

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

PERCEPTIONS OF REFUGEES ABOUT THE DURABLE SOLUTIONS: A
CASE STUDY OF THE BUDUBURAM REFUGEE CAMP IN GHANA

BY

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

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.

Candidate's Signature.....Date.....

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Supervisors' Declaration

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

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ABSTRACT

Refugees living in the Buduburam camp of Ghana suffer from numerous social, economic and psychological problems owing to their status as refugees. These problems require the durable solutions, but the implementation of the durable solutions cannot be achieved without the acceptance of the solutions by the refugees. This research sought to assess the perceptions of refugees about the durable solutions.

By adapting ‘When Displacement Ends’ framework for the durable solutions, the study assessed the refugees’ knowledge, preference, expectations and challenges associated with the durable solutions. Qualitative and quantitative approaches were used to solicit views from refugees about the durable solutions.

The findings suggest that resettlement was the most preferred durable solution. Knowledge about the durable solutions was widespread among the refugees, but they did not fully understand the concept of local integration. Generally, easy access to employment, skills training, health care, and education were found to be major expectations of the durable solutions.

Fear of persecution, competing with Ghanaians for job opportunities, and inadequate information about resettlement were the main challenges associated with the implementation of voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement of refugees in a third country respectively. It is recommended that UNHCR and GRB should educate more refugees about the exact packages for voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement in a third country. This will clarify some perceptions they have about the durable solutions.

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DEDICATION

To my dear mother, Mary Gyasiwah and my dad, Paul Addo for their love, affection and support.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADIC	Australia's Department of Immigrants and Citizenship
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BRC	Badil Resource Centre
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
DLI	Development through Local Integration
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
GRB	Ghana Refugee Board
HIV	Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus
IDI	In-depth interview
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
MWB	Metropolis World Bulletin
SPSS	Statistical Package for Service Solution
SIG.	Significance level
UCC	University of Cape Coast
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children Education Fund
USCRI	United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants
WFP	World Food Programme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the study

Chronicles and other literature have records of men, women, and children migrating from one place to another (Addo, 2008). While people migrate to improve their living standards, unite with members of their family or take up educational opportunities, those of concern to UNHCR are forced to flee from oppressions they could no longer withstand (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2007).

People, who are forced to flee from persecution in their home countries are not automatically called refugees. With reference to Article 1 A (2) of the 1951 Convention, the term refugee applies to any person who:

Owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable; or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (UNHCR, 1992, p. 8)

In the early 1990s, UNHCR focused its attention on refugee crisis and the provision of humanitarian assistance to refugees (Loescher, Milner, Newman & Troeller, 2008). In contrast, over two-thirds of refugees in the world today are not in emergency situations, they are trapped in protracted

conditions. This has caused millions of refugees to struggle to survive in camps and the situation constitutes a growing challenge for the international refugee protection regime (Loescher et al., 2008).

Globally, there are about 10.5 million refugees and about 20 percent of these refugees are in protracted situations (UNHCR & World Food Programme [WFP], 2011). Among these refugees in protracted situations, approximately 80 percent are in sub-Saharan Africa, and 13 percent are in North Africa and the Middle East (UNHCR & WFP, 2011). This implies that protracted refugee situations have become conspicuous in Africa, perhaps, because of some challenges associated with the implementation of the durable solutions (UNHCR, 2009).

It is imperative to define the circumstances where refugees are classified as people in protracted situations. Protracted refugee situations occur when refugees have been in exile for 5 years or more, without urgent expectations of a durable solution (Loescher & Milner, 2011; UNHCR, 2009).

A protracted refugee situation is defined as:

One in which refugees find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo. Ideally, their lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights, social, psychological and essential needs usually remain unfulfilled after years in exile. A refugee in this situation is often unable to disentangle himself/herself from reliance on external assistance. (UNHCR, 1997, p.106)

Protracted refugee situations pose social, economic, and political challenges for host governments, host communities, refugees, donor states and humanitarian agencies (UNHCR & WFP, 2011). By this definition, refugees

living in the Buduburam camp in Ghana can be classified as people in protracted situations (Omata, 2011).

Many refugees live in camps or other unsatisfactory and unsafe circumstances, with few or no resources to support themselves. Such refugees suffer from survival difficulties in camps especially when there are insufficient livelihood opportunities for them. In some situations, difficulties in getting access to employment compel them to turn to negative means of survival such as prostitution, burglary and robbery (Sarfo-Mensah, 2009).

In Ghana, during the influx of refugees into the country in the 1990s, UNHCR provided livelihood support packages to about 20,000 refugees, but the support decreased in the year 2000 and was limited to only vulnerable refugees (Addo, 2008). For instance, UNHCR's support to about 9,000 Liberian refugees in the Buduburam camp was withdrawn in 1997 because elections were held in Liberia which assumed that peace was restored, therefore the refugees were expected to repatriate to their country of origin out of their own will (UNHCR, 2003). The conflict in Liberia rekindled in the early 2000s and many Liberians had to flee their homes and this led to another influx of Liberians into Ghana. However, UNHCR did not renew its humanitarian assistance to the refugees (UNHCR, 2003).

The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the refugees suffer from uncertain legal status and are indirectly not granted the formal right to work or establish businesses in Ghana (Obi & Crisp, 2000). Despite the fact that the refugee laws permit them to earn a living, it is difficult for them to secure employment legitimately. This is because those who employ refugees need to apply for permission through the Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) which will also

require the Immigration Service to request for work permit through the Ministry of Interior. This form of bureaucracy sometimes takes 3 to 10 weeks and due to that most employers become reluctant to go through the complicated official system (United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants [USCRI], 2009). Thus, although many refugees enjoy complete freedom of movement which makes it possible for them to engage in wage labour, many of them struggle to make a living in Ghana (Dick, 2002).

Since 17th March, 2008 after some refugees in the Buduburam camp held a one-month protest and threatened UNHCR as a result of the severe livelihood problems they have been facing, the government of Ghana has considered invoking a cessation clause of the 1951 Refugee Convention to enable UNHCR to end operations for refugees in the Buduburam camp in Ghana (Monsuitti, 2008). In 2011, there were brawls at the Buduburam camp leading to the death of one person and this awakened the government's decision to invoke the cessation clause (Integrated Regional Information Networks [IRIN], 2008). These atrocities suggest that the refugee problems in the Buduburam camp need an urgent, but permanent solution.

UNHCR has introduced three durable solutions to refugee problems, namely voluntary repatriation of refugees to their country of origin, local integration of refugees into the host country and resettlement of refugees in a third country (UNHCR, 1998).

The durable solutions have been implemented in some countries. For instance, in the United Republic of Tanzania, there had been voluntary repatriation of Burundi refugees, who had been in the country since 1972. However, many of the refugees were unwilling to be repatriated and about

155,000 out of 163,000 refugees were naturalized by the end of 2009 (UNHCR, 2009). In Ghana, from 1997 to 1999, about 4000 Liberian refugees were voluntarily repatriated to their country of origin, but they returned to Ghana after the war erupted again and this has aggravated the challenges associated with the implementation of voluntary repatriation (Tete, 2005). In Senegal, voluntary repatriation of 24,000 Mauritanian refugees started in January 2008, and about 4,700 refugees moved from Senegal to their country of origin (UNHCR, 2009).

On a different note, many refugees living in the Buduburam camp are not prepared to return to their countries of origin and they have chosen to remain in Ghana even with very little assistance (Omata, 2011). For instance, at the end of the voluntary repatriation programme in 2007, about 27,000 Liberian refugees still remained in Ghana which placed the country as the host of the largest number of Liberian refugees in the world (Omata, 2011). There are some refugees at the Buduburam camp who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution cannot return to Liberia, Côte D'Ivoire or Sierra Leone no matter how much is offered for voluntary repatriation (Sahan, 2008).

