relationships are many. I for one, I have one lady among the refugees whom I will talk to later to see if I could marry

her.

This is an area for further research, including people's perceptions about marriage.

Religious Affiliation of the Respondents

Catholic (47%) and Protestant (34%) churches were the dominant religious groups in the host population and the refugees (see Figure 3).

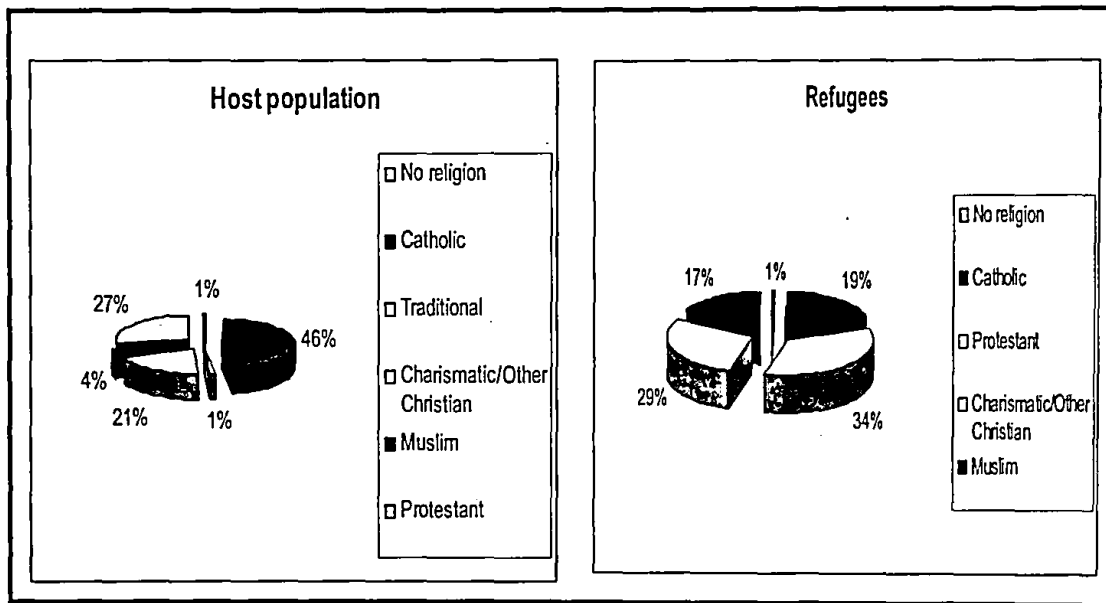


Figure 3: Religious Affiliation of Respondents

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Adherents of the Islamic religion accounted for 17% of the sampled refugees whilst only 4% of the sampled host population were Muslims. Traditional religion accounted for 1% of the host population while none of the sampled refugees belonged to this religious group. A fifth of the host population said they were Charismatic/Other Christian while nearly one third of the refugees were

members of the same group. Protestant populations in the two groups were 34% for refugees and 27% for host population (Figure 3).

Reasons for Leaving and Origin of the Refugees

Literature on refugees gives various reasons why refugees are forcibly displaced from their countries of origin. Among the reasons are political instability and ethnic and religious conflicts (Whitaker, 1999). Refugee flows in developing countries and sub-Saharan Africa in particular are often the result of these causes. Refugees in the Krisan Refugee Settlement were asked the cause of their displacement, the mode of transport to Ghana and why they chose Ghana as an asylum destination.

Eighty-five percent of the refugees said they left for Ghana as a result of political instability. Fourteen and one percent of the refugees were displaced respectively as a result of tribal and religious conflicts. Apart from Chad, Rwanda and Sudan refugees from all the other countries left their countries of origin because of political instability. This manifestation confirms the political intolerance in sub-Sahara Africa in particular and the developing world in general. Religious conflict was only reported by a refugee from Chad while 89% of the refugees from Sudan were displaced as a result of tribal conflict (Table 13).

Table 13

Reasons for Leaving and Origin of the Refugees

Country of Origin	Causes of displacement			Total (N)
	Political instability (%)	Tribal conflict (%)	Religious conflict (%)	
Togo	100.0	0.0	0.0	70
Liberia	100.0	0.0	0.0	38
Sierra Leone	100.0	0.0	0.0	32
Sudan	10.7	89.3	0.0	28
Congo				
Brazzaville	100.0	0.0	0.0	4
Chad	50.0	0.0	50.0	2
Cote d'Ivoire	100.0	0.0	0.0	2
Rwanda	50.0	50.0	0.0	2
Eritrea	100.0	0.0	0.0	1
Somalia	100.0	0.0	0.0	1
Total (N)	153	26	1	180
(%)	85.0	14.4	0.6	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Mode of Transport and Origin of Refugees

The idea of considering mode of transport to Ghana is to examine whether proximity played a role in the choice of mode of transport of the

refugees. Table 14 shows the distribution of mode of transport and origin of the refugees.

Table 14

Mode of Transport and Origin of Refugees

Country of origin	Mode of transport			
	By road (%)	By air (%)	By sea (%)	On foot (%)
Chad	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Congo				
Brazzaville	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Cote d'Ivoire	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Eritrea	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Liberia	34.2	0.0	65.8	0.0
Rwanda	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0
Sierra Leone	28.1	34.4	37.5	0.0
Somalia	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Sudan	89.3	7.1	0.0	3.6
Togo	37.1	0.0	0.0	62.9
Total (N)	81	14	40	45
(%)	45.0	7.8	22.2	25.0

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Forty-five percent of the refugees came to Ghana by road while 25% arrived on foot. The rest arrived by air (8%) and by sea (22%). Refugees from Chad, Congo Brazzaville and Cote d'Ivoire all arrived in Ghana by road. The journeys by road from Chad and Congo Brazzaville could imply that refugees had temporary stoppages on their way since these countries are far away from Ghana. Some of the refugees from Togo and Sudan came to Ghana on foot. Two-thirds of Togolese refugees came by road while relatively small proportion of Sudanese refugees (4%) also came on foot. Sierra Leonean refugees used the other three modes of transport (by road, 28%; by air, 34%, by sea, 38%).

Mode of arrival in Ghana could imply whether refugees arrived on *prima facie* basis where their statuses as refugees were determined as a group. This category of refugees were likely to arrive by sea or by air and might enjoy organised trips as witnessed during the beginning of the Liberian crisis where the trips were organised by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). These modes of transport were more likely to reach the asylum country without many hindrances. Refugees who came to Ghana by road and on foot were likely not to come under any protection.

Choice of Destination

The friendly attitude of Ghanaians, especially to foreigners has been widely discussed in the literature (see Dick, 2002; Owusu, 2000). About 79% (143) of the refugees interviewed indicated that they chose Ghana as an asylum destination because of their priority for peace and safety. Female refugees were

more likely than male refugees to choose asylum destination based on peace and safety as a reason (82% for females and 77% for males) [Table 15]. About 9% and 11% of the sampled females and males respectively said they came to Ghana because at the time of their crises Ghana was the only option available to them (see Table 15). Some refugees also considered language as a factor for their choice of Ghana. About 3% of sampled refugees said they chose Ghana because they could speak English, the official language of Ghana. Two females and four males were in this proportion. This proportion of the respondents, though relatively small, pointed to the importance of language in interaction.

Table 15

Reasons Why Refugees Chose Ghana as an Asylum Destination

Reason	Frequency		Percentage	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Peaceful and safe	70	73	76.9	82.0
Only available option	10	8	11.0	9.0
Nearness	6	5	6.6	5.6
Speaking the same language	4	2	4.4	2.3
Other reasons	1	1	1.1	1.1
Total	91	89	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Six percent of the sampled refugees, on the other hand, thought Ghana is near to their country of origin. This, they said, made Ghana the obvious choice. The stable political environment in Ghana over the last two and half decades coupled with the international recognition of Ghana in peace keeping has made Ghana an attractive place for refugees. Generally, the responses of the two sexes do not differ significantly.

These reasons could influence how refugees relate with their host. For example, a refugee who thought he/she came to Ghana because that was the only option at the time could create problems for the host. Those who cherished Ghana based on some ideals, were likely to operate within the social regulatory structures in the host community.

Immediate Goals of the Refugees by Sex and Origin of the Refugees

Human beings, no matter the circumstance in which they are in, have some ambitions. Similarly for refugees, not withstanding the uncertainty surrounding their departure had some goals that they hope to achieve. These goals were likely to influence whatever activities that they engaged in or even their interactions with both host and agencies operating in the camp. Refugees were asked to give their immediate goals. Table 16 gives the details of their responses.

Table 16

Immediate Goals of the Refugees by Sex and Origin of Refugees

Country of origin	Shelter (%)	Food (%)	Physical safety (%)	Locating lost family members (%)	Reducing economic vulnerability (%)
Chad	0.6	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0
Congo					
Brazzaville	1.1	1.1	2.2	0.0	0.0
Cote d'Ivoire	1.1	0.0	1.1	0.6	0.0
Eritrea	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0
Liberia	8.9	2.2	21.1	8.3	0.6
Rwanda	1.1	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0
Sierra Leone	6.7	0.0	17.7	10.6	0.0
Somalia	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0
Sudan	12.2	0.0	15.6	0.0	0.6
Togo	19.4	0.6	37.8	5.0	0.0
Total (N)	92	7	178	44	2
(%)	51.1	3.9	98.9	24.4	1.1

Note: Multiple responses

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Immediate goals given by the refugees were basic: about 99% (178) of the refugees mentioned desire for physical safety as their goal when they arrived in Ghana. The need for shelter ranked second with 51% (92). The rest were 'locating lost family members' (24%), 'to get food' (4%) and 'reducing economic vulnerability' (1%) [Table 16]. Refugees from Togo are more likely to set shelter as a goal than refugees from any other country. Physical safety was a common goal to all the refugees with refugees from Togo again leading in percentage followed by Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan in that order. Only 1% (2) of the refugees set reducing economic vulnerability as an immediate goal whereas 24% and 4% respectively considered locating lost family members and food as immediate goals.

Some of the refugees, however, indicated that their goals had changed since they arrived in Ghana. Those who reported a change in their goals accounted for 76% (136) of the total refugees interviewed. The new goals of the refugees were re-building of life, improving upon one's life, plan for a permanent integration in the host community and plan for resettlement in a third country (see Figure 4).

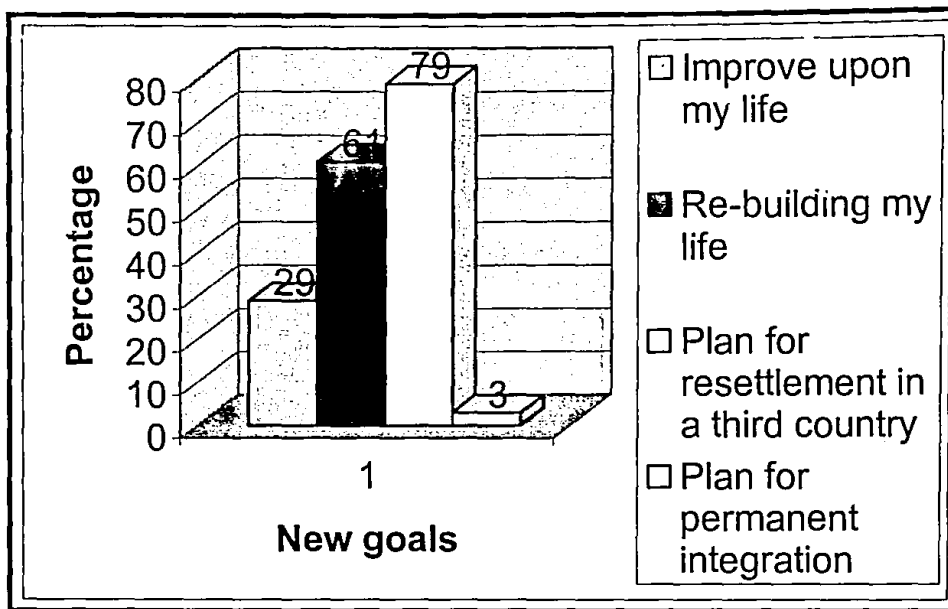


Figure 4: New goals of the Refugees

Note: Multiple responses

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Seventy-nine percent of the refugees had plans for resettlement in a third country as their new goal. Only 3% of the refugees had plans for permanent integration in the host community as a new goal. Sixty-one and twenty-nine percent respectively had re-building and improving upon their lives as their new goals. No refugee gave preparation for voluntary repatriation as a new goal. The high demand for resettlement in a third country has implications for the other durable solutions – local integration and voluntary repatriation. Such attitudes could frustrate efforts by UNHCR and its partners to repatriate refugees voluntarily. For example, refugees from Togo were being asked to return because things have normalised in their country but they persistently maintained that Togo was still not safe.

Determinants of Change in Goals of Refugees

Apart from refugees being in protracted situation which could influence them to change their immediate goals (Jacobsen, 2003), the literature is silent on determinants of change in goals of refugees. This study attempted analysing the potentials of background characteristics to influence change in the initial goals of refugees. This was based on the premise that people's background characteristics could influence their perceptions and aspirations. The binomial logistic regression model was used to analyse how these variables affected the change in refugee goals. This model was chosen because of its suitability for dichotomous dependent variable (i.e. yes or no in this case) and its capacity to analyse a mixture of continuous and discrete variables (Tabachnick *et al*, 1996; In Tanle, 2003).

The background variables used were age, educational level, marital status, number of years as a refugee, status of place of residence before displacement and number of dependants (Table 17).