Local integration is another viable option when refugee problems are to be solved permanently (UNHCR, 2003). This could be in a form of planned or organized settlement, or in some cases, spontaneous absorption or self settlement (UNHCR, 1999). For the planned or organized settlement, the government and concerned organizations organise a vast land, normally in rural areas for the refugees to settle there (UNHCR, 1999).

From the late 1960s to the 1980s, UNHCR established planned rural settlements for refugees in Africa with the goal of helping refugees in

protracted situations achieve self-sufficiency (Long, 2009). These settlements are similar to refugee camps, but there are opportunities for the formerly displaced to generate income and rely on themselves for survival (Feldman, 2007).

On the other hand, with the spontaneous absorption, the refugees settle among the local community without direct government or international assistance. They share local households or set up temporary accommodation nearby, and are helped with shelter and food by local families or community organizations (UNHCR, 1999).

It is often perceived that the nature of social interactions between refugees and the host community members can help to create conditions for accommodation and peaceful co-existence and this can encourage local integration (Agblorti & Awusabo-Asare, 2011). For example, a refugee married to a Ghanaian in a host community would have a broader chance to be integrated locally as compared with a refugee who is married to another refugee.

Another option for solving refugee problems permanently is resettlement of refugees in a third country. From history, only a small proportion of refugees have been resettled (Badil Resource Centre [BRC], 2007). Many developed countries that resettled refugees have noted that refugees face severe ethnic and cultural problems of adjustment. Some developed countries give reasons of limited capacity to absorb refugees, economic problems, xenophobia, and fatigue as the main factors why resettlement is a durable solution of last resort (BRC, 2007).

Therefore, the decision to resettle a refugee in a third country is usually made in the absence of voluntary repatriation and local integration, or when resettlement is deemed the most desirable solution after considering the health condition of the refugee (Crisp, 2004).

Although UNHCR has introduced the three durable solutions to solve the refugee problems, their implementations revolve around the perceptions of refugees concerning their respective benefits and challenges. This suggests that information about the durable solutions is vital for refugees to either opt for voluntary repatriation, local integration or resettlement in a third country. For instance, if refugees perceive that returning home poses a threat to their security, such a perception can make the implementation of voluntary repatriation very difficult to be achieved. Refugees with such perceptions will have some expectations such as an assurance of safety and security before they opt for voluntary repatriation to their countries of origin. However, the uncertainties, complexities and dynamic nature of refugees' perceptions about the durable solutions presuppose that there is the need for research to contribute to the search of understanding by assessing the views of refugees about the durable solutions.

Statement of the problem

Refugees living in the Buduburam camp in Ghana suffer from numerous problems such as uneasy access to education, employment and health services, withdrawal of food ration, poor shelter, sexual exploitation and HIV/AIDS infections, forced labour, abuse and violence, detention and intimidation by host community members (Stein, 2011).

These problems require durable solutions; however, the implementation of any durable solution cannot be successful without its acceptance by the refugees (Mooney, Martin, Cohen & Beau, 2007). Jacobsen (2001) found that refugees have varied views about the durable solutions introduced by UNHCR to solve their problems and this can impede any progress in achieving a permanent solution. Yet, literature on the implementation of the durable solutions usually focuses on host communities, UNHCR and government bodies without considering the views of the refugees.

Available literature affirm that, of the studies conducted in Africa, few (Ahmed, 2009; UNHCR, 2009; Hansen, Mutabaraka & Ubricao, 2008; Baribonekeza, 2006; Tete, 2005; UNHCR, 2003; Dick, 2002; Chimni, 1999; UNHCR, 1996; Stein, 1986) focused on the views of refugees about the three durable solutions. In addition, some of these studies are antiquated although opinions about the most desirable durable solution vary over time (Crisp, 2003).

Therefore, it is not clear whether the refugees in the Buduburam camp will opt for local integration, resettlement in a third country or voluntary repatriation. Also, the underlying factors that influence their preference for a particular durable solution are unknown. There is, therefore, the need to address questions such as: what do the refugees know about the durable solutions; which of the durable solutions do they prefer most and why; what are their expectations of the durable solutions and are there challenges associated with the implementation of the durable solutions?

The uncertainties about the refugees' perceptions of the durable solutions need to be unravelled to enhance proper understanding of the situation on the ground. This study, therefore, aims at assessing the views of refugees about the durable solutions using the Buduburam refugee camp as a case study.

Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study was to assess the perceptions of refugees about the durable solutions. Specific objectives of the study were to:

1. Explore the refugees' knowledge about the durable solutions;
2. Examine the refugees' most preferred durable solution;
3. Appraise the refugees' expectations of the durable solutions;
4. Analyse challenges encountered by refugees in the implementation of the durable solutions.

Hypotheses of the study

The hypotheses of the study were:

1. H₀: There is no significant relationship between the age of refugees and the most preferred durable solution.
2. H₀: There is no significant relationship between the sex of refugees and the expectations of the durable solutions.

Rationale of the study

It is a prime goal in contemporary refugee studies to generate knowledge about the most preferred durable solutions to refugee problems,

owing to the increasing challenges faced by refugees residing in camps (Addo, 2008). This study is useful for understanding how refugees regard the durable solutions and provides a policy direction to the implementation of the durable solutions. The study combined the three approaches used for solving refugee problems and therefore will aid stakeholders, corporate bodies and concerned agencies such as UNHCR in their attempt to solve refugee problems (Crisp, 2004).

The study provides information to supplement the available literature on refugees' in Ghana particularly on their concerns about the durable solutions because the durable solutions to refugee problems have not been fully explored. The findings of the study serve as a platform for further discussion and research into the durable solutions to refugee problems (Clark & Causer, 1991).

Organisation of the study

The study has been organised into five chapters. The first Chapter, which is the introduction, covers the background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study, hypotheses, and the rationale of the study. Chapter Two covers concepts, theories, models, related issues on the durable solutions as well as the conceptual framework for the study. The data and methods of data collection constitute the third chapter. The fourth chapter deals with the background characteristics of the respondents. The perceptions of refugees about the durable solutions to their problems are also analysed and discussed in this same chapter. Chapter Five concludes the study with summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of various perspectives, theories, models, and concepts about voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement in a third country. Issues relating to protracted refugee situations and refugee problems are also reviewed. The chapter ends with a conceptual framework for the durable solutions to refugee problems.

Refugee problems

One of the indicators of human suffering is the displacement of people from their homes (UNHCR, 2008). For many refugees, involuntary migration from home leads to a new period of life without food, clothing, and shelter. In some cases, families and communities are broken because of the fear of persecution in the country of origin (Freiberger, 2010).

According to UNHCR (2008), the safety and well-being of displaced people particularly children and adolescents are often threatened. Examples of the threats are separation from their families, sexual exploitation, HIV/AIDS infections, slavery, abuse and violence, compulsory recruitment into armed groups, trafficking, uneasy access to education, detention, and denial of access to asylum or family-reunification (UNHCR, 2008).

In Africa, refugee problems began in the period of struggles for independence when armed clashes led to the flight of people from their home countries (Rwamatwara, 2005). Rwamatwara observed that struggles over the control of political and economic power and human rights abuse such as

violence were the main causes of population flights in sub-Saharan Africa. Also, Deng (1993) identified civil and ethnic conflicts as the main cause of forced migrations in sub-Saharan Africa. According to Deng, the conflicts are often in the form of opposed governing groups, who try to maintain the existing situation on one hand, and exempted group searching for change on the other hand.

Rwamatwara (2005) again argued that refugee problems in Africa have undergone two major courses since the 1960s, which are distinguished by the changes in national asylum policies. The refugee policies formulated and implemented in Africa were divided into two categories that Rutinwa (1999) classified as the open door versus the closed door policies. According to Milner (2004), the policies were called open door because of the open-handed reception given to refugees by host countries from early 1960s to late 1980s while the closed door suggests a period where policies deterred refugees from finding refuge in some host countries.

There is uncertainty about the use of the term refugee problem. Some writers (Stein, 2011; Freiburger, 2010; UNHCR, 2008) use the term to represent specific lists of problems faced by refugees while others refer to the refugee status itself as a problem. Whatever be the case, the term can be used without controversy depending on the context within which it is used. Focusing on this study, the term refugee stands for the difficulties that confront the refugees in the course of finding a durable solution.

Protracted refugee situations

Goetz (2003) conceptualised protracted refugee situations into three elements. The first is a situation without end or a solution. Secondly, the refugees are in an organized camp for at least five years. Finally, the refugees caught in this type of situation have little chance of being accepted elsewhere. Crisp (2006) used a crude measure of 25,000 refugees or more who have been in exile for five or more years to represent protracted refugee situations. Likewise, UNHCR and WFP (2011) explained a protracted refugee situation as one in which the refugees have sought refuge in a host nation for five years or more.

Milner (2006) posited that protracted refugee situations occur when refugees move beyond the emergency phase, and do not have solutions to their problems. According to Milner, the population of refugees in this situation are not always constant. There are periods of increase and decrease in the total population. Crisp (2003) conceptualised protracted refugee situation as a situation where refugees find themselves trapped in a state of limbo. They cannot return to their country of origin in most cases because it is unsafe for them, they are unable to settle forever in their country of first asylum, and they do not have the option of resettlement, particularly, when no third country has agreed to resettle them.

The time baseline for classifying refugees as people in protracted situation is unclear. For instance, UNHCR used the phrase “a long lasting intractable state of limbo” (UNHCR, 1997, p. 106). The term “long lasting” is subjective and can mean differently to various people. The most common time baseline used is five years or more. However, the counting point of the five

years is vague. Does the five years include the emergency phase of the crisis, where refugees were not settled in camps or it applies only to the period spent in camps? Some writers used different time periods and specific number of people for classifying refugees as people in protracted situation which is inexplicit. For instance, Crisp (2006) used a crude measure of 25,000 people and did not clearly justify reasons for using that specific number.

Causes of protracted refugee situation

According to Loescher et al. (2008), protracted refugee situations are caused by bottlenecks in the countries of origin and asylum. UNHCR (2004) established that protracted refugee situations stem from political impasses. According to UNHCR, they are not inevitable, rather are the result of political misunderstandings in the countries of origin and asylum. Morel (2009) stressed that a major cause of protracted refugee situation is the fact that the international community fail to bring armed conflicts to an end while Milner (2006) found that refugee situations become protracted because of restrictions on refugees' movement and employment opportunities.

Crisp (2003) observed that the cause of protracted refugee situation is the shift from local integration and resettlement in a third country to voluntary repatriation as the internationally preferred durable solution. Crisp (2006) mentioned some causes of protracted refugee situations particularly in Africa. First, Crisp attributed armed conflicts which forced people to leave their country of origin and which remained unresolved for so many years as a prime cause of protracted refugee situations. Crisp continued the stance by arguing that the presence of so many protracted refugee situations in Africa was as a

result of little attention given to the solution of local integration during the past 15 years by countries of asylum, donor states, and UNHCR.

Goetz (2003) introduced two causal categories, which are direct and indirect causes. According to Goetz, conflict is the direct cause. Specifically, it could be internal, ethnic or communal conflict. These types of conflicts run the risk of being prolonged indefinitely. An example is the Angola's thirty year civil war. The second cause is the indirect, which Goetz explained can have a prolonging effect on protracted refugee situations. In this case, opposing political parties with control of certain areas of the country should be blamed.

In general, prolonged and unresolved conflicts in certain African countries contribute immensely to the protracted refugee situations since refugees cannot return home in the presence of conflict. Also, the relative concentration on voluntary repatriation as the most desirable durable solution to refugee problems is an underlying cause of protracted refugee situations in Africa.

Consequences of protracted refugee situations

UNHCR (2008) recognized that protracted refugee situations pose safety and security problems. Specifically, the incidence of physical and sexual violence within camps is a consequence of protracted refugee situation. In some cases of protracted refugee situations, tension may develop between refugees and their host country over limited resources (UNHCR, 2008).

In consonance with UNHCR (2008), Milner (2006) (as cited in Metropolis World Bulletin [MWB], 2008) highlighted that the consequence of protracted refugee situation is its impact on the human rights of refugees.

Milner found that sexual and physical violence in refugee camps remain a consequence of protracted refugee situation, which needs significant concern.

Goetz (2003) emphasized that refugees have little that they can call their own, and they rely on humanitarian agencies to assist them. Consequently, as they make efforts to acquire some basic needs for survival such as food, cooking oil, and firewood, in a competitive environment, they are immediately at risk. This is simply because demand outweighs supply, leading to a rise in crime as means of survival.

Furthermore, Goetz (2003) explained that psycho-social and gender issues are other consequences of protracted refugee situations. Thus, refugees may be in need of attention for post traumatic stress disorder and other psychological conditions. These result in increased social tension and violence in the camp setting. Relating to this are the negative survival strategies that refugees may adopt to cope in life. These include turning to prostitution, burglary, armed robbery and petty theft.

From all indications, protracted refugee situations create safety and security problems, lead to tensions between host populations and the refugees, enhance social vices in camps, and result in psychological trauma. It is deducible from the literature that protracted refugee situations inflame refugee problems. All these can be prevented or reduced by the introduction of the durable solutions which will make the refugees less vulnerable.

Durable solutions to refugee problems

Durable solutions refer to “UNHCR’s ultimate goal that will allow refugees to rebuild their lives in dignity and peace” (UNHCR & WFP, 2011,

p.15). There are three durable solutions open to refugees namely, voluntary repatriation of refugees to their country of origin, integration of refugees into the host country, and resettlement of refugees in a third country in situations where it is impossible for a person to go back home or remain in the host country (UNHCR & WFP, 2011).

Chimni (2000) opined that in refugee studies resettlement in third countries, local integration in the country of asylum and voluntary repatriation to the country of origin have been identified as durable solutions to refugee problems. Goodwin-Gill focused on self-sufficiency and defined durable solution as:

A solution that entails a process of integration into a society; it will be successful and lasting only if it allows the refugee to attain a degree of self sufficiency, to participate in the social and economic life of the community and to retain what might be described, too summarily, as a degree of personal identity and integrity (Goodwin-Gill, 1990, p. 10).

UNHCR (2003) in agreement with Chimni (2000) identified three durable solutions namely, voluntary repatriation to country of origin, local integration into the country of first asylum or resettlement in a third country as the options available for permanent solution to refugee problems. All the three are regarded as durable because they promise an end to refugees' suffering and their need for international protection and dependence on humanitarian assistance. Mooney et al. (2007) argued that the implementation of a durable solution does not suggest that refugees will not have needs and concerns, but those needs and concerns should not be caused by their status as refugees.

It appears that priorities have been given to the three durable solutions to refugee problems without the consideration of new approaches to solving refugee problems especially from the refugees themselves. Does a solution qualify to be called durable when there is a mere uplift of a refugee's standard of living or when refugees voluntarily repatriate to their country of origin, resettle in a third country or integrate into communities in the host country? There should be a follow up on the refugees after the implementation of any durable solution in order to ascertain whether they are not disadvantaged in any way.

Voluntary repatriation of refugees to their country of origin

The issue of 'voluntariness' is the basis of repatriation of refugees although the term was not extensively addressed in the 1951 Refugee Convention (UNHCR, 1996). The term 'voluntary repatriation' is connected with the principle of 'non-refoulement' which frowns at the mandatory return of refugees and any person who suffers from a well founded fear of persecution to their countries of origin. The issue of 'voluntariness' does not only address the act of returning refugees to their countries of origin against their will, but the issue of preventing them from returning to their countries of origin after they have decided to do so (UNHCR, 1996).