Table 17

Results of Logistic Regression

Explanatory variables	B	S. E.	Wald	Sig. (P)	Exp(B) (Odds ratio)
No. of years as a refugee	0.425	0.425	1.128	0.288	1.588
Age	-0.337	0.474	0.507	0.477	0.714
Educational level	1.086	0.649	2.798	0.094	2.963
Marital status	-0.512	0.449	1.303	0.254	0.599
Status of place of residence before displacement	-0.054	0.554	0.009	0.922	0.947
No. of dependants	-1.591	0.461	11.905	0.001	0.204
Constant	-0.405	0.456	0.790	0.374	0.667

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

These variables were transformed to make them dichotomous. For the metric variables (age, number of years as a refugee and number of dependants) their mean values were used. For age, values below the mean were coded as 1 and those above 0. The minimum value of 1 to the mean of 6 was coded as 1 and above that as 0 for the number of years as a refugee. Number of dependants was similarly coded with 0-2 as 1 and above 2 as 0. The nonmetric variables (education, marital status and status of residence before displacement) were coded as two options. No formal education was coded as 0 and formal education

as 1. The others were marital status which had married as 1 and others as 0 and status of place of residence before displacement with 1 for urban and 0 for rural. Appendix A shows the details of the transformation.

Of all the explanatory variables used only 'number of dependants' was significant at the 95% confidence level (Table 17), implying that the number of dependants influences changes in the goals of refugees. Thus, the hypothesis that socio-demographic background has no significant relationship with whether goals of the refugees have changed was rejected. The negative coefficient of -0.405 indicates an inverse relationship between number of dependants and change of goals. That is, the less the number of dependants the more the likelihood that refugees will change their initial goals. The other explanatory variables (age, educational level, marital status, number of years as a refugee and status of place of residence before displacement) were not significant at the 95% confidence level.

The odd ratios show how each of the explanatory variables influence the change in goals of the refugees as compared to a reference category. The likelihood of number of years as a refugee influencing change of refugee goals was 1.588, indicating that refugees who have stayed in the camp for more than six years are more likely to set new goals than those less than six years. Refugees with formal education were as 2.963 times likely to set new goals than those without formal education.

Issues of Perception

Hosts' Perceptions of Refugee Behaviour by their Age and Sex

Data available indicate that about 47% of the host respondents had a positive perception about the refugees in the camp (see Table 13). Nearly 24% had neutral perception about the refugees, citing the fact that refugees are like any other human beings and are likely to behave either way depending on the circumstance.

Out of the 90 females interviewed, approximately 49% of them had positive perceptions about the refugees in the camp whilst about 29% of them reported negative perceptions. Similarly, 46% of the 90 males interviewed had positive perceptions about the refugees as against 29% for negative perceptions. Proportion of males who had neutral perceptions about the refugees was slightly higher than that of females (25.5% and 22.2%). The percentage differences between the sexes in terms of perceptions were significantly small (4.3% for 'positive' perception in favour of females, 0% for 'negative' perception and 3.3% for 'neutral' in favour of males) [Table 18].

Table 18

Age and Sex of Interviewed Hosts by their Perception of Refugee Behaviour

Age group	Perceptions by age			Total (N)
	Positive (%)	Negative (%)	Neutral (%)	
< 20	50.0	33.3	16.7	6
20-24	47.4	31.6	21.0	19
25-29	58.5	24.4	17.1	41
30-34	32.1	35.8	32.1	28
35-39	45.9	35.2	18.9	37
40-44	43.8	31.2	25.0	16
45-49	47.4	21.0	31.6	19
50-54	37.5	12.5	50.0	8
55-59	33.3	66.7	0.0	3
60-64	100.0	0.0	0.0	1
65+	100.0	0.0	0.0	2
Total (N)	85	52	43	180
(%)	47.2	28.9	23.9	100.0
Sex				
Male	45.6	28.9	25.5	90
Female	48.9	28.9	22.2	90
Total (N)	85	52	43	180
(%)	47.2	28.9	23.9	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

In terms of age, the 25-29 age group was more likely to perceive refugees positively than any of the age groups. Over half of them (59%) perceived refugees positively while 24% perceived the refugees negatively. Host population in the 30-34 age group were the least likely (32%) to perceive refugees positively (Table 18). Age of the host population seemed to have little or no influence on the perceptions of refugees by hosts.

Level of Education and Nature of Perceptions of Refugees

People's perception about events or a group of people depends, to some extent, on their experiences. Formal education is one such experience. It is expected that the level of education of hosts could influence how they perceive refugees.

In all, 47% of the host population perceived the refugees positively while 29% and 24% had negative and neutral perceptions of refugees respectively (see Table 19). The trend for the proportion of hosts perceiving refugees positively was similar (between 40% and 50% for all the levels of education). Significant proportions of the host population, at all levels of education, had neutral perceptions of refugee behaviour (21% for no formal education, 20% for primary, 23% for Middle/JSS and 36% for Sec/SSS/Higher).

Table 19**Educational Level of Hosts and Nature of Perceptions of Refugees**

Level of education	Perceptions			Total
	Positive (%)	Negative (%)	Neutral (%)	(N)
None	48.5	30.3	21.2	33
Primary	45.5	34.1	20.4	44
Middle/JSS	49.4	27.2	23.4	81
Sec./SSS/Higher	40.9	22.7	36.4	22
Total (N)	85	52	43	180
(%)	47.2	28.9	23.9	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

The Chi Square statistic (X^2) was used to test the null hypothesis (H_0) that there is no significant relationship between educational level and perception of refugee behaviour. The calculated X^2 was 6.114. However, the X^2 critical value at 0.05 level of significance with a degree of freedom of 8 was 15.507. The decision rule was to reject H_0 if X^2 calculated was greater than X^2 critical value. Hence, the data available did not call for rejection of the null hypothesis that there is no significant relationship between educational level and perception of refugee behaviour.

Reasons for Positive Perceptions of Refugees

Four reasons were given for perceiving the refugees positively. These were 'sympathising with refugees', 'no human being is perfect', 'livens up

communities' and 'friendliness'. Eighty- one percent of those indicating positive perception said refugees were friendly (Figure 5).

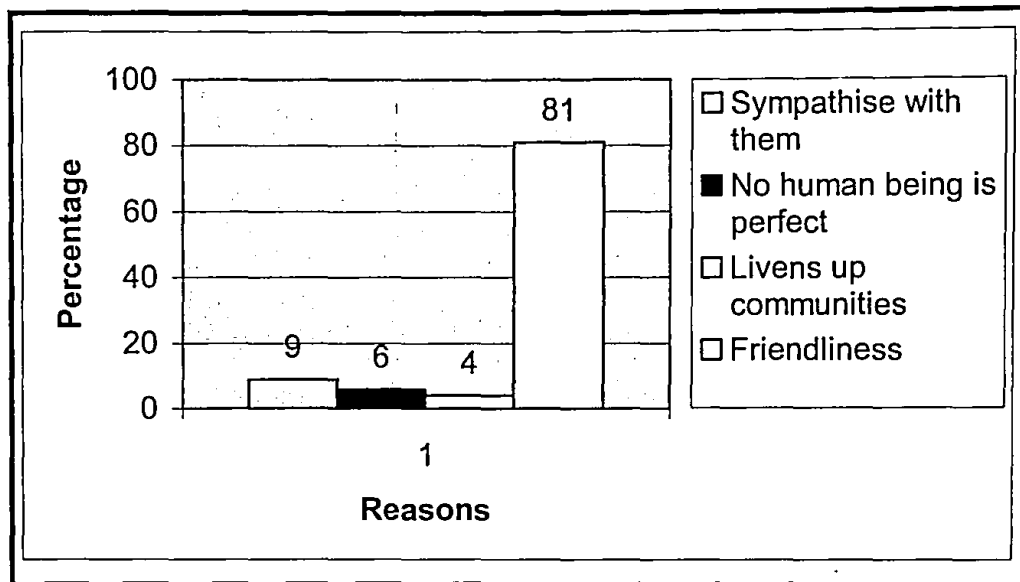


Figure 5: Reasons for Perceiving Refugees Positively

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Nine percent of the hosts perceived refugees positively because they sympathised with them while 6% of them considered no human being as perfect and therefore perceived refugees positively. To another 4%, the presence of refugees livens up the host communities hence their positive perception of them (Figure 5). The dominance of friendliness as a reason for perceiving refugees positively is a good indication for interactions as people’s ability to form networks is part of their social capital. Sympathising with refugees could also influence interactions positively. An opinion leader had this to say:

First, when they came we were entertaining some fears that because of the war

they might torment us here but as time went on we started to feel very sorry for them because we knew the war in Liberia at that time. We could hear or even we saw some pictures of how some people were maltreated so we felt for them.

Reasons for Negative Perception of Refugees by Hosts

Refugees being regarded as people who foment trouble emerged as the reason with the highest percentage for the negative perception of refugees. Out of 52 respondents who had negative perception of the refugees, 69% (36) of them reported that refugees were trouble makers. This is in consonance with the literature that refugee camps are hot beds of fomenting trouble and a threat to life and property (Malki, 1995; Jacobsen, 1999; Mills and Norton, 2002 and Harrell-Bond, 2002). For 14% (7) of the respondents, refugees were environmental degraders (e.g. charcoal production) hence they perceived them negatively.

About 15% (8) of the host said refugees were capable of doing anything when hard pressed, a situation which made them perceive refugees negatively while 2% (1) gave arrogance of refugees as the reason for perceiving them negatively (see Figure 6). The percentages given are all antecedents for interactions and suggest that the hosts' interaction with refugees might follow the same trend.

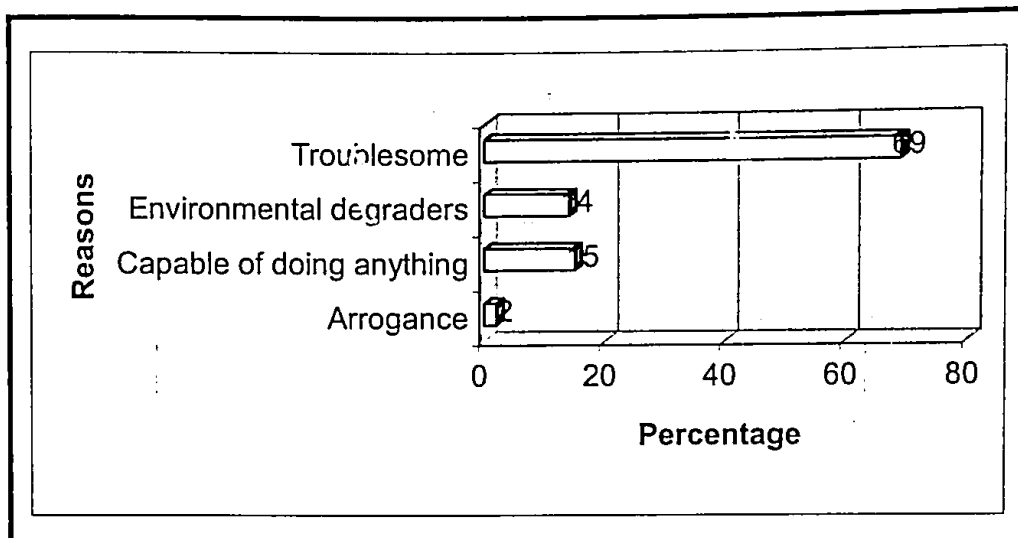


Figure 6: Reasons for Perceiving Refugees Negatively

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Perceptions of Refugees about Host Population

The refugees had various perceptions of the host. On a scale of ‘very good’, ‘good’, ‘indifferent’, ‘bad’ and ‘very bad’, about 4% and 3% of male and female refugees respectively rated the host population’s hospitality as very good. A significant proportion of female and male refugees (46% and 39% respectively) were indifferent about the hospitality of the host population (see Table 20). This has implications for host-refugee co-existence as interactions could also be viewed similarly. Female refugees were more likely to perceive hospitality of host population as good than their male counterparts, a situation that could let them interact positively with host population. The table also shows that only 4% of female refugees perceived hospitality of host to be very bad as against 14% for male refugees.

Table 20**Refugees' Perception of Hospitality of Hosts**

Response Options	Male		Female		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Indifferent	35	38.5	41	46.6	76	42.5
Good	28	30.8	37	42.1	65	36.3
Very Bad	13	14.2	4	4.5	17	9.5
Bad	11	12.1	3	3.4	14	7.8
Very Good	4	4.4	3	3.4	7	3.9
Total	91	100.0	88	100.0	179	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Ability to Speak Local Language and Interactions

Refugees were asked if their ability or inability to speak the local language affected their activities at the camp. Out of 177 respondents who could not speak the local language 89% reported that this had negatively affected their interactions with the hosts (see Table 21). About 11% were of the view that this had no effect on their activities. These refugees might probably come from a country where English is the official language and could therefore interact with the host using English language. Inability of refugees to speak the local language could therefore affect interactions negatively since language forms an important aspect of culture, identification which helps refugees to cope with adversities in their new environment (Bihi, 1999).

Table 21

Effects of Inability to Speak Local Language on Refugee Activities

Has inability to speak local language affected refugee activities?

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	157	88.7
No	20	11.2
Effects of inability to speak local language on refugee activities		
Access community resources	157	100.0
Negotiating daily wage	155	98.7
Ability to form networks	145	92.4
Transacting business in the local market	119	75.8

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

N = 177

Discussion and Conclusion

The fact that 58% of the refugee population was less than 35 years at the time of the study is an indication of the youthful nature of the population. With an average of six years as refugees implied that 58% of the refugee population was below 26 years at the time of their arrival in Ghana. This, coupled with the finding that refugees with Middle/JSS and Sec./SSS education dominated the refugee population, could have implications for the refugee population in terms of skills development through education.

The change in goals of the refugees could also have implications for camp administration. For example, the three main new goals of the refugees are preparation for resettlement in a third country, re-building and improvement

upon one's life. Refugees may engage in different activities in pursuance of these goals. Refugees' desire for resettlement is likely to put pressure on camp administration. Similarly, re-building and improving upon one's life could imply the need to expand one's income base in a context of restricted employment opportunities.