Voluntary repatriation has been conceptualised by various authors in different ways, but some key and basic tenets emerge among most works. Voluntary repatriation refers to "a situation whereby the refugee goes home voluntarily and there is a restoration of the bond between citizenship and fatherland" (Stein, 1997, p. 3). Long (2007) emphasized that voluntary

repatriation can be understood as placing the refugee within the international system of nation-states while Malkki (1995) argued that refugee repatriation has been traditionally equated with the physical return of refugees to their country of origin.

UNHCR (2003) proposed an integrated approach known as Repatriation, Reintegration, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (4Rs) for post conflict situations in countries of origin. The approach was purposed to bring together humanitarian and development actors. The aim was that many resources should be allocated to create a conducive environment inside the countries of origin in order to prevent the recurrence of mass outflows, and facilitate sustainable repatriation. The 4Rs programme attempted to draw linkages between all four processes so as to promote the durable solutions for refugees, ensure poverty reduction and help create good local governance.

Hansen et al. (2008) went a step further to explain both forced and voluntary repatriation. According to them, repatriation is not an option if it is not voluntary. Forced repatriation was regarded by them as merely another forced migration, even though the return is to the country of origin. They maintained that while voluntary repatriation is considered the most desirable durable solution, it is the solution whereby UNHCR, individual states, and the international community have the least control.

UNHCR (2006) affirmed the views of Hansen et al. (2008) by establishing three vital conditions that must be fulfilled to implement voluntary repatriation. First, the return must be voluntary. Thus, no refugee should be returned to his/her country of origin or habitual residence against his or her own will. Secondly, there must be clear and explicit agreement between

the country of asylum and the country of origin, both on the procedures of return and conditions of reception.

Although Hansen et al. (2008) touched on the issue of forced repatriation, the condition under which a repatriation exercise is considered as forced is imprecisely defined. For instance, if the government of a host country decides to invoke a cessation clause for refugees on the point that peace has been restored in their country of origin and because of that refugees decide to return home, does that constitute forced or voluntary migration? However, the literature emphasized the need for a 'willing' return of a refugee to his/her country of origin as the key definition of voluntary repatriation.

For most refugees, returning to their countries of origin will be the only possible durable solution while for UNHCR, repatriation must be voluntary and take place in conditions of safety and dignity. The voluntary repatriation process require UNHCR to work with other institutions with a view to ensuring that the necessary conditions particularly with regard to politics, security, humanitarian and development are put in place. These efforts usually include peace education and skills development projects in refugee camps, which enable refugees to contribute toward the consolidation of peace upon their return home (Kamara, 2007).

Local integration of refugees into host country

Meyer (2008) and Crisp (2004) classified local integration into three interrelated aspects. Local integration was first explained as a legal process, which gives refugees some rights and claims by the host state such as the right to seek employment, engage in income generating activities, own and sell

properties, enjoy freedom of movement and have access to public services such as education, permanent residence rights and the acquisition of citizenship in the country of asylum. Secondly, local integration was defined as an economic process, which enables refugees accomplish some level of self-reliance and attain sustainable livelihoods. Finally, local integration was classified as a socio-cultural process. Thus, through the means of accommodation, refugees interact with indigenes in the host country without any form of discrimination and this contributes to the socio-cultural lives of both the refugees and the host community members.

Kuhlman (1990) proposed that local integration should involve a process where refugees participate in the host economy in ways that correspond to their skills and cultural values. Kuhlman argued that they should attain a good standard of living and should be capable of psychologically adapting to their new situation. Kuhlman further explained that the standards of living and economic opportunities for members of the host community should not depreciate due to the influx of refugees, and refugees should not encounter discrimination against their status. Baribonekeza (2006) was of the view that refugees should be given a legal status that allowed them to live permanently in the host country and they should be free to participate in the social, economic and cultural aspects of the host country.

UNHCR (2004) introduced a Development through Local Integration (DLI) approach in situations where the host country opts to provide opportunities for the integration of refugees. DLI would solicit for additional development assistance with the aim of attaining a durable solution to refugee problems. Therefore, UNHCR categorised local integration into three

components. First is the economic component, where refugees become less dependent on humanitarian assistance and they attain self-reliance with respect to their livelihoods.

The second part is the social and cultural components, which suggest that interactions between refugees and local communities can enable refugees to live among the host population, without discrimination and as contributors to the development of their host communities (UNHCR, 2004).

The final component is the legal component which suggests that refugees should be given rights and privileges by the host country, which should be similar to those enjoyed by local citizens. These include freedom of movement, access to education and the labour market, access to public services and assistance which include health facilities, the possibility of acquiring and disposing of property, and the capacity to travel with valid identity documents (UNHCR, 2004).

According to Banki (2004), local integration refers to the ability of a refugee to participate with relative freedom in the economic and communal activities of the host community. Banki argued that refugee integration is characterized by indicators. Refugees in this state are not restricted in their movements, they can own land or appear to have official access to it, they should participate in the local economy, they should be self-sufficient, and they should be able to utilize local services such as health facilities. In harmony with Meyer (2008) and UNHCR (2003), Banki viewed local integration as a legal process, economic process, and finally as a social process.

Landau (2004) opined that local integration as a concept can be broken down into social, economic, and cultural integration to describe the different interactions within society. Campbell (2006); Campbell (2005); Landau (2004) mentioned de facto integration which represents economic and legal integration into host communities. They claimed that the economic success of refugees suggests they are an integral part of society which also reflects an achievement of integration.

Stein (1986) compared local integration with temporary settlement which is often not clearly defined. Stein posited that “both involve a host permitting refugees to participate on an equal footing in its social and economic life” (Stein, 1986, p.46).

For Cranfield and Kobia (2009), while the literature emphasized the importance of economic integration and self reliance for refugees, to them, legal status is a crucial element of local integration. Hansen et al. (2008) believed that the process of local integration should involve three interrelated parts which are legal considerations, economic progress, and socio-cultural adaptation. Thus, the host country will have to make legal agreements which include giving refugees basic rights and status that are closer to citizens. The most important aspects are access to public services such as health care and education, right of entry into the labour market, and the capacity to acquire and sell possessions. Furthermore, the host country should facilitate self-reliance of the refugees during the integration process.

In agreement with Meyer (2008); Banki (2004); Landau (2004); UNHCR (2003), Laipson and Pandya (2010) classified local integration of refugees into three main components. In the first place, they identified the

legal component, which entails rights of movement, property ownership, public services, permanent residence, and employment. Secondly, they mentioned the economic component, which covers the process of enabling refugees to maintain and earn a livelihood. Finally, they touched on the social and cultural components which include allowing refugees to interact with the host community without any fear of discrimination against their status.

According to Crisp (2004), the process of local integration becomes a durable solution only at the point where a refugee becomes a naturalized citizen of his or her asylum country, and consequently is no longer in need of international protection. Crisp also differentiated between local integration and local settlement by claiming that whereas local integration can be regarded as a process that leads to a durable solution for refugees, the notion of ‘local settlement’ is best defined as a strategy for dealing with mass refugee movements.

UNHCR (1996), however, clarified local integration by arguing that local settlement does not presuppose that refugees will find a durable solution in the host country. In some instances, locally settled refugees might remain in exile before they gradually integrate into the country of asylum in legal, economic and social terms. On the other hand, UNHCR emphasized that local settlement might be a temporary phase, allowing refugees to live with a degree of dignity, security and prosperity.

Local integration of refugees into a host country only becomes viable when the country of asylum offers refugees the possibility to remain permanently in the communities within the host country by granting them permanent residency or naturalization. In the past, governments have been

reluctant to offer local integration, hoping that refugee situations would be temporary. However, UNHCR and governments particularly in Western and Southern African countries are deliberating on the reliability of local integration as an achievable durable solution especially for refugees in protracted situations (Kamara, 2007).

Resettlement of refugees in a third country

UNHCR regards resettlement in third countries as an essential mechanism to protect refugees especially the most vulnerable ones. Therefore, it is the onus of UNHCR to determine the criteria for making decisions about whether refugees need resettlement as a solution on an individual or group basis. However, governmental institutions work in line with UNHCR to finally decide how many refugees and which individuals to accept for resettlement. Very few refugees are able to resettle in other countries, which usually is between one and two percent of the global refugee population. The major countries that accept refugees for resettlement such as Australia, Canada and the United States have the largest refugee resettlement programmes, although several European countries also have important programmes (Kamara, 2007).

For the sake of this study the term 'resettlement' needs to be conceptualised. According to UNHCR (2012), resettlement involves the act of choosing and relocating refugees from a state or country in which they have sought protection to a third state or country that has agreed to accept them as refugees with permanent residence status. The conditions established by the countries of resettlement ensures protection against 'refoulement' and provides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependants with access to

civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Also, resettlement gives refugees the opportunity to become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country (UNHCR, 2012).

Usually, resettlement is offered to refugees whose life, liberty, safety, health or other human rights are at risk in the country where they sought refuge. Thus in situations where local integration is not an option, and voluntary repatriation is not viable, resettlement may be the only durable solution available, especially in protracted refugee situations (UNHCR, 2012).

Resettlement is defined as “the transfer of refugees from a state in which they have initially sought protection to a third state that has agreed to admit them with permanent-residence status” (Freiberger, 2010, p. 297; Baribonekeza, 2006, p.23). According to Freiberger, the main countries that resettle refugees are the United States, Australia, Canada, Sweden, Norway, and New Zealand.

Sandvick (2010) also asserted that there are categories of people for whom resettlement is the appropriate solution. The primary criteria are legal and physical protection needs. According to Sandvick, resettlement is linked to legal and/or physical protection when a refugee’s situation meets one or more of the qualifying conditions. These are when there is a persistent threat of refoulement to the country of origin, when a refugee is under threat of arrest or imprisonment, when their physical safety or human rights in the country of refuge are threatened, and this threat renders asylum unreasonable, when a refugee is a survivor of violence or torture, has medical needs, is a woman at risk, needs family reunification, is a child or adolescent, an aged refugee or a refugee without any prospect of local integration.

Hansen et al. (2008) found that resettlement occurs when refugees are transferred from the country in which they found refuge to another country which agrees to welcome them. According to them, UNHCR gives priority to individuals with a high protection need such as women and highly vulnerable families. Hansen et al. (2008) affirmed Sandvick's view by asserting that resettlement is generally recommended for populations that are victims of protracted situations, and when neither repatriation nor local integration seems possible.

Resettlement was used for the first time by the UNHCR in 1956 when some 200,000 Hungarians found refuge in European countries (Gray & Elliot, 2001). However, UNHCR (2005) confirmed that resettlement of refugees into a third country of asylum is gradually receiving low attention in the United States as a durable solution to refugee problems following the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks.

Expectations of the durable solutions

The Danish Refugee Council [DRC] (2008) outlined some expectations of voluntary repatriation which include a comprehensive counselling to refugees after they return to their country of origin, sufficient time to prepare for return, information and advice on how to get access to legal services, health, educational services, accommodation, employment, bridging gaps between returnees and the existing local community and finally monitoring and follow-up to returnees in their country of origin (DRC, 2008, p. 4).

According to Sahan (2008), refugees are concerned about security in their country of origin. Although voluntary repatriation can be a viable solution to many, there are family members of former political leaders who fear that they will be killed when they return to their country of origin. Furthermore, most refugees have no place to stay upon return to their country of origin. Thus, refugees expect the provision of accommodation and other basic needs such as food and money for upkeep before deciding to voluntarily repatriate to their country of origin.

Ager and Strang (2004) identified some expectations of local integration, which include avoidance of threats from host community members, toleration, friendliness, refugees' participation in the host community, peace between communities, elimination of all forms of discrimination against refugees, and acceptance of differences and diversity.

Shrestha (2011) found that many Bhutanese refugees expected organisations responsible for resettlement in a third country to find jobs for them. This expectation originated from their misunderstanding of information about resettlement provided in the camp. Some refugees indicated that before they departed from Bhutan to the United States, they were given an orientation course in the refugee camp and in the process, they were shown a video recording of the types of jobs they could get in the United States. These jobs included working in a factory, housekeeping, or working in the meatpacking industry. According to them, they were told in the camp that local resettling agencies would find jobs for them and these were their major expectations.

Most preferred durable solution to refugee problems

At the time when UNHCR's statute was established, voluntary repatriation and resettlement of refugees were regarded as the most feasible durable solutions. In more recent years, the three durable solutions have been placed in a hierarchy by the international community, seemingly, voluntary repatriation has gained priority over resettlement in a third country and local integration (Crisp, 2004). Long (2007) proclaimed that voluntary repatriation has been the most preferred durable solution to international displacement crises since the first efforts to create an international regime for refugee management in the 1920s.

UNHCR (2006) asserted that in cases where voluntary repatriation is unlikely to take place, the best solution is often to settle refugees in the host country. This can only be done, however, with the agreement of the government of the host country because Landau (2006) found that host governments are openly opposed to local integration.

Freiberger (2010) posited that during the cold war period, most Western Democratic States advocated that resettlement of rebels, especially from the former Soviet Union, was the most viable solution. However, with the end of the cold war, resettlement is no longer favoured by most asylum states as a durable solution (Chimni, 2000). According to Chimni (2000) most affluent countries are unwilling to accept and resettle refugees. They give reasons such as security considerations, growing unemployment and preservation of culture for their stance.

In the case of less developed countries, Loescher et al. (2008) explained that a sudden influx of refugees can ruin economies, worsen

unemployment, and increase ethnic tensions and because of these factors, countries of first asylum are unwilling to integrate refugees especially if their presence is likely to raise security problems or provoke resentment and domestic conflicts. Placing emphasis on resettlement in a third country, few countries are willing to offer citizenship to refugees and this has become a big challenge.

According to UNHCR (2003), during the Cold War and the national liberation struggles of the 1960s and 1970s, those who fled communist regimes and colonial oppressions were granted refugee status on the assumption that voluntary repatriation was not an option. Resettlement and local integration were generally regarded as the most viable and desirable durable solutions. However, since the 1980s there has been an increase in the migration of people from poor to rich countries and the growing association of refugees with migrants fleeing poverty have added to the reluctance of wealthy nations to offer resettlement (UNHCR, 2003).

Freiberger (2010) asserted that in the situation where repatriation is not an option, a second possible durable solution is integration into the local host community. However, among Iraqi refugees, resettlement to a third country or voluntary repatriation to Iraq had been the preferred choices while local integration had not been considered an option (Laipson & Pandya, 2010). Black and Gent (2004) emphasized that despite the categorisation of voluntary repatriation as one of the three 'durable solutions' by UNHCR, it has not always been a high priority internationally.

According to Chimni (1999), by the end of the Second World War in the late 1980s, the main proponents of the international refugee regime rarely

considered the importance of voluntary repatriation. However, voluntary repatriation is currently viewed by most host states and other institutions and organisations involved in humanitarian work as the most desirable solution in the post cold war era (Chimni, 2000). Cranfield and Kobia (2009) noted that resettlement in a third country receives intense coverage, most often perceived as a limited solution, but it has positive implications on those refugees who remain in urban settings.

According to Chimni (2000), voluntary repatriation is recommended as the best solution from two different perspectives. The first is the statist perspective. This may be explained by the fact that in the post cold war era, refugees have lost their ideological and economic importance to host countries. Given this, one can argue that the host countries' preference for voluntary repatriation is in their own interest and not that of the refugees. They are not driven by a need to guarantee the human rights of refugees and ensure sufficient opportunities to rebuild their lives. The second perspective is the liberal approach, which contends that the exile bias in the traditional western thinking is not only unrealistic but also inhuman considering the realities of the modern refugee problems which is characterised by massive flows and survival difficulties in camps (Chimni, 2000).