It has also been established that the number of dependants of a refugee has an influence on whether the particular refugee will set new goals or not. Refugees with few dependants are more likely to set new goals than those with many dependants. This has implications for various activities engaged in by refugees. Refugees with few dependants, in attempt to achieve their new goals, may involve in diverse activities.

CHAPTER FIVE
REFUGEE-HOST ACTIVITIES AND RELATIONSHIP IN THE
REFUGEE HOSTING AREA

Introduction

According to Zimmermann (1933), “resources are the bases of both security and opulence; they are the foundations of power and wealth. They affect man’s destiny in war and peace” (In Peach and Constantin, 1972: 1). By implication, resources play an important role in people’s lives and subsequently their interactions. Both target groups had a certain level of resource endowment which was crucial to their respective roles in the interactive process. Apart from tangible resources where the host population was likely to be far ahead of the refugees, both populations could have similar levels of intangible resources.

Refugees have resources from diverse sources. Whereas the humanitarian community is considered as a regular source of assistance to refugees, they (refugees) also have transnational networks (Jacobsen, 2003). This analysis is focused on the resources of the refugees as they were the strangers in the host communities. The chapter examines the resource endowment of the respondents and how this aids interactions and affects the environment (social, cultural and economic) in the host communities, and the

relationship among the three stakeholders in the refugee settlement, refugees, host communities and UNHCR and partner agencies.

Resources of Refugees

Due to the circumstances under which they migrated to Ghana, few of the refugees came with some resources. Out of the 180 refugees, 82% had brought no material things or capital. This is an indication of the level of vulnerability to which these refugees were exposed especially in the emergency phase where humanitarian inflow was likely to be on the low side. Eight percent and 14% of them came with some household assets and capital for petty trading respectively (Table 22). Female refugees were more vulnerable than male refugees (77% of male refugees brought no personal items/cash as against 88% for female refugees).

Table 22

Percentage Distribution of Tangible Resources brought by the Refugees

Resources	Percentage	
	Male	Female
No personal items/cash	76.9	87.6
Household assets	7.7	9.0
Capital for petty trading	20.9	7.9

Note: Multiple responses

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Integration of Refugees in the Emergency Phase: Community Action

As in every emergency situation, there is the need for host assistance to solve initial problems. About 54% of the host sample reported that the communities initiated some steps to assist the refugees in the early stage of the crisis. Supporting this view, an opinion leader commented that:

When they came they did not have any source of water so we allowed them to share our bore hole with us. When we went to the sea and some of them came to the shore we supplied them with fish because we felt for them. Later on the District Chief Executive acquired land for them to be making garden. Some of our townsmen volunteered to help some of the refugees who were making farms, so we share resources together.

However, 46% of the sampled host had not observed any steps taken to assist the refugees. They contended that there were no formal communal efforts to assist the refugees. Rather, they acknowledged the diverse roles of individuals in assisting the refugees. Those who reported that there was an attempt to assist the refugees outlined the various ways through which refugees were assisted. Among them were 'letting refugees have access to natural resources in the communities (3%)', 'access to social amenities (95%)', 'meeting refugees frequently to show sympathy (51%)' and the 'provision of shelter for the refugees' (1%) [Table 23].

Table 23

Ways in which Host Population helped Refugees in the Initial Stages

Ways in which community assisted refugees	Frequency	Percentage
Access to social amenities in the host communities	92	94.8
Meeting refugees frequently to show sympathy	49	50.5
Access to natural resources in the host communities	3	3.1
Providing shelter	1	1.0

Source: Field Survey, 2005. N = 97

Allowing refugees access to resources in the host communities could set the tone for healthy interactions as refugees might be compelled to reciprocate this gesture. Meeting refugees to show sympathy recorded the second highest with 51%. However, the marginally low percentages of access to natural resources and providing shelter (3.1% and 1.0% respectively) could be an indication of the fact that these means were not readily available or in short supply in the host communities, especially natural resources, therefore refugees' unrestricted access could lead to confrontation.

Observed Changes in the Host Communities as Reported by the Host Population

According to the host population, various changes have occurred in the host communities as a result of the presence of the refugees. Among them are changes to economic, social and environmental conditions. Six major changes were reported by the host communities (Table 24). The three highest reported

areas of change were social relations (94%), economic activities (94%) and environmental conditions (87%). These were followed by changes in security situation (46%), religious worship (9%) and respect for the elderly (4%) [see Table 24]. The first top three changes were key areas as far as interactions were concerned. The direction of these changes – positive or negative – could determine the way of interactions. Specific issues of these changes were discussed in the next section.

Table 24

Changes in the Host Communities as a Result of the Presence of Refugees

Changes	Frequency	Percentage
Changes in social relations	170	94.4
Changes in economic activities	169	93.9
Changes in environmental conditions	157	87.2
Changes in security situation	82	45.6
Changes in religious worship	16	8.9
Changes in respect for the elderly	7	3.9

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

The sampled host identified five forms of change in social relations namely creation of more social networks (90%), availability of potential spouses (68%), emergence of new ways of doing things (6%), adulteration of indigenous values (15%) and the possibility of compelling indigenous children in public

schools to speak English language (38%) as this was the common language among the refugees (Figure 7).

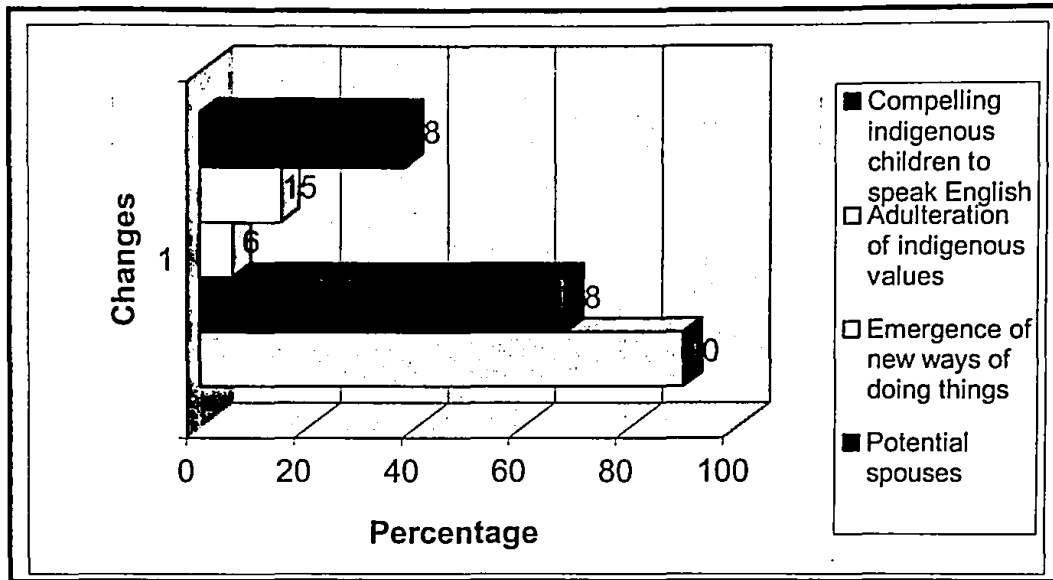


Figure 7: Specific Changes in Social Relations

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

Creating more social networks implied improvement in social capital. One respondent intimated that through social network with one refugee he had inherited ten student mattresses when the refugee in question was resettled in Australia. The income from the rental of these mattresses was his main source of livelihood currently. Also, the common knowledge in the host communities was that those who had refugee spouses were likely to relocate with the refugees if they had the opportunity to be resettled in a developed country. These two changes, they observed, could therefore improve and sustain healthy interactions between refugees and the indigenes.

About 6% and 15% reported emerging new ways of doing things like

dressing and changing of indigenous values considered to be outmoded. About 38% of host reported that the presence of the refugee children was compelling their wards in schools to speak English language. They held the view that English was the common language spoken by the refugees and therefore the only language through which their wards could communicate with their counterparts in the refugee camp or in schools. The presence of the refugees was helping their wards especially those in school to improve upon their proficiency in English as this is the language of instruction in schools in Ghana.

Respondents contended that the instant increase in population had created the needed market for their produce (97%). An assembly member maintained that the presence of the refugees was a major boost for economic activities. He indicated that there was ready market for their produce. As observed by Jacobsen (2001) and Whitaker (1999), the presence of populations such as refugees usually creates market for local industries. Ten percent were of the view that the presence of refugees had created competition for economic resources and job opportunities (Figure 8).

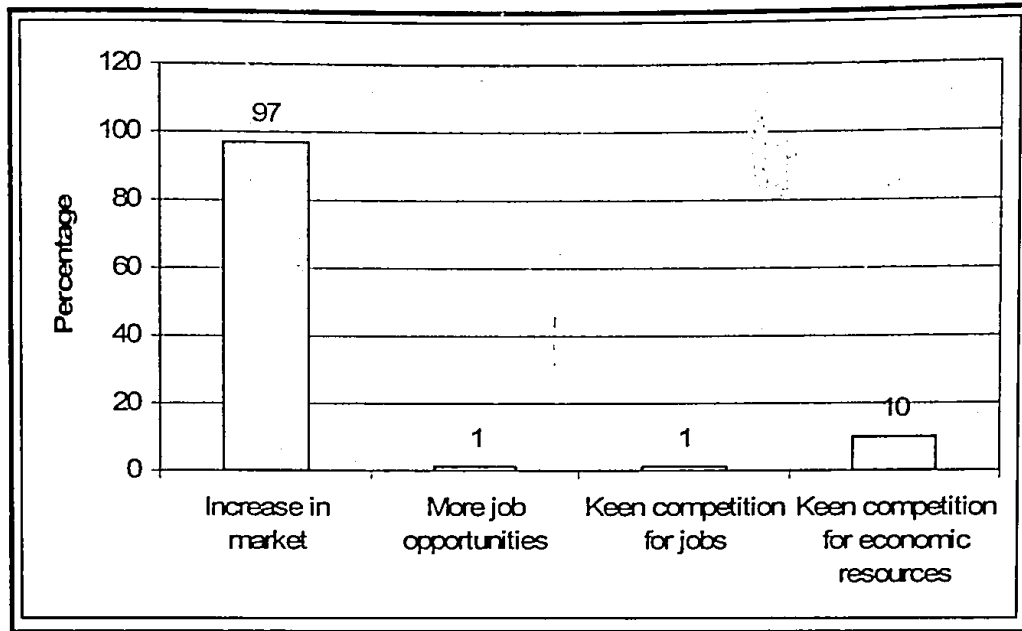


Figure 8: Specific Changes in Economic Activities

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Environmental degradation is another area that is always affected by presence of refugees. Out of the 157 respondents who noted changes in the environment, 99% reported deforestation as a result of harvesting of fuel wood to be a major environmental degradation issue. Other means of deforestation, according to respondents, were 'farming on marginal lands' (43%) and agricultural lands taken for residential purposes (3%) [Figure 9].

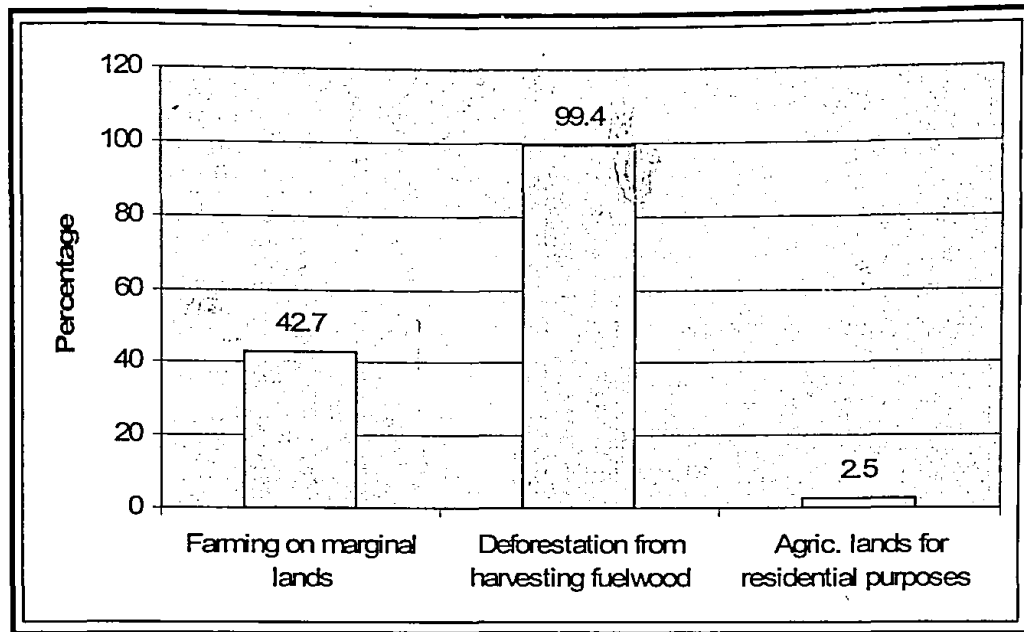


Figure 9: Changes in Environmental Condition

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

Some of these causes of environmental damage could be attributed to the various coping mechanisms adopted by refugees to survive in their new environment. Charcoal production was mentioned as the leading reason for the harvesting of fuel wood. According to the chief of Eikwe, this was a source of worry to the indigenous people as their forests were being destroyed. He summed up everything in the following statement:

The problem now is environmental degradation that characterizes their activities. You know, because of livelihood practices such as burning charcoal, they cut trees indiscriminately and that is a bother to us. They have entered the small forest reserve that we have, fell trees indiscriminately. Sometime ago we arrested some of them and sent them to the Camp Manager and they were

warned.