A study of Bhutanese refugees found out that majority of the adult Bhutanese refugees decided to apply for resettlement because of their perceptions that going to the United States would give their children a chance for better opportunities and a secured life. They claimed that after living in the refugee camps for almost two decades, the offer to resettle in one of the developed nations was a better option and a chance to eliminate their constant

fear of insecurity. Thus they did not necessarily view third country resettlement as the best option for them, but the best for their children's future (Shrestha, 2011).

Challenges associated with the implementation of the durable solutions

A simple way of uncovering some of the challenges associated with the idea of voluntary repatriation is to define it. A basic definition of voluntary repatriation is when a refugee willingly returns to his or her country of origin from the state in which he or she has been taking asylum. This concept is somewhat misleading since many refugees have been born in exile and cannot return anywhere (Bakewell, 1996). What then happens to this category of people?

According to Kamara (2007), the main challenges associated with voluntary repatriation of refugees occur when the refugees reach home and begin to re-establish themselves. In Africa, UNHCR's support for the reintegration process begins with a returnee package that includes items such as plastic sheeting, blankets, tools, and cooking sets. UNHCR's continuing assistance in return areas takes the form of community based reintegration projects. The aim is to re-establish essential infrastructure and restore services like health care, education, clean water, sanitation, and other important needs of a community. However, Huysmans (2009) found that a considerable number of returnees in relocation sites remained in need of shelter and livelihood supports.

In voluntary repatriation situations, for reintegration and reconciliation to succeed, people need to feel safe, develop trust in the police and security

forces, and consider the government to be capable of meeting their basic needs (Kamara, 2007). This creates a heavy challenge for UNHCR, donor agencies, and the refugees themselves.

Vendramin and Touzenis (2008) identified political obstruction, unemployment and economic problems, reconstruction and housing problems, security and safety related concerns, problems in attaining education, difficulties in getting access to health care and social assistance as obstacles that discouraged the return of refugees in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

According to Sahan (2008), the limitation of 20kg of baggage per refugee, who wants to voluntarily repatriate from Ghana is seen as a significant impediment to achieving a successful durable solution. Many refugees in protracted situations have lived in the host country for many years and have gained properties. Thus, an increase in the weight limit for belongings that the refugees will take with them to their countries of origin will have a significant effect on the number of refugees who would accept voluntary repatriation.

Long (2009) found that the three durable solutions have not always been able to respond adequately to refugee situations all over the world. For instance, sustainable voluntary repatriation has proven difficult (UNHCR, 2008). It has been evident over the years that even successful voluntary repatriation programmes result in considerable residual populations who will not repatriate (Long, 2009).

According to UNHCR (1998), the absorption of refugees into the host community may be economically, socially or politically disturbing especially in cases of large scale influxes. Efforts to address inadequate housing, limited

access to services and insufficient livelihood opportunities are big challenges associated with local integration. Inadequate housing and lack of income generating opportunities remain the main obstacles to local integration after five, ten or even 30 years of displacement in both rural and urban areas. An analysis of countries with protracted displacement situations has shown that besides these obstacles to local integration, other challenges include discrimination, and lack of documentation (UNHCR, 1998). Also, refugees place additional pressure on already limited resources and livelihood opportunities after local integration. Such instances can be found in Afghanistan, Chad, Yemen, among others (UNHCR, 1998).

The perception that refugees are a burden to the host community negatively influences efforts to make local integration a potent durable solution to refugee problems. Host community members usually feel that refugees strain resources and such perceptions usually end up in hostilities between host community members and refugees (Hlobo, 2004). According to Hlobo (2004), this often leads to cases where refugees are harassed, attacked or treated badly because they are not citizens of the host nation. This raises serious challenges because without proper and effective security and other law enforcement officials, xenophobia threatens the rights of refugees, their livelihoods, and well being (Hlobo, 2004).

Pavanello, Elhawary and Pantuliano (2010) outlined challenges associated with local integration of refugees, which are:

- The size of the refugee population may be too large for the host to absorb;

- Fear that local settlement would encourage more refugees to flee to the host country;
- Fears of being accused of giving priority to refugees rather than to needy nationals or alternatively that the refugees' economic skills bring them into competition with nationals;
- Unwillingness or inability to make a financial contribution from their own scarce resources, or by going into debt for the sake of refugees;
- Fear that the refugees may skew development plans and priorities because they are in the wrong place with the wrong needs; and
- Concerns that the refugees' ethnic, social, cultural, or political background might make them unacceptable to segments of the population.

Many countries are willing to help people fleeing conflicts, but only on temporary basis. There are significant local and national political obstacles to permanent local integration of many displaced populations (Crisp & Fielden, 2008; Fielden, 2008; Crisp, 2003). Cranfield and Kobia (2009) focused on protection challenges experienced by refugees in urban settings. According to them, the challenges lie within legal issues, issues with police and government authorities, issues with local populations, issues on access to livelihoods and UNHCR assistance issues. For instance, Dick (2002) found that Ghanaians employ other Ghanaians leaving Liberian refugees with very few livelihood opportunities.

Gray and Elliot (2001) asserted that the effective implementation of resettlement in a third country presents a number of challenges. First of all, successful resettlement depends on the capacity of resettled refugees to

integrate into a third country of asylum. Resettled refugees must be able to adapt themselves to the life, culture and socio-economic structures of the third country. They must, for example, take care of themselves after a certain adjustment period, which implies an ability to secure employment. This suggests that a minimum level of education is necessary. One can easily imagine the challenges faced by an illiterate resettled refugee in a third country of asylum, who has to learn a new language to be able to integrate into the labour market.

In addition, vulnerability is not the main priority in the American, Canadian and Australian resettlement programmes. Selection criteria are based on the refugee's ability to live in the third country of asylum. The prospect of resettlement sometimes causes refugees to reject voluntary repatriation, leaving them hoping for resettlement. This hope can occasionally be a source of considerable tension between refugees and the staff of the UNHCR. Frustrated by long delays or the refusal of their application, refugees sometimes resort to violence against UNHCR staff and its partners, as in the case of refugees from Sierra Leone in Conakry (Gray & Elliot, 2001).

Lewig, Arney and Salveron (2009) are of the opinion that the processes of adapting to a new country can create stressors. According to them, refugees may experience disruption to a sense of self, cultural dislocation, mental health problems, financial difficulties, social isolation, discrimination, language barriers, change in profession, lack of recognition of educational qualifications, challenges to traditional patterns of family interaction, lack of validation of effective parenting practices, family upheaval and stress, interaction with community services and organisations, lack of

awareness of formal supports, discomfort in seeking social support, marginalisation and minority status (Lewig et al., 2009, p. 26).

Major obstacles to resettlement in a third country are tension and fear due to conflicting opinions about resettlement, confusion about resettlement processes, anxiety, and depression for those who are delayed or rejected (Banki, 2008, p. 21). Also, prospects of resettlement in a third country can lead to tensions within refugee communities. It often happens that certain refugees, who had opted for local integration or voluntary repatriation claimed to have received threats because they were considered as obstacles to resettlement of the other refugees in a third country (Gray & Elliot, 2001).

A study of Bhutanese refugees found that most refugees experienced financial constraints; therefore, starting life over in a new country was difficult. Additionally, lack of language skills and illiteracy contributed to difficulty in securing employment. Despite the fact that some of the refugees had college degrees and work experience in administrative settings, many ended up doing menial jobs, which was a source of frustration and stress for the refugees (Shrestha, 2011).

The uncertainties about employment opportunities were not the only challenges for the refugees. Many indicated that learning to navigate bureaucracies was a constant source of anxiety for them. For instance, a refugee sharing his frustrations of dealing with medical bills stated that he was tired of getting medical bills, since he did not have a job (Shrestha, 2011).