These sentiments were confirmed by one camp official who went further to blame refugees from Togo for the persistent deforestation resulting from charcoal burning. He observed that some refugees did charcoal production at midnight in order to avoid being caught. This activity was indeed, one of the reasons given for perceiving refugees negatively. Haug (2003), Black and Sessay (1998) and Jacobsen (2001) have asserted that refugees and internally displaced persons are environmental degraders. A refugee leader commenting on deforestation said:

There was a time that charcoal supply from UNHCR was not forthcoming. That was the time that some of the refugees went into nearby forest to burn charcoal. But now I think the camp administration has asked those involved to stop immediately. But whether they stop or not is what I cannot say.

Encroaching on agricultural lands for residential purposes was also acknowledged by one opinion leader. According to him a coconut plantation was destroyed to give way to the construction of the first camp at Sanzule. He lamented that this situation affected the income of the owner of the plantation negatively even though there was some form of compensation.

Proliferation of many religious groups and the turning of churches into income generating ventures were identified as some of the changes in the area. Prior to the arrival of the refugees the activities of religious bodies were not as pervasive as today. Approximately 63% and 13% of the respondents indicated

proliferation of churches and the turning of churches into income generating activities respectively. With diverse nationalities in the camp one would expect religious activities to be a unifying factor. However, depending on how they are used, they could similarly create problems as each denomination intensifies its drive for membership. Refugees would also want to use religion as a tool for stabilising themselves after the trauma they went through during displacement. Thus, the presence of many religious groups could play a positive role in this direction.

Security has also become an issue. Stealing of farm produce was the main issue raised by respondents. Out of the 88 respondents who observed changes in security situation in the host communities, 98% of them mentioned stealing of farm produce as a major problem. Threat to local stability was reported by only one male respondent.

The siting of the refugee camp just before the host communities was mentioned by one female respondent as positive. According to her, the area around the camp used to be a hide-out for serial killers. Since the establishment of the camp, people can now go about their normal duties around that area without any fear of being killed. This report, though marginal, has given another dimension of security situation in refugee camps. It contradicts traditional perceptions of refugee camps as places of insecurity (Mills and Norton, 2002; Jacobsen, 1999, 2001; Malki, 1995; and Martin, 1999).

Even though stealing of farm produce was mentioned as a source of worry, there were indications that the indigenes seemed to take it as normal of

people who did not have anywhere to turn to when in need. One traditional authority summed it up as:

Initially they were troublesome because they did not have any work to do. You know, when people don't have anything to do they will definitely find ways of living, whether legitimate or not. Thus, they were initially involved in petty theft cases such as stealing farm produce. But for a 'serious' burglary none of them was caught in such act. For the petty theft, they have stopped but the problem now is the environmental degradation.

Seven respondents reported that respect for the elderly had been eroded due to the presence of refugees. They blamed interactions between the refugees and the youth in the host communities to be responsible for this. One respondent indicated that there is no respect for the elderly in the refugee camp.

Perceived Impact of Hosts' Activities on Refugees

Activities of host communities affect refugees in different ways. About 98% of the respondents and opinion leaders reported that the activities of the host communities affected refugees in some ways. They indicated that refugees had unrestricted access to the local economy which is dominated by fishing industry. Approximately 2% thought activities of the host communities had no influence on refugees in any way. Of the 177 respondents 94% said the impact on refugees was a positive one. Refugees are allowed to work in the fishing industry as labourers. Some of them (refugees) are hired to split firewood to be used in

smoking fish. This is a job that the indigenous people do not like.

Specific Impact of Community Activities on the Refugees

Among specific impacts were 'access to resources and 'access to employment in the informal sector (see Table 25). Employment in the informal sector was the main impact of indigenous activities on refugees. It accounted for about 96% of responses. Refugees had access to wage earning activities in the informal sector. Access to employment in the formal sector was marginally reported (1%).

Table 25

Impacts of Indigenous Activities on Refugees

	Yes		No	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Do indigenous activities affect refugees?	177	98.3	3	1.7
N= 180				
Form of impact	Freq.	%		
Access to employment in the informal sector positively	170	96.0		
Access to resources positively	34	19.0		
Access to employment in the formal sector positively	2	1.0		

Note: Multiple responses

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

Nineteen percent of the refugees interviewed thought the activities of the host population affected the access of refugees to resources. Restrictions within the politico-cultural regime in the host communities have not made it possible for refugees to have access to resources. For example, cultural prohibitions could deny refugees access to and ownership of landed properties. Refugees benefited from the local economy by engaging in activities in the informal sector since refugees are not allowed to work in the formal sector. Fishing and farming are some of the activities in the informal sector. They earn some income by working in the informal sector.

Refugees were asked if their activities affected the host population in any way. Approximately 80% were of the view that their activities had no effect on the indigenous people. When asked to explain, 96% contended that they were not allowed to work in the formal sector so their activities had no effect on the host population. To them, their activities could only affect the host population if they were allowed to compete in the formal sector. However, 28% of them pointed out that their activities affected the host in two ways: First, their activities had expanded the local market base and increased the labour force in the host communities; second, their activities put pressure on local resources such as the forest reserve (See also Whitaker, 1999; Jacobsen, 2001; Black and Sessay, 1998).

Refugees identified six activities of the host population that had affected them (see Table 26). These were farming, fishing/fishmongering, petty trading, tailoring/dressmaking, hairdressing/barbering and craftsmanship. About 98% of

the refugees were affected by the farming activities of the host, working as farm labourers on the farms of hosts. Fishing/fishmongering was reported as the major activity (99%) that had affected the refugees with petty trading being reported by 59% of the refugees. Refugees also work as labourers at the beach. They (refugees) patronise the shops of petty traders by either buying provisions from them or selling their rations to them. The rest were marginally reported (7% for hairdressing/barbering, 1% for tailoring/dressmaking and 1% for craftsmanship).

Table 26

Specific Activities of Host that Affected Refugees

Activity	Response					
	Yes		No		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Farming	177	98.3	3	1.7	180	100.0
Fishing/Fishmongering	179	99.4	1	0.6	180	100.0
Petty trading	107	59.4	73	40.6	180	100.0
Tailoring/Dressmaking	2	1.1	178	98.9	180	100.0
Hairdressing/Barbering	13	7.2	167	92.8	180	100.0
Craftsmanship	1	0.6	179	99.4	180	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

N = 180

Specific Effects of Activities of Host Population on Refugees

Farming activities of the host population provided employment: 13% of refugees indicated that farming provided them with employment and food (Table 27). One refugee maintained that farming activity of host competed with them in the local market. This refugee might probably be involved in farming and therefore saw farm produce from the host as competing with them in the local market.

Table 27

Specific Effects of Hosts' Activities on Refugees

Farming		
Effect	Frequency	Percentage
Provide us with food	177	100.0
Provide employment	23	13.0
Compete with us in local market	1	0.6
Fishing/Fishmongering		
Provide food	179	100.0
Provide employment	17	9.5
Compete with us in accessing resources	9	5.0
Compete with us in local market	1	0.6
Petty Trading		
Provide food	107	100.0
Compete with us in local market	55	51.4

Table 27 continued

Compete with us in accessing resources	2	1.9
Tailoring/Dressmaking		
Provide employment	1	50.0
Compete with us in accessing resources	1	5.0
Hairdressing/Barbering		
Provide employment	12	92.3
Compete with us in accessing resources	1	7.7
Craftsmanship		
Provide employment	1	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

All the refugees (177) who were affected by activities of the host reported that they obtained food and fish from the host population. The Assemblyman for Sanzule summed up in the following statement:

... Even at all when we went to the sea and some of them came to the shore we supplied them with fish because we felt for them. Moreover, they are human beings like us. Later on the District Chief Executive acquired land for them to make farm. Some of our townsmen volunteered to help some of the refugees to make their farms....

Fishing activity as source of employment ranked second with 10% of the refugees. Thus, the refugees contributed labour to the informal sector (Bakewell,

2000; Callamard, 1994; Zetter, 1995 all in Jacobsen, 2001; and Brun, 2003). In all, 107 refugees recognised that petty trading by host provided them with resources for sustenance. Approximately 51% and two percent, however, thought this activity also affected competition in the local market and for accessing resources.

Sex, Age, Educational Level and Number of Dependants by Whether Refugees Earned Additional Income

There is evidence in the literature that refugees do not always depend on rations or monies from humanitarian agencies alone. Although not allowed to work in the formal sector, they sometimes work in the informal sector. Three percent of the refugees earned additional income from sources such as external and internal social networks. Of the six respondents, five earned additional income from social networks whilst only one earned additional income from a religious organisation. Three refugees earned additional income from external social networks whilst for the other two, additional income was from internal networks. The current study attempted to find out whether refugees' ability to earn additional income is influenced by sex, age, educational level and the number of dependants. The binomial logistic regression model was used to establish whether there is relationship between these variables. The variables were first transformed to make them dichotomous (see Appendix A). Table 28 gives the output of the binomial logistic model.

Table 28**Results of Logistic Regression**

Explanatory variables	B	S. E.	Wald	Sig. (P)	Exp (B) (Odds ratio)
Sex	-2.461	1.247	3.896	0.048	0.085
Age	-1.788	1.072	2.780	0.095	0.167
Educational level	17.042	9591.833	0.000	0.999	2.5E+07
No. of dependants	2.579	1.096	5.535	0.019	13.183
Constant	4.861	1.314	13.693	0.000	129.095

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Of the four explanatory variables, sex and number of dependants were significant at 95% confidence level with a P value of 0.048 and 0.019 respectively. This indicates that sex and number of dependants have some relation with earning additional income. The odds ratios show that refugees with many dependants are 13 times more likely to earn additional income than those with few dependants. Number of dependants was therefore a strong factor as far as earning of additional income in the Krisan Refugee Settlement was concerned. The odds ratio of 0.085 for sex indicates a marginal difference between males and females as far as earning additional income was concerned.

Other Activities of Refugees

As discussed in the literature, refugees sometimes take advantage of their predicament to indulge themselves in unacceptable activities. For instance,

Whitaker (1999) has observed that refugees in western Tanzania scouted for food crops ready to be harvested in the day time when they were hired to work on these farms only to return in the night to steal them. The host population were asked if refugees indulge in any activities which could be considered to be unacceptable. Approximately 79% of the host population reported that the refugees involved in activities that were not acceptable to the host communities. These are environmental degradation (50%) associated with encroachment of forest reserve; stealing of farm produce (35%) and prostitution by refugee women (15%). The last issue, if true could be worrying viewed against the backdrop of HIV/AIDS. As noted by Cohen (2005), camps of internally displaced persons in northern Uganda recorded HIV/AIDS incidence rates six times higher than that of the general population. When asked about their reactions to these unacceptable activities, 98% of the interviewed host population said they first report such issues to the camp authorities. Some respondents also either said nothing, threatened to report to the police or advise them to stop indulging in such activities.

Host-Refugee Relationship at the Community Level

Only 9% of the respondents reported that the communities had some form of conflict/misunderstanding with the refugees, indicating that the host communities have had cordial relationship with the refugees. The misunderstandings/conflicts were caused by 'stealing farm produce' (24%), 'squabbles during friendly games' (58%) and 'environmental degradation' (18%).

One opinion leader responding to a question on refugee-host relationship had this to say:

You see, we have a certain adage in our language which literally translates to: 'Even those who were dead and gone want to be more; how much more those of us who are alive'; when they came they increased our population instantly. As I said earlier, they have expanded our market base. We shall never think of them going. Their continuous stay here will help us a lot so we are not going to think of them leaving us. The moment they leave we will be going back to our former days where we do not have adequate market for our produce and this will bring hardship. We don't want them to leave otherwise they will create a vacuum that we will find difficult to fill. We want them to live with us forever. But painfully, many of them have left. Many of our friends have gone and we are feeling their absence.

Those who reported some misunderstandings said they were all resolved and the relationships returned to normal.

Relationship at the Individual Level

The study also explored relationships at the individual level. About 96% had never had any conflict/misunderstanding with the refugees. Those who reported of some misunderstanding mentioned 'indiscriminate disposal of rubbish (14%)', 'disagreement over daily wage (43%)', 'disagreement over transport fare (14%)', and 'not abiding by laid down regulations (29%)' as causes for the

misunderstanding (Figure 10). Refugees not abiding by local rules and regulations is similar to what Black (1994; In Black and Sessay, 1998) considered as one of the factors responsible for widespread environmental degradation in refugee settlements.

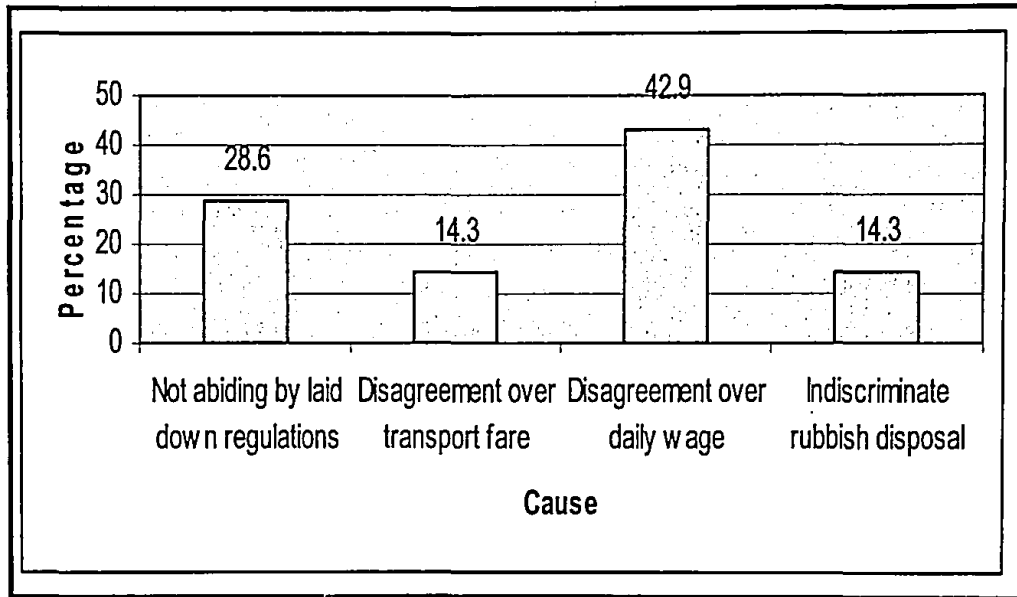


Figure 10: Causes of Misunderstanding between Individuals and Refugees

Source: Field Survey, 2005.

Indiscriminate rubbish disposal and disagreement over transport fare each registered 14% as a cause of conflict between refugees and their host. However, all the respondents indicated that these conflicts/misunderstandings were resolved without a third person. In general, respondents described host-refugee relationship as cordial with 69% rating host-refugee relationship as ‘very good’ and 31% rating it as ‘good’.

Refugee-Host Relationship

About 8% of the refugees had ever had conflict/misunderstanding with the host population. Discrimination by host among the various nationals of refugees was the major (47%) cause of conflict/misunderstanding. This was followed by 'being referred to as a refugee' (27%). The rest were refusal to pay for rations bought and attacking one's brother (7% each) and indigenes stealing firewood that had been paid for (13%).

Only one of these conflicts was reported and resolved. Thirteen of them were reported but have not been resolved and one not reported. Consequently, refugees had mixed feeling of their relationship with the host (Figure 11). A third of the refugees reported that the host were no more friendly as they used to be. For instance, one refugee man said the host are no more receptive as they used to be. This has serious implications for future interactions. Another third of the refugees maintained that refugee-host relationship was cordial in spite of the uprising in the refugee camp. Twelve percent of the refugees considered their relationship with the host as that of mistrust whilst the rest (26%) said some hosts were good to them but some were not. Those refugees who said some hosts were good to them but some were not, were of the view that host population only react to behaviours of refugees. Thus, they could be good to you if you behaved well. It should be noted that these have the potential of influencing future interactions.

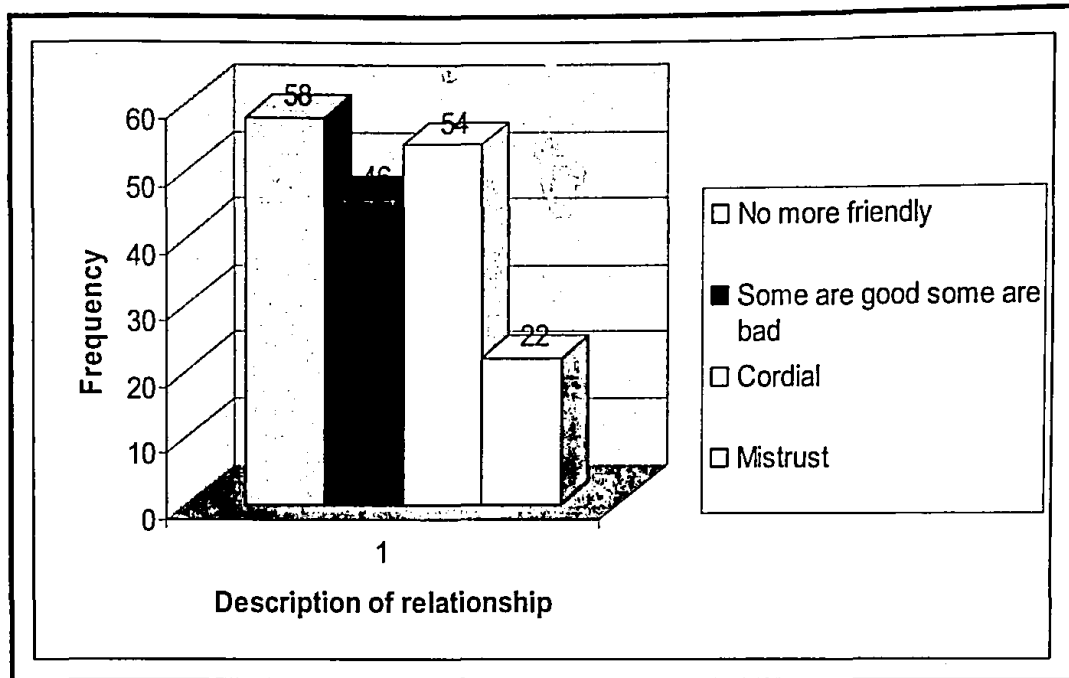


Figure 11: Description of Refugee-Host Relationship

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

Host Population-UNHCR/NGO Relationship

In a study of this nature, it is necessary to understand the relationships that exist among the stakeholders in order to have a deeper insight of issues. Based on this, questions relating to host population-UNHCR/NGO relationship were asked. About 6% of the respondents had ever had misunderstanding with the organisations operating in the camp. All those who ever had a misunderstanding with these organisations before were all from Sanzule, one of the host communities. Sanzule was the first location of the camp before they moved to the present site which is on the land of the people of Krisan. When they were asked what the cause(s) of the misunderstanding were, two issues were mentioned. One was about who should claim ownership over the two buildings at the old camp

and the other was over the sharing of some items donated by the UNHCR to the host communities. As a result the chief of Sanzule refused to take part in the data collection even after much persuasion.

According to the Assemblyman of Sanzule, they initiated the construction of these buildings before the camp was sited there. The UNHCR then took over the construction and completed them to be used by the staff of the organisations operating in the camp. When the camp was moved to its present location they decided to take back their buildings and this did not go down well with UNHCR. The Country Representative of the UNHCR and some religious leaders in the communities mediated before the issue was resolved. The buildings were shared between the two of them – the Sanzule community and the UNHCR. Secondly, they said that the camp administration treated them differently from the other two communities. In spite of these, the host perceived these organisations positively. Nearly 81% thought the host-UNHCR/NGO relationship was ‘very good’, 13% viewed the relationship as good. However, 7% described their relationship as ‘neutral’. These assertions were based on the interactions between the two parties after the misunderstanding.

Though some of hosts were of the view that host-UNHCR/NGO relationship was cordial, they maintained that the organisations needed to do more in terms of helping the communities in income generating activities. For example, the chief of Eikwe was not happy that the resettlement package where refugees were sent to developed countries to stay there permanently was solely limited to refugees. He suggested that brilliant students from the host communities should

also be sponsored abroad to pursue higher education and possibly also be settled there. He explained how they were being treated in the following statement:

So, now we are like a signboard that reads School boys are going to school. The school boy goes to school everyday but the signboard will never go to school. School boy will finish school and get a well paid job but the signboard still remains there.

To him, the host population should benefit from any package meant for the refugees. This could affect host population's relationship with refugees. This is why relief assistance to refugees should consider the needs of host populations as Hein (1993) argued that "economic development and assistance to refugees are inseparable issues ... because the refugee is an indicator of world system dynamics" (In Malkki, 1995:506).

Refugee-UNHCR/NGO Relationship

Before the data collection exercise, a riot took place in the refugee camp as a result of agitation by refugees for better conditions of living. In spite of this, only 59% of the refugees reported having had conflict/misunderstanding with the UNHCR and its partners. Conspicuous among the causes of the misunderstandings was the problem over resettlement. This problem was reported by 74% of the refugees. The dominance of this problem was an indication of the seriousness that refugees attached to resettlement in a third country as a durable solution. This has serious implications for the other two durable solutions – voluntary repatriation and local integration. A refugee leader

who was reacting to whether local integration was an acceptable option for refugees explained that:

I love Ghana as a country but I wouldn't like to permanently settle in Ghana. This is because the life I was brought up to live is not what I am experiencing here. I have always prayed to my God that local integration or voluntary repatriation should not be my option. I preferred resettlement in a third country. But I will visit Ghana because the people are good.

Other reasons for misunderstanding were abuse of refugee rights (6%), bad condition in camp (2%), discrimination and not being involved in decision making (1% each). The rest were general mistreatment (4%) and insufficient rations (13%) [see Figure 12].

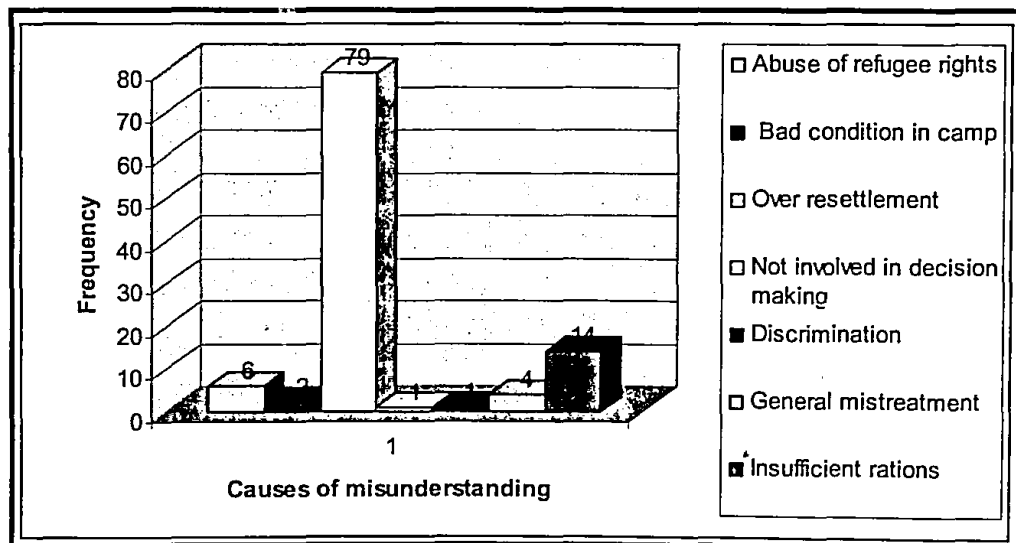


Figure 12: Causes of Conflict/Misunderstanding

Source: Field Survey, 2006.

In terms of refugee-UNHCR/NGO relationship, 58% (105) reported that agencies in the camp were no more friendly. Approximately 26% (46) were of the view that the friendly relationship that existed before the uprising was still there with 16% (29) admitting that the current relationship was that of mistrust. Whatever the current relationship between the host and the refugees, it is important to note that this has serious consequences for future interactions.

Discussion and Conclusion

The study has shown evidence that environmental issues are important to the host population. This was why some hosts perceived the refugees negatively. These changes, especially those that affected the host communities negatively influence host communities to reject any attempt to locally integrate the refugees, thereby limiting the opportunities available for solving the refugee problem. The ability of refugees to operate within the structures of the host communities is essentially the basis for positive response from the host population.

The finding that 82% of the refugees brought no personal assets/cash with them to Ghana was worrying. This could make them vulnerable and susceptible to abuse. In another dimension, it could influence their activities negatively. For instance, this category of refugees is more likely to engage in unacceptable activities than those with something small, a situation that is likely to receive negative response from host population.

Refugees' strong desire for resettlement as a duration solution in the face

of limited opportunities should be a matter of concern to UNHCR and its partners. Not only will the inability of refugees to get resettled in a third country affect other durable solutions but it also has the potential to create chaotic situations in refugee settlements as witnessed in the Krisan Camp recently.

CHAPTER SIX
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND
CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

Studies on refugee-host interaction hold divergent views on the direction of interaction. Whereas one school of thought argues that host populations usually take advantage of the vulnerable situation of refugees and exploit them (e.g. Brun, 2003), the other is of the view that the relationship between refugees and their hosts is not always an exploitative one, but rather, host populations sometimes sympathise with refugees and assist them (Dick, 2002; Whitaker, 1999).

It has also been observed in the literature that refugees aggravate existing environmental conditions but could not be blamed for the totally deteriorating environmental conditions in Refugee Hosting Areas (RHAs). Even where environmental impact of refugee presence has been conspicuous, Kibreab (1997) blamed misguided government policy rather than pushing the blame to the displaced or the poor (In Haug, 2003). This chapter presents summary of findings, policy implications and recommendations.

Summary of Findings

The main objective of the study was to assess the nature of interactions between refugees of the Krisam Refugee Settlement and the host communities and the implications of such interactions on both the host communities and the refugees themselves. The rationale of the study therefore, was to understand these interactions and subsequently examine their implications for refugee-host co-existence. In all, 360 respondents were interviewed comprising 180 refugees and 180 indigenes. Four opinion leaders from the host communities and five officials from the refugee camp were also interviewed.

Results of the study are summarised as follows:

1. Seventy-nine percent of the refugees perceived Ghana as a peaceful and safe destination, and was the motive behind their choice of Ghana as an asylum destination. Since 85%, 14% and 1% of the refugees were displaced as a result of political instability, ethnic and religious conflicts respectively, their perception of Ghana as a haven of peace and safety could be justified.
2. The study found out that the goals of the refugees in the early phase were basic. These goals were the desire for physical safety (99%), to get shelter (51%), and locating lost family members (24%). The rest were where to get food (4%) and reducing economic vulnerability (1%). It was also found out that these goals have changed. A little over three-quarters (76%) reported that their goals since arrival in Ghana have changed. New goals mentioned were plan for resettlement, plan for permanent

integration and improvement in one's life. These findings confirmed that of Jacobsen (2003) that goals of refugees in the emergency phase are basic in nature and these goals could change if refugees remained in protracted situation.