Resettlement of refugees in a third country is characterized by contradictions that reinforce unequal power between resettlement organisations and refugees. The donor-recipient relationship can be illustrated

by the fact that organisations in charge of receiving the refugees' might have peculiar reasons for doing so. Secondly, humanitarian work is influenced by larger structures of power. The framework of the politics of humanitarianism is useful in contextualizing and analyzing these inequalities that further complicate resettlement in a third country. The inconsistencies lead to uncertainties and irritations which are usually shown by the way local Non Governmental Organisations manage resettlement in a third country (Shrestha, 2011).

As the number of displaced people increased worldwide, the attitudes of countries receiving refugees and of the displaced people themselves began to shift (UNHCR, 2006). Though many nations have agreed to accept refugees on a temporary basis during the early phases of a crisis, fewer than 20 nations worldwide participate in UNHCR's resettlement programmes and accept quotas of refugees only on an annual basis (UNHCR, 2005).

Forced migration flows

According to Boano, Rottlaender, Bayo and Viliiani (2003), forced migrations occur due to a combination of "push" and "pull" factors. Each migrant weighs these factors to determine whether to migrate to a new region or to stay at the present place and address possible problems within the society.

Davenport, Moore and Poe (2003) argued that the push and pull factors brings about the possibility of the migrant's choice. If people have no choice but to leave (as the term 'forced migration' implies), then forced migration can be analysed at the macro level, treating individual human beings as responding

to inducement. Boano et al. (2003) proposed a model for refugee movement from a state of flight to a state where permanent solution is achieved. The model is illustrated in Figure 1.

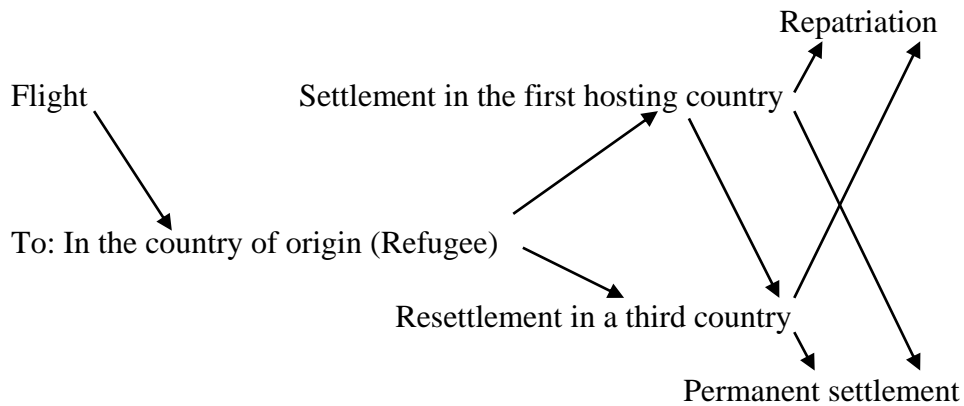


Figure 1: Model of forced migration flows

Source: Boano et al. (2003)

Figure 1 shows a condition where migrants flee from their country of origin owing to push factors such as war or genocide. The migrant therefore settles in the first hosting country or in situations where the present country of residence is a host country, the migrant is forced to resettle in a third country. In the third country, the migrant either becomes a permanent resident or agrees to be repatriated to the country of origin only if the cause of the conflict has ended. If the migrant has not yet moved to a third country, he/she will then have the option to stay permanently in the host country or agree to be repatriated to his/her country of origin (Boano et al., 2003).

Zolberg, Suhrke and Aguayo (1989) added that migrants make the choice to flee from conditions where they perceive to be in danger, towards a situation they expect to be safer. Thus, they consider circumstances in the nation from which they originate and the one to which they might travel (Gibney, Apodaca & McCann, 1996).

Some scholars (Pedersen, 2003; Stepputat & Sorensen, 1999; Van Hear, 1998) affirmed that all movements involve degrees of choice and coercion. The differences between migrants and refugees are based on people's motivation to move and people may change from being refugees to being migrants or vice versa over time. This helps to understand the dynamics of forced migration to include the circumstances surrounding a person's departure from his/her country of origin, voluntary return to it as well as his/her relationship with the country of origin while they lived abroad (Kibreab, 1999).

Pedersen (2003) observed in the study of Lebanese returnees that the relationship between returnees and those staying are not easy and depend on different factors. Such relations are not static but are subject to change. Pedersen found that refugees who decided to stay in the host country condemned those who left for their country of origin.

Generally, the earliest refugee flows tend to settle in the neighbouring countries because they are the easiest to reach for the majority who had to walk out of their country. An example is the Ivorian refugees living in Ampain refugee camp in Ghana. Other more organised flows, try to reach countries, where refugees have members of their family or a social network supporting them (Boano et al., 2003).

Model for determining the decision to return

It is impossible to predict precisely whether or not any individual will return voluntarily to his/her country of origin (Atfield, Black, Koser, Munk, Onofrio & Tiemoko, 2004). The decision to return is often influenced by

factors that are difficult to separate even for the person making the decision. It can be based on the individual's experiences. The model emphasizes the factors that predispose people to migrate which have been classified as "push" and "pull" factors. Atfield et al. (2004) noted that certain push and pull factors that are economic, social, personal and political in scope influence returnees' decisions.

The model has a number of elements. First, the decision to return come in the form of both information about options and inputs that structure how these options are viewed (Figure 2). For instance, refugees' decision to return is voluntary and it is made after comparing information about conditions and expectations in the host country with those in the country of origin (King, 2000; Faist, 1997; & Koser, 1998).

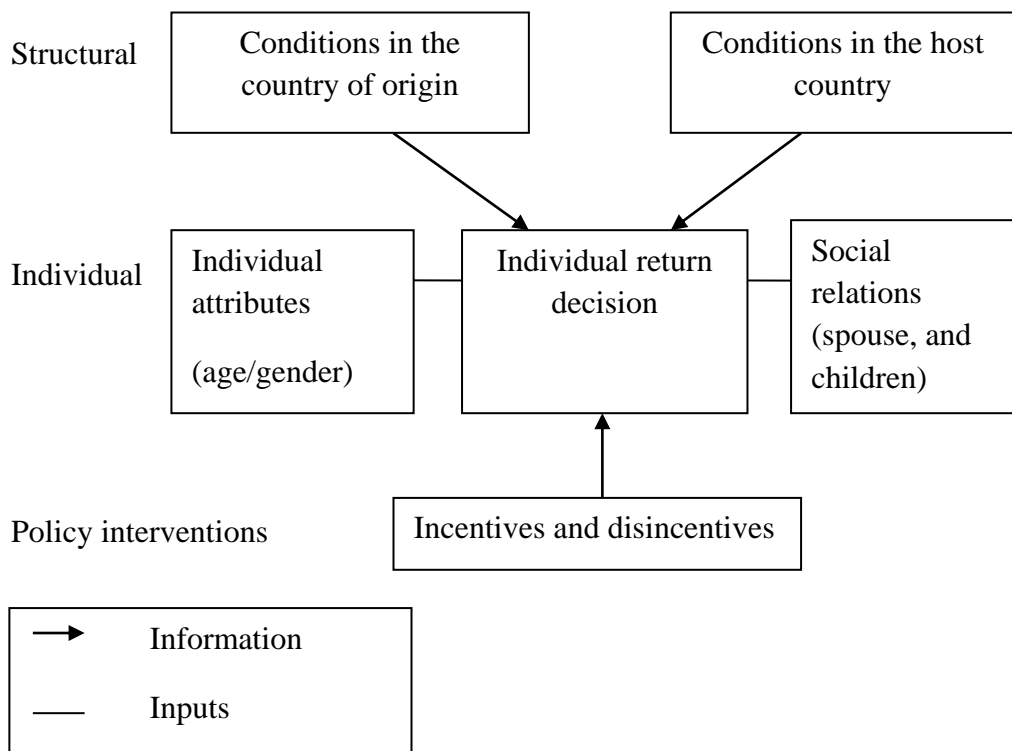


Figure 2: Factors determining the decision to return

Source: Atfield et al. (2004)

Information about policy interventions in the form of extra incentives or disincentives influence the refugee's decision to stay in the host country or return to his/her country of origin (Bloch & Atfield, 2002; Arb, 2001). Also, the background characteristics and social relations of individuals affect their decision to return (Figure 2). These are reflected in the model as 'inputs' that determine the decision to return (Reichnert, 2002; King, 2000).