3. Background characteristics of refugees were responsible for the change in goals. Number of dependants was found to have influenced the change of goals of the refugee goals; implying that refugees with few dependants are more likely to change goals than those with many dependants. Refugees with few dependants were more likely to change goals if they remain in a protracted situation.
4. Sex of host respondents had no significant influence on their perceptions of refugee behaviour.
5. Generally, indigenes had mixed perceptions of the refugees. Some perceived them positively indicating that the presence of large numbers of refugees had made the host communities lively. Some, however, perceived them negatively, stating that refugees are people who foment trouble. The recent riot in the camp could be an example of how troublesome refugees can become.
6. About 97% of the host population interviewed observed changes in the host communities which they attributed to the presence of refugees. They particularly mentioned that they now had more social networks and potential spouses, indications of the level of interaction between the refugees and their hosts. Intermarriage was also reported; so was a

sudden increase in market size for goods.

7. Both refugees and hosts reported that interactions were symbiotic. Whilst the host population saw refugee labour as indispensable in the informal economy, refugees on the other hand, acknowledged their earnings from these jobs as supplement to their rations. This easily restored social networks based on exchange of labour and improved interactions.
8. Some refugees from the Krisan Camp earned additional income from social networks. The main sources of additional income were job opportunities in the refugee camp and internal and external social networks. The higher the educational level of a refugee, the better the chances of earning additional income, especially from available job opportunities in the camp.
9. Environmental degradation, stealing of farm produce and prostitution of refugee women were activities that the host population considered unacceptable. They maintained that these activities had the potential of jeopardising the cordial relationship existing between refugees and the host population. Refugees also had mixed reactions about relationship with the host. While others thought host were no more friendly and there existed a cloud of mistrust, others were of the view that relationship was cordial but cautioned that discrimination and other derogatory remarks about refugees could mar this relationship.
10. Hosts' relationship with UNHCR/NGOs was generally cordial. However, they complained about the neglect of the host population by

these organisations.

11. Refugees' relationship with the agencies was rather on the low side.

They mentioned disagreement over resettlement package as the main cause of conflict between the refugees and the camp administration. The refugees' unrestricted desire for resettlement was worrying as this could work against more durable solutions. The recent conflict might have been responsible for this unhealthy relationship.

Policy Implications

Although there is a legal framework within which the activities of refugees have been situated, there is also the need for stakeholders to be sensitive of contemporary refugee issues and to react accordingly. Changing refugee goals calls for a new policy direction by government and other stakeholders in order to accommodate the challenges associated with such changes. It is important to note that these changes go with different activities, some of which might not be legitimate. For example, the riot in the Krisan Refugee Settlement occurred as a result of the refugees being dissatisfied with the situation in the camp and their strong desire for resettlement in a third country. These were the results of changing refugee goals. One should not forget that as refugees interact with humanitarian agencies and the host population they may have a deeper insight of their rights and responsibilities.

The fact that some of the host perceived refugees negatively points to the need for a thorough assessment of the situation in order to put in place necessary

measures to forestall any future confrontation. Refugees may regard themselves as people in transit and may therefore have little motivation to use the environment responsibly. Host populations suffer the consequences of these irresponsible behaviours of refugees. Hence, any solution or assistance to refugees should necessarily include host populations. Any attempt to downplay the importance of host populations in the refugee assistance equation will lead to a total failure of such programmes.

Illegitimate activities of refugees are a threat to peaceful co-existence of refugees and host populations. Policies should, as a matter of urgency, be directed to solving such problems before they cause any misunderstanding. Prostitution, stealing farm produce and environmental degradation were the unacceptable activities reported by the host population.

Recommendations

There is the need to involve all stakeholders in determining who benefit from what. For example, some refugee packages specify the particular national who should benefit. A broad base decision-making body will remove any doubt as to who benefits from such programmes. This will help stem the mistrust that has characterised interactions between refugees and camp administration.

Humanitarian agencies should give host populations the same priority that they give to refugees. It is only when refugees and indigenous people are treated alike that the host will be willing to fully open its doors to refugees. On the other hand, host communities need to be educated on the type of assistance

that they might be entitled to. The request by the traditional ruler that host population should be given part of the resettlement package is a matter of total ignorance. Education will let them understand the issues at stake and the sort of benefit they should expect from the camp administration.

There is also the need for the Ghana Refugee Board to create an official platform for all the stakeholders (refugees, host population and UNHCR/NGOs/Ghana Refugee Board) to discuss issues dispassionately. Such forum will not only solve emerging problems but will, in addition, reduce the level of mistrust among members. Here, each stakeholder's problem will be discussed and solutions found to them.

The Ghana Refugee Board and the Nzema East District Assembly should form a committee to examine the misunderstanding between the Sanzule community on one hand and the camp administration and the other two communities (Eikwe and Krisan) on the other hand. The committee should among others be mandated to resolve misunderstanding surrounding the name of the refugee settlement.

Further Research

The study recommends further researches in the following areas:

- There could be a second look at refugee-host interaction in the Krisan camp. This is because the data from the host population were collected before the riot in the camp whilst those of the refugees were collected after the riot. Carrying out a study after the riot may give host

population's perception of refugees differently. Such a study should consider the occupations of the refugees at their origins in order to understand the change in livelihoods;

- Another study could consider the likely implications of the strong desire of refugees for resettlement in a third country on both local integration and voluntary repatriation as durable solutions; and
- Also, administration in the refugee settlement could be looked at in details in subsequent studies.

Validation of Conceptual Framework

The framework adopted for the study considered factors responsible for the displacement of refugees, problems encountered by refugees in an attempt to fully participate in economic, political, social and cultural spheres of the host community as necessary for refugee integration in host community. It has three stages – Pre-flight, In settlement and Integration stages. The Pre flight stage comprised the conditions in the country of origin which led to the displacement of the refugees. These, according to data gathered from the Krisan Refugee Settlement, were political, ethnic and religious in nature. These were struggles for human rights in the country of origin. The current study thus, confirmed the first stage of the Conceptual Framework.

In the host communities, refugees attempt to pursue settlement goals and substantive citizenship rights. These include full participation in economic, political, social and cultural spheres of the host economy. Refugees in the Krisan

Refugee Settlement participated in the economic, social and cultural spheres of the local economy, validating the framework in this respect. Refugees in the camp earn income by working in the informal sector, attend funerals and other social activities with the host population and take part in cultural festivals. However, they (refugees) were not able to participate in the political activities of the host communities. This is because they are not permanently integrated into the host communities and are therefore prevented by the legal regime within which they operate in the host communities. It has to be noted that the original framework was intended to explain the integration of resettled refugees. As a result, the third stage – Integration – could not be realised as the refugees in the Krisan camp are temporary guests who might leave the host communities anytime durable solutions are found to their problem.

Conclusion

The study explored host-refugee interaction in the Krisan Refugee Settlement in Ghana in order to understand the perceptions of host population of refugee behaviour. This forms the basis for understanding the implications of these interactions for refugee-host co-existence. The use of mixed methods for the study was successful as some key informants within the target populations had the opportunity to make further comments apart from the structured instruments. As a result, the study was able to achieve the desired objectives in spite of the riot that occurred in the camp during the data collection exercise.

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APPENDIX A

Coding of variables

The dependent variable Y, is equal to 1 if there was change of goals, and 0 if there was no change of goals.

Dependent variable	Independent variables
1=Change of goals (for refugees) 0=No change of goals (for refugees)	Age: 1=0-35; and 36 and above=0
	Education: 1=Formal education; and 0=No formal education
	Marital status: 1=Married; and 0=Others
	Number of dependants: 1=0-2; and 0=3 and above
	Number of years as a refugee: 1=1-6; and 0=7 and above
	Status of place of residence before displacement: 1=Urban; and 0=Rural

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOST POPULATION

SECTION A: GENERAL ISSUES

No.	Question	Response Options	Skip To
A1	Host community	Sanzule.....1 Krisan.....2 Eikwe.....3	
A2.	How long have you been living in this community? (In completed years)	[][]	
A3.	I presume you are aware of the presence of refugees in this community?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
A4.	If yes, how long have you been aware of their presence? (In completed years)	[][]	
A5.	What form of perception do people have about refugees?	Positive.....1 Negative.....2 Both positive and negative.....3	
A6.	Why do people think that way?	..... ..... .....
A7.	Have you ever been to the Krisan Camp?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. A8
A8.	If yes, what is the reason for visiting the camp?	To hire daily labourers.....1 To sell my goods.....2 To have a look at the refugees.....3 To render services to refu.....4 To look for a job.....5 Other (Specify).....6	
A89	If no, why have you never been there?	..... ..... .....

A10a.	What do you think about the refugees at the camp?	They will increase our economic burden.....1 They will put pressure on our natural resources.....2 They will degrade our environment....3 They will put pressure on our physical infrastructure.....4 Increase our labour base.....5 Compete with us on the labour front.....6 They will expand our market.....7 Other (Specify).....8	
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SECTION B: BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF HOST POPULATION

No.	Question	Response Options	Skip To
B1.	Sex	Male.....1 Female.....2	
B2.	Age (In completed years)	[] []	
B3.	What is the highest level of school you have attained?	None.....1 Primary.....2 Middle/JSS.....3 Secondary/SSS.....4 Higher.....5	
B4.	In addition to your educational attainment or in place of it, have you learnt any trade?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. B6
B5.	If yes, mention type of trade	..... .....
B6.	What is your occupation?	Farming.....1 Fishing/Fishmonger.....2 Petty Trading.....3 Tailor/Dressmaker.....4	

		Hairdresser/Barber.....5 Craftsman.....6 Daily Labourer.....7 Tradesman.....8 Employed in the formal sector.....9 Other (Specify).....10	
B7.	What is your religion?	No religion.....1 Catholic.....2 Protestant.....3 Charismatic.....4 Muslim.....5 Traditional.....6 Other (Specify).....7	
B8.	Marital status	Single.....1 In co-habitation.....2 Married.....3 Divorced.....4 Widowed.....5	
B9.	If married, where is your spouse from?	A refugee.....1 From the host community.....2	

SECTION C: ACTIVITIES OF HOST POPULATION

No.	Question	Response Option	Skip To
C1.	Do members of your community get in touch with the people at the camp?	Yes .....1 No.....2	
C2.	If yes, who are they?	Opinion Leaders.....1 Traditional Authorities.....2 Employees of Agencies working in the camp...3 Other (Specify).....4	
C3.	What is the nature of the interaction?	Positive.....1 Negative.....2 Both positive and negative.....3	
C4.	What are the attitudes of people to these interactions?	..... ..... .....
C5.	Do you get in touch with the refugees in your job/daily activities?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→Q. C7
C6.	If yes, in what form?	Employed by camp management.....1 Sells wares in the camp.....2 Hires refugees to work on my farm.....3 Works with refugees in work place.....4 Have access to refugee resources in the camp...5 Other (Specify).....6	
C7.	Do you engage the services of refugees in any of these activities?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→Q. C11
C8.	If yes, do you find their services beneficial?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
C9.	If yes, in what way do you consider their services to be beneficial?	As farm labourers.....1 Washing my clothes.....2 Help in the home.....3 Carrying farm produce to the market.....4 Taking care of livestock.....5 Other(Specify).....6	
C10.	Apart from these do you interact with refugees in any way?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→Q. C13

C11.	If yes, mention these interactions	Sell farm produce to refugees.....1 Buy rations from refugees.....2 Attend funerals and other social functions with refugees.....3 Engage refugees in friendly games.....4 Other (Specify).....5	
C12.	Do refugees engage you in their activities?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
C13.	Mention some of these activities	.....
C14.	Do you find this relationship with the refugees beneficial?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
C15.	If yes, in what ways?	.....
C16.	If no, why?	.....
C17.	Have you observed any changes in your area since the arrival of the refugees?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. D1
C18.	If yes, what is nature of change(s)?	Changes to Economic activities.....1 Changes to Social relations.....2 Changes to Environmental conditions.....3 Changes to Religious worship.....4 Changes in Respect for the elderly.....5 Changes in issues of security.....6 Other (Specify).....7	→ Q.C12 → Q.C13 → Q.C14 → Q.C15 → Q.C16 → Q.C17
C19.	What form(s) of change have you observed in economic activities?	Increase in market size.....1 Competition for economic resources keener...2 More job opportunities.....3 Competition for jobs keener.....4 Other (Specify).....5	

C20.	What form(s) of change have you observed in social relations?	Create more social networks.....1 More potential spouses .....2 Emergence of new ways of doing things.....3 Adulteration of indigenous values.....4 Other (Specify).....5	
C21.	What form(s) of change have you observed in environmental conditions?	Farming on marginal lands.....1 Deforestation as a result of harvesting fuel wood.....2 Agricultural lands taken for residential purposes.....3 Overgrazing.....4 Pollution of water bodies.....5 Over fishing.....6 Other (Specify).....7	
C22.	What form(s) of change have you observed in religious worship?	Proliferation of many religious groups.....1 Breakdown in religious values.....2 Churches as a income generating ventures.....3 Other (Specify).....4	
C23.	What form(s) of change have you observed with regards to the respect for the elderly?	Collapse in respect for elderly.....1 Improvement in respect for the elderly.....2 Other (Specify).....3	
C24.	What form(s) of change have you observed in issues of security?	Stealing of farm produce.....1 Threat to stability of local community.....2 Increase in armed robbery.....3 Other (Specify).....4	

**SECTION D: PERCEIVED IMPACT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF HOST POPULATION
ON REFUGEES**

No.	Question	Response Options	Skip To
D1.	Do you think the activities of the community affect refugees in any way?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q.D4
D2.	If yes, in what form?	Positive.....1 Negative.....2 Both negative and positive.....3	
D3.	In what ways do the activities of the community affect refugees? (Choose as many as applicable)	Affect access to resources negatively.....1 Affect access to resources positively.....2 Affect access to employment in the informal sector positively.....3 Affect access to employment in the informal sector negatively.....4 Affect access to employment in the formal sector positively.....5 Affect access to employment in the formal sector negatively.....6 Other (Specify).....7	
D4.	Do you think your activities as an individual affect the refugees in any way?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ QD7
D5.	If yes, in what form?	Positive.....1 Negative.....2 Both negative and positive.....3	
D6.	In what ways do your activities as an individual affect the refugees? (Choose as many as applicable)	Affect access to resources negatively.....1 Affect access to resources positively.....2 Affect access to employment in the informal sector positively.....3 Affect access to employment in the informal sector negatively.....4 Affect access to employment in the	

		formal sector positively.....5 Affect access to employment in the formal sector negatively.....6 Other (Specify).....7	
D7.	Do you know of any steps taken by individuals in the community to integrate the refugees?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ QD11
D8.	If yes, what are some of the steps that have been taken?	Let them have access to all natural resources in the community.....1 Let them have access to all social amenities apart from those in the camp.....2 Create favourable conditions for refugees to seek redress.....3 Meeting refugees frequently to show empathy.....4 Other (Specify).....5	
D9.	How successful have been these steps?	Very successful.....1 Successful.....2 Somehow successful.....3 Unsuccessful.....4 A total failure.....5	
D10.	Who initiated the process?	Traditional authorities.....1 Local political leaders.....2 Religious leaders.....3 Other opinion leaders.....4 Other (Specify).....5	
D11.	Have refugees been involved in activities that are not acceptable to the host community?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q.D14
D12.	If yes, mention some of these activities.	..... .....

D13.	How has the host community reacted to these unacceptable situations?	..... .....
D14.	Has the community's contact with refugees led to any conflict/misunderstanding?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
D15.	If yes, what is the nature of conflict/misunderstanding?	Quarrel over the use of resources.....1 Misunderstanding over daily wage.....2 Stealing of farm produce.....3 Other (Specify).....4	
D16.	How was it handled?	Reported and resolved.....1 Reported but not resolved.....2 Not reported/Pending.....3 Other (Specify).....4	

SECTION E: HOST POPULATION-REFUGEE RELATIONSHIP

No.	Questions	Response Options	Skip To
E.1.	Have you ever had any conflict/misunderstanding with a refugee?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
E2.	If yes, how many times?	[][]	
E3.	What was the cause of the last conflict/misunderstanding?	..... .....
E4.	How was it handled?	Reported and resolved.....1 Reported but not resolved.....2 Not reported/Pending.....3 Other (Specify).....4	
E5.	If resolved, what was the outcome of the resolution?	Accepted.....1 Not accepted.....2 Other (Specify).....3	
E6.	Who resolved it?	AID agency/NGO.....1 Religious group.....2 Ghana Refugee Board.....3 The two parties themselves.....4	

		Other (Specify).....5	
E7.	If not resolved, what has been the implication of the impasse for the host-refugee relationship?	..... .....
E8.	Describe the general refugee-host relationship	.....
E9.	How would you rate the relationship between host population and refugees?	Very Good.....1 Good.....2 Neutral.....3 Bad.....4 Very Bad.....5 Don't know.....6	

SECTION F: HOST POPULATION-UNHCR/NGO RELATIONSHIP

No.	Questions	Response Options	Skip To
F1.	Have you ever had any conflict/misunderstanding with the implementing agencies?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
F2.	If yes, how many times?	[][]	
F3.	What was the cause of the last conflict/misunderstanding?	..... .....
F4.	How was it handled?	Reported and resolved.....1 Reported but not resolved.....2 Not reported/Pending.....3 Other (Specify).....4	
F5.	If resolved, what was the outcome of the resolution?	Accepted.....1 Not accepted.....2 Other (Specify).....3	
F6.	Who resolved it?	Refugee groups.....1 Religious group.....2 Ghana Refugee Board.....3 Two parties themselves.....4 Other (Specify).....5	

F7.	If not resolved, what has been the implication of the impasse for the host-agency relationship?	..... .....
F8.	Was outcome of resolution accepted by both parties?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
F9.	How would you rate host population-UNHCR/NGO relationship?	Very Good.....1 Good.....2 Neutral.....3 Bad.....4 Very Bad.....5 Don't know.....6	
F10.	Describe the general host population-UNHCR/NGO relationship	..... ..... ..... ..... .....

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR REFUGEES

SECTION A: GENERAL ISSUES

No.	Question	Response Options	Skip To
A1	When did you first come to Ghana?	Month.....Year.....	
A2.	Where were you before coming to Ghana?	..... .....
A3.	What brought you to Ghana for the first time?	Political instability.....1 Tribal conflict.....2 External aggression.....3 Religious conflict.....4 Other(Specify).....5	
A4a.	How did you come to Ghana?	By road.....1 By air.....2 By sea.....3 On foot.....4 Other(Specify).....5	
A4b.	Why did you come to Ghana?	..... .....
A5.	How long have you been living in Ghana? (In completed years)	[][]	
A6.	Have you ever traveled outside Ghana since you first came to Ghana?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
A7.	If yes, how many times?	[][]	
A8.	List places visited	1..... 2..... 3.....	
A9.	Why did you return to Ghana?	..... .....
A10.	Have you ever lived outside refugee	Yes.....1	

	camp in other parts of Ghana?	No.....2	
A11.	If yes, list places where you have stayed before?	1..... 2..... 3.....	
A12.	Why have you returned to the camp?	..... .....
A13.	How would you rate the hospitality of your host community?	Very Good.....1 Good.....2 Indifferent.....3 Bad.....4 Very Bad.....5	
A14.	What were your immediate goals when you first arrived here? (Choose as many as applicable)	Shelter.....1 Food.....2 Clothing.....3 Physical safety.....4 Reducing economic vulnerability.....5 Locating lost family members.....6 Other(Specify).....7	
A15.	Have these goals changed since you arrived here?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. B1
A16.	If yes, what are your new goals? (Choose as many as applicable)	Re-building my life.....1 Improve upon my life.....2 Plan for permanent integration.....3 Plan for repatriation.....4 Plan for re-settlement in a third country?.....5 Other(Specify).....6	
A16.	Have this change in goals affected your activities?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
A17.	If yes, state three ways in which this change affected your activities.	1..... 2..... 3.....	

SECTION B: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

No.	Question	Response Options	Skip To
B1.	Sex	Male.....1 Female.....2	
B2.	Age (In completed years)	[][]	
B3.	Country of origin	.....
B4.	What is the highest level of school you attained?	None.....1 Primary.....2 Middle/JSS.....3 Secondary/SSS.....4 Higher.....5	
B5.	Where were you educated?	.....
B6.	In addition to your educational attainment or in place of it, have you learnt any trade before displacement?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. B8
B7.	If yes, type of trade?	.....
B8.	What was your occupation before displacement?	.....
B9.	What is your religious denomination?	No Religion.....1 Catholic.....2 Protestant.....3 Charismatic.....4 Muslim.....5 Traditional.....6 Other(Specify).....7	
B10.	Marital Status	Single.....1 Married.....2 Divorced.....3 Separated.....4 Widowed.....5 In co-habitation.....6	

B11	If married where is your spouse from?	A refugee from same country.....1 A refugee from another country.....2 From host community.....3	
B12.	If a refugee, what is his/her nationality?	.....
B13.	Status of place of residence before displacement?	Rural.....1 Urban.....2	
B14.	Number of dependants currently	[][]	
B15.	Can you speak the local language?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. B18
B16.	If yes, how would you rank your knowledge of the local language?	Very Poor.....1 Poor.....2 Adequate.....3 Good.....4 Very Good.....5	
B17.	In what ways has your ability to speak the local language facilitated your interaction with the host community?	When I go to transact business in the market.....1 In negotiating daily wage.....2 Affect my ability to form networks.....3 Affect my access to community resources.....4 Other(Specify).....5	
B18.	If no, do you think your inability to speak the local language has affected you negatively?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→Q. C 1
B19.	If yes, in what ways are you affected by your inability to speak the local language?	When I go to transact business in the market.....1 In negotiating daily wage.....2 Affect my ability to form networks.....3 Affect my access to community resources.....4 Other(Specify).....5	

SECTION C: REFUGEE ACTIVITIES AND RESOURCES IN THE HOST

COMMUNITY

No.	Question	Response Options	Skip To
C1.	What are the resources available to you in this community for your occupation? (Choose as many as applicable)	Land for agricultural purposes.....1 Water bodies.....2 Employment in the formal sector.....3 Land for housing.....4 Land for quarrying.....5 Other(Specify).....6	
C2.	What are the resources that you brought with you? (Choose as many as applicable)	Household assets.....1 Capital for petty trading.....2 Livestock.....3 Other(Specify).....4	
C3.	Apart from earned income, do you have other sources of income?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
C4.	If yes, from which source(s)? (Choose as many as applicable)	From AID agencies.....1 From Religious organizations.....2 From social networks.....3 Other (Specify).....4	
C5.	If your answer to Q. C4 is 'Social Networks', which form?	Internal networks.....1 External networks.....2 Other (Specify).....3	
C6.	Mention resources that are available to you for survival in this community.	Land for agricultural purposes.....1 Water bodies for fishing.....2 Employment in the formal sector.....3 Land for housing.....4 Land for quarrying.....5 Other(Specify).....6	
C7.	Do you earn any additional income from economic activities?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. C 14
C8.	If yes, what work(s)/activities do you engage in to earn income? (Choose as many as applicable)	Farming.....1 Fishing/Fish mongering.....2 Petty trading.....3 Tailoring/Dress Making.....4 Hair Dressing/Barbering.....5	

		Craftsmanship.....6 Daily Labourer.....7 Tradesman.....8 Other(Specify).....9	
C9.	Does the host community allow these work(s)/activities?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. C 12
C10.	If yes, which of these activities are allowed? (Choose as many as applicable)	Farming.....1 Fishing/Fish mongering.....2 Petty trading.....3 Tailoring/Dress Making.....4 Hair Dressing/Barbering.....5 Craftsmanship.....6 Daily Labourer.....7 Tradesman.....8 Other (Specify).....9	
C11.	Why do they allow such activities? (Choose as many as applicable)	As means of earning some income.....1 To provide labour for local industries...2 On humanitarian grounds.....3 Other (Specify).....4	
C12.	Which activities are not allowed? (Choose as many as applicable)	Employment in the formal sector.....1 Commercial farming.....2 Owning your land.....3 Putting up permanent building.....4 Other(Specify).....5	
C13.	Do you engage in any of these activities?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
C14.	If yes, do they harass you for engaging in them?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
C15.	Why don't they allow such activities? (Choose as many as applicable)	To avoid competition with host.....1 To minimize environmental degradation.....2 Local laws don't allow it.....3 Other (Specify).....4	
C16.	Are you allowed to own property?	Yes.....1 No.....2	

C17.	If yes, why?	To temporarily integrate.....1 As a means of earning some income..2 Other (Specify).....3	
C18.	If no, why?	To avoid conflict with host.....1 To avoid competition with host.....2 Local laws don't allow it.....3 Other (Specify).....4	

**SECTION D: PERCEIVED IMPACT OF REFUGEE ACTIVITIES ON THE HOST
COMMUNITY**

No.	Question	Response Options	Skip To
D1.	Do you think that your work/activities have some effect on the host population?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q.D 4
D2.	If yes, in what way?	Negative.....1 Positive.....2 Both positive and negative.....3	
D3.	Mention some of the specific effects of your activities? (Choose as many as applicable)	Increased labour force.....1 Expand local market.....2 Put pressure on local resources.....3 Other(Specify).....4	
D4.	If no, why do you say so?	..... .....
D5.	Has any aspect of your culture affected the host population in any way?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. D 9
D6.	If yes, in what way(s)?	By way of dressing.....1 The food we eat.....2 Our language and how we speak in general.....3 Other (Specify).....4	
D7.	Do you consider this as a threat to the local culture?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. D 9
D8.	If yes, is this likely to affect refugee-	Yes.....1	

	host co-existence?	No.....2	
D9.	Do you think the local culture has influenced your culture in any way?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. D 11
D10.	If yes, in what ways? (Choose as many as applicable)	By way of dressing.....1 The food we eat.....2 Our language and how we speak in general.....3 Other (Specify).....4	
D11.	How would you grade the effects of your activities on the host community?	Very Good.....1 Good.....2 Indifferent.....3 Bad.....4 Very Bad.....5 Don't Know.....6	

D12. In what way(s) do the following activities of the host population affect you?

Activity	Affect you	In what ways
(a) Farming	Yes.....1 No.....2	Provide employment.....1 Compete with us in the local market.....2 Compete with us in accessing resources.....3 Provide us with food.....4 Other (Specify).....5
(b) Fishing/Fish mongering	Yes.....1 No.....2	Provide employment.....1 Compete with us in the local market.....2 Compete with us in accessing resources.....3 Provide us with food.....4 Other (Specify).....5
(a) Petty trading	Yes.....1 No.....2	Provide employment.....1 Compete with us in the local market.....2 Compete with us in accessing resources.....3 Provide us with essential goods.....4 Other (Specify).....5
(d) Tailoring/Dressmaking	Yes.....1	Provide employment.....1 Compete with us in the local market.....2

	No.....2	Compete with us in accessing resources.....3 Apprenticeship opportunity.....4 Other (Specify).....5
(e) Hairdressing/ Barbering	Yes.....1 No.....2	Provide employment.....1 Compete with us in the local market.....2 Compete with us in accessing resources.....3 Apprenticeship opportunity.....4 Other (Specify).....5
(f) Craftsmanship	Yes.....1 No.....2	Provide employment.....1 Compete with us in the local market.....2 Compete with us in accessing resources.....3 Apprenticeship opportunity.....4 Other (Specify).....5

SECTION E: REFUGEE-HOST RELATIONSHIP

No:	Question	Response Options	Skip To
E1.	Have you ever had any conflict/misunderstanding with host population?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. E 8
E2.	If yes, how many times?	[] []	
E3.	What was the cause(s) of the last conflict? (if more than one)	..... .....
E4.	How was it handled?	Reported and resolved.....1 Reported but not resolved.....2 Not reported/Pending.....3 Other (Specify).....4	
E5.	Who resolved conflict/misunderstanding?	AID agency/NGO.....1 Religious group.....2 Ghana Refugee Board.....3 Two parties themselves.....4 Other (Specify).....5	

E6.	If resolved, was the outcome of resolution accepted by both parties?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
E7.	If no, what become of conflict/misunderstanding?	..... .....
E8.	Describe the general refugee-host relationship	..... .....
E9.	What was the cause of the last but one conflict?	..... .....
E10.	How was it handled?	Reported and resolved.....1 Reported but not resolved.....2 Not reported/Pending.....3 Other (Specify).....4	
E11.	If resolved, was outcome of the resolution accepted?	Yes.....1 No.....2	
E12.	If no, what has been the implication of the impasse for the refugee-host relationship?	..... .....

SECTION F: REFUGEE-UNHCR/NGO RELATIONSHIP

No	Questions	Response Options	Skip To
F1.	Have you ever had any conflict/misunderstanding with any implementing agency?	Yes.....1 No.....2	→ Q. F8
F2.	If yes, how many times?	[][]	
F3.	What was the cause of the last conflict/misunderstanding?	..... .....
F4.	How was it handled?	Reported and resolved.....1 Reported but not resolved.....2 Not reported/Pending.....3 Other (Specify).....4	
F5.	Who resolved the conflict/misunderstanding?	AID agency/NGO.....1 Religious group.....2 Ghana Refugee Board.....3	

		Two parties themselves.....4
		Other (Specify).....5
F6.	If resolved, was the outcome of the resolution accepted by both parties?	Yes.....1
		No.....2
F7.	If no, what has become of conflict/misunderstanding?	Pending.....1
		Other (Specify).....2
F8.	Describe the general refugee-host relationship	.....
	
	
	

Thank you very much

APPENDIX D

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR REFUGEE LEADERS

Warm up and Explanation

A. Introduction

Good day, Gentleman/Lady. My name is Samuel Kofi Miledzi Agblorti. I am a student from the University of Cape Coast. I am conducting a study on Refugee-Host Interaction in Sanzule/Krisan/Eikwe Communities and the Refugee Settlement.

B. Reasons for Study

I want to discuss with you issues concerning interactions between the Sanzule, Krisan and Eikwe Communities and refugees with specific emphasis on why you are here, access and use of resources by both refugees and host population and refugee experiences with host population. I will also discuss with you how you consider your relationship with the host population and why you think such a relationship with your host is important.

C. Procedure and Consent

(Explain use of tape recorder)

Information about this discussion will not be given to anyone. Although I do not see any immediate benefits that this discussion may bring to you, I hope you can help us understand how you are affected by your interactions with your host. This discussion will be tape recorded after which a transcription will be made.

Information gathered from you will be combined with those of other participants so that information provided by you will not be identified with your name. You may stop the discussion at any time that you want. Please do not hesitate to ask me any question about this survey. I hope you will find the discussion interesting.

Do you agree to participate in the discussion? Yes.....[] No..... []

If yes, Sign...../ Thumb Print.....

Date.....

DISCUSSION GUIDE

1. Reason(s) of Displacement

- Reasons for coming to Ghana. (Probe for specific cause(s) of displacement).
- Why Ghana and not any other country especially those with whom your country share common border?
- Did you traveled to Ghana alone or in the company of other refugees?
How did you travel to Ghana?
- Are you here with any family member (Probe for spouse, children and other dependants)?

2. Resources in Host Communities

- Kindly mention some of the resources in this community which are available to refugees. [By resources I am referring to land for agriculture and other purposes, water bodies, financial assistance and social networks such family and friends. Probe for more of the resources]
- Do you have access to these resources in the community? (Probe for resources that refugees have access to and find out the reason why they are not allowed to access some if there is any).

3. Resources in Refugee Settlement

- Mention resources that you have brought with you. (Probe for specific resources)

- Tell me whether the host population also access resources in the refugee settlement and those provided by humanitarian agencies operating in the camp. (Probe resources that host can access and those that they can not and find out why)?

4. Activities of Refugees and Host in both Refugee Settlement and Sanzule/Krisan/Eikwe Communities

- Mention some refugee activities in the host community and in the refugee settlement and whether these activities are allowed or not. (Probe for specific activities that are not allowed and why and if refugees are aware of the activities that are not permitted).
- Also, tell me about the activities of the host population in the settlement. Do you tolerate these activities or you are compelled to accept them?

5. Refuge-Host Relationship

- How do you consider your contact with the host community? (Probe whether contact was considered as a means of re-building life and/or improving life)
- Mention those activities organized by the host population in which you have participated. I mean activities such as funerals, wedding ceremonies, cultural festivals, games etc. (Probe whether participation was by invitation or not)
- Why did you attend? With whom did you attend?

- Mention whether there has been any conflict between refugees and host community. (Probe for type of conflict, whether conflict has been resolved, who resolved conflict and whether both parties have accepted the outcome of the resolution) Based on your experience with the host would you consider local integration as a workable durable solution? (Probe for explanation)

6. Refugee-UNHCR/NGO Relationship

- Have you ever had any conflict/misunderstanding with the implementing agencies in the refugee settlement?
- Mention the last conflict/misunderstanding you had with any of the implementing agencies.
- What was the cause of this conflict/misunderstanding? (Probe whether this has been resolved, who resolved it and whether outcome of resolution was accepted by both parties.)
- If outcome of resolution not accepted what has become of conflict/misunderstanding?

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX E

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR COMMUNITY LEADERS

Warm up and Explanation

A. Introduction

Good day, Nana/Gentleman/Lady. My name is Samuel Kofi Miledzi Agblorti. I am a student from the University of Cape Coast. I am conducting a study on Refugee-Host interaction in Sanzule, Krisan and Eikwe Communities and the Refugee Settlement.

B. Reasons for Study

I will be discussing with you issues concerning interactions between the Krisan Community and refugees with specific emphasis on access and use of resources by both refugees and Krisan Community and your experiences with refugees. I will also discuss with you how you consider your relationship with the refugees and why you think such a relationship with them is important.

C. Procedure and Consent

(Explain use of tape recorder)

Information about this discussion will not be given to anyone. Although I do not see any immediate benefit that this discussion may bring to you, I hope you can help us understand how you are affected by your interactions with the refugees. This discussion will be tape recorded after which a transcription will be made. Information gathered from you will be combined with those of other participants

so that information provided by you will not be identified with your name. You may stop the discussion at any time that you want. Please do not hesitate to ask me any question about this survey. I hope you will find the discussion interesting.

Do you agree to participate in the discussion? Yes..... [] No.....[]

If yes, Sign..... / Thumb Print.....

Date.....

DISCUSSION GUIDE

1. Presence of Refugees and Community Response

- I presume you are aware of the presence of refugees in Krisan village. When did you first become aware? How did you become aware of their presence? Did anybody discuss with you before they were brought in? (Probe to follow trend whether in favour of refugee presence or not).
- What was your first impression when you heard of their presence? (Probe for the perception of refugees: people fleeing persecution, unfortunate victims).
- Have your perceptions about refugees changed or not? (Probe whether this change has affected interactions with refugees)
- How has the community responded to the arrival of the refugees? (Probe for specific measures put in place to respond to the needs of the refugees in the early days of arrival)

2. Use of Resources in both Refugee Settlement and Host Community

- Do refugees have access to resources in the Krisan community? (Probe for resources that refugees are allowed to use and those that they are not allowed to use and why)
- Do you have access to resources in the refugee settlement? (Probe for resources that host population is allowed to access and those that they are not allowed and why?)

- What are some of the changes you have observed since the refugees came to settle here? Why do you say so? (Probe for reasons).

3. Activities of Refugees and Host in both the Refugee Settlement and Krisan Community

- Have you participated in activities organized by refugees in the settlement? (Probe for the last and last but one activity; e.g. marriage and funeral ceremonies). How did you get involved? Why were you involved? What was the outcome? What were your observations?
- Activities organized by community that some refugees have been invited. What were the reactions from both refugee invitees and community?

4. Host Population-Refugee Relationship

- How would you describe the nature of the relationship between you and the refugees? (Probe for conflict and cordial relation).
- Have there been any conflicts between you and the refugees? (Probe whether conflict has been resolved, who resolved it and whether both parties have accepted the resolution)
- Views on long term relationship between the refugees and the community? (Probe for explanation).
- In your view, is local integration a feasible durable solution? (Probe why?)

5. **Host Population-UNHCR/NGO Relationship**

- Have you ever had any conflict/misunderstanding with the implementing agencies in the refugee settlement?
- Mention the last conflict/misunderstanding you had with any of the implementing agencies.
- What was the cause of this conflict/misunderstanding? (Probe whether this has been resolved, who resolved it and whether outcome of resolution was accepted by both parties.)
- If outcome of resolution not accepted what has become of conflict/misunderstanding?

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX F

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR IMPLEMENTING AGENCIES IN THE REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

Warm up and Explanation

A. Introduction

Good day, Gentleman/Lady. My name is Samuel Kofi Miledzi Agblorti. I am a student from the University of Cape Coast. I am conducting a study on Refugee-Host interaction in Krisan, Sanzule and Eikwe Communities and the Refugee Settlement.

B. Reasons for Study

I will be discussing with you issues concerning interactions between the Krisan Community and refugees with specific emphasis on your role in this interactive process. The discussion will centre on your interventions in both the refugee settlement and the host community and how you think these interventions could contribute to bringing refugees and host together.

C. Procedure and Consent

(Explain use of tape recorder)

Information about this discussion will not be given to anyone. Although I do not see any immediate benefit that this discussion may bring to you, I hope you can help us understand your role in the interactive process. This discussion will be tape recorded after which a transcription will be made. Information gathered

from you will be combined with those of other participants so that information provided by you will not be identified with your name. You may stop the discussion at any time that you want. Please do not hesitate to ask me any question about this survey. I hope you will find the discussion interesting.

Do you agree to participate in the discussion? Yes.....[] No.....[]

If yes, Sign...../Thumb Print.....

Date.....

DISCUSSION GUIDE

1. **Activities of Implementing Agency in both Refugee Settlement and Host Community**

- How long have you been involved in activities in the Refugee Settlement and the Host Community?
- Mention some of the activities that you engage in. (Probe for the target population for the various activities)
- Do you involve the host and refugees in planning your programmes?
- Mention specific interventions that the host and refugees benefited from. (Probe the for main target population of these interventions).

2. **Perceived Impact of Agency Activities on the Environment**

- Can you tell me some of the changes that have occurred in the physical, social and cultural spheres? Were some of these effects anticipated? If yes, what were they? (Probe for unanticipated effects that have occurred and how they are being addressed).
- Community reactions to interventions that have to use community resources. (Probe how community reacted when their resources were used for refugee activities initiated by you).

3. **Agency-Host Relationship**

- Have your agency ever had conflict with Host Population? If yes, what was the

cause of the conflict? Was conflict resolved? Who resolved conflict?

- How was it resolved? Was outcome of resolution acceptable to both parties (Agency and Host)
- If outcome of resolution not accepted what happened to conflict? (Probe for state of relation between agency and host; e.g. mistrust, general tension)

4. Agency-Refugee Relationship

- Have your agency ever had conflict with refugees? If yes, what was the cause of conflict? Was conflict resolved? Who resolved conflict?
- How was it resolved? Was outcome of resolution acceptable to both parties (Agency and Refugees)
- If outcome of resolution not accepted what happened to conflict? (Probe for state of relation between agency and refugees; e.g. mistrust, general tension)

5. Mediation Role of Agency

- Have your agency ever mediated in the resolution of a conflict between host and refugees? If yes, what was the cause of conflict? How was it resolved? What was the outcome of the resolution? Was it accepted by both parties? If not accepted by both what happened to conflict? (Probe for state of relation between host and refugees; e.g. mistrust, general tension)

- What, in your view, is the way forward for refugees in this settlement?
(Voluntary repatriation, Local integration or Resettlement in third country).

Thank you very much

APPENDIX G

CALCULATION OF SAMPLE SIZE

According to Fisher *et al* (1998), the desired sample size is calculated by

$$n_f = \frac{n}{1 + \frac{n}{N}}, \text{ where}$$

n_f = the desired sample size (when population is less than 10,000),

n = the desired sample size (when population is greater than 10,000),

N = the estimate of the population size.

But the desired sample size when the population is greater than 10,000 is given

$$\text{by } n = \frac{z^2 p q}{d^2}; \text{ where}$$

n = the desired sample size (when population is greater than 10,000),

z = the standard normal deviation, usually set at 1.96 (or more simply 2.0), which corresponds to the 95% confidence level;

p = the proportion in the target population estimated to have a particular characteristics. If there is no reasonable estimate, then 50% is used;

$q = 1.0 - p$;

d = degree of accuracy desired, usually set at 0.05 level or occasionally at 0.02.

Therefore, for a population more than 10,000; the desired sample size will be

$$n = \frac{(1.96^2)(0.50)(0.50)}{(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = 384$$

But the population of Sanzule, Krisan and Eikwe and the refugees was 5,600.

Hence, with a standard normal deviation (z) of 1.96, a degree of accuracy (d) set at 0.05 and a proportion in the target population with a particular characteristic (p) at 50% which is equivalent to 0.5.

' q ' becomes

$$q = 1.0 - 0.5 = 0.5$$

The desired sample size (n_f) for the two populations can be calculated by substituting 384 for 'n' in the formula for determining the desired sample size when the population is less than 10,000.

Therefore,

$$n_f = \frac{384}{1 + \frac{384}{5,600}}$$

$$n_f = 358.88 \text{ Approximately } 359$$