With regard to specific reasons why refugees return home, UNHCR (1996) suggested some reasons:

- Refugees may return home because life in exile may be intolerable;
- Refugees may experience homesickness;
- Reforms such as changes in government policies and fear of being sent back to the country of origin by host country;
- Family circumstances such as family reunification;
- Assurance of security in the country of origin;
- Information about assistance given to returnees and possibilities for a new start; and
- A change in government.

Adjustment model of resettlement

Eisenstadt (1954) identified four stages of adjustments by refugees in a third country which are learning new languages, norms, roles and customs, learning to handle new roles and situations, development of a new identity and status image, and switching over from participation in the institutions of one's own ethnic group to participation in the institutions of the third country.

Stein (1986) set out a three-stage pattern of adjustments, which are initial arrival period when refugees are confronted with what they have lost, first two years when there is a drive to recover what has been lost, and four to five years when the major part of adjustment is completed. For those who cannot adjust, after a decade or more, some stability will have been reached. The respective length of each stage is likely to vary as a result of a number of factors, and different types of refugees may not go through these particular stages. For instance, if the host country's citizens are highly xenophobic, this can affect the adaptation of refugees into the country.

Conceptual framework

Mooney et al.'s (2007) framework for the durable solutions to displacement has been adapted for this study (Figure 3). The framework addresses refugees displaced by conflicts, human rights abuses and natural or man-made disasters. According to them, three types of durable solutions to displacement exist. These are voluntary repatriation to the country of origin, local integration into the areas in which refugees initially took refuge and resettlement in a third country. Displacement ends when one of these durable solutions occurs and refugees no longer have needs specifically related to their displacement. This does not mean that they may not continue to have a need for protection and assistance, but their needs would not be different from other citizens.

Mooney et al. (2007) insisted that in order for a solution to be durable, it must be based on three elements: long-term safety and security; restitution

of or compensation for lost property; and an environment that sustains the life of the former refugee under economic and social conditions.

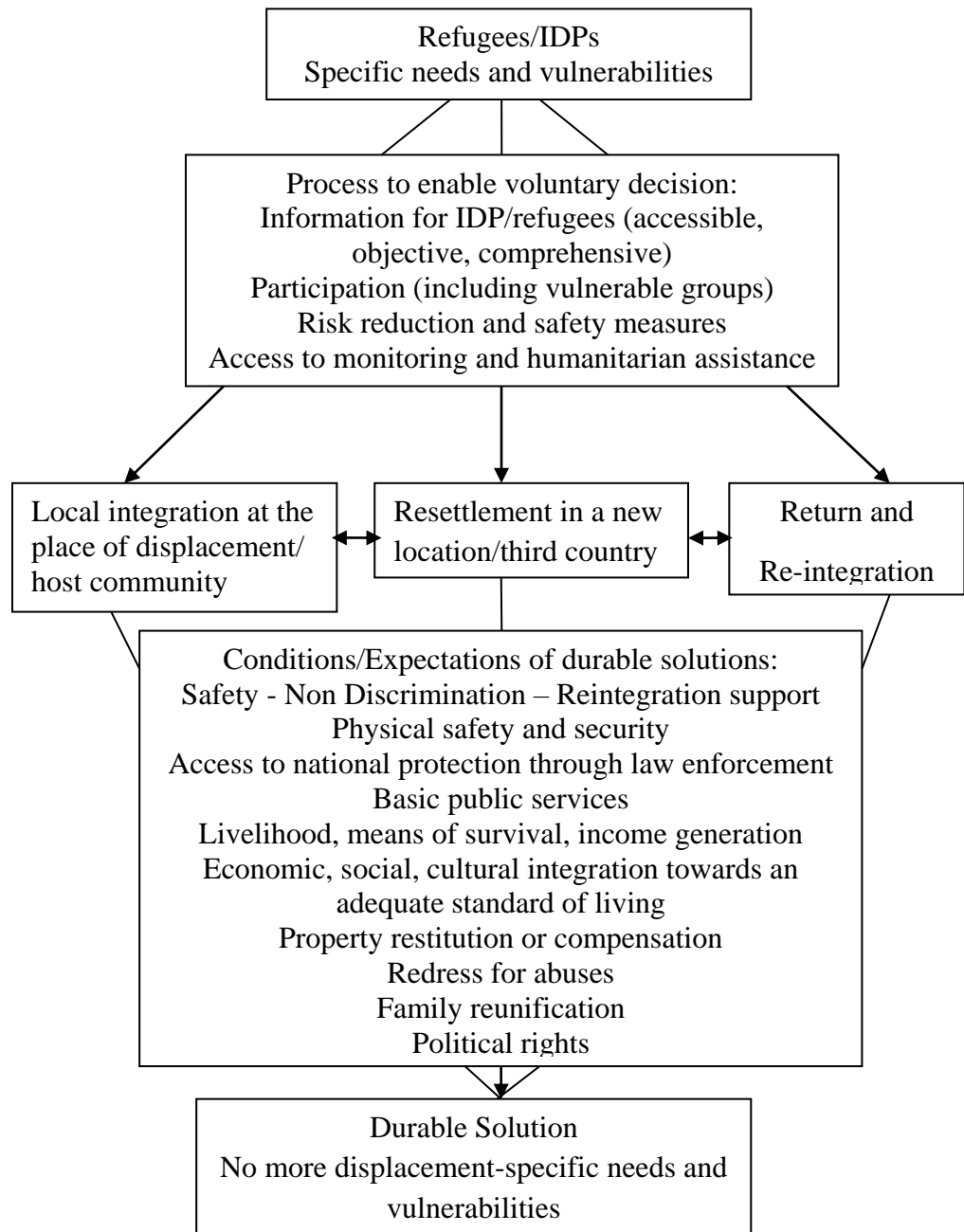


Figure 3: When displacement ends: a conceptual framework for the durable solutions

Source: Mooney et al. (2007)

To determine whether the durable solutions have been achieved, it is essential to examine both the processes through which solutions are found and

the expectations of the refugees. Therefore, the framework is presented in two sections. First is the processes for implementing the durable solutions to displacement, and second, the conditions/expectations that mark a durable solution to displacement (Mooney et al., 2007).

Mooney et al. (2007) proposed that refugees should have adequate knowledge of the durable solutions in order to make an informed decision to return to their home country, integrate locally or resettle in a third country. The information should be in a language understood by the refugees. It should include the general situation in the country of origin, place of integration, and the third country of resettlement (Figure 3).

Secondly, refugees must participate fully in the implementation of the durable solutions. Such participation in decisions may take place in the context of community meetings, feeding centres, skills training and income generating programmes, and other environments in which the displaced gather (Mooney et al., 2007).

Also, appropriate measures are expected to be taken, to establish conditions and provide the means to enable refugees to return voluntarily, integrate into the host country and resettle in a third country. These measures should consider the safety and dignity of the refugees (Mooney et al., 2007).

On the other hand, the framework outlines some expectations of the durable solutions. In the first place, Mooney et al. (2007) proposed that refugees should not suffer attacks, harassment, intimidation, persecution or any other form of punitive action upon return to their home countries or after they settle in the host country. In the case of conflict situations, it is important

to ensure that refugees are not physically endangered by arms or any form of violence.

Secondly, refugees should gain a non-discriminatory access to protection systems such as the police and the courts. They should have a non-discriminatory access to reconciliation and compensation systems especially in the country of origin (Mooney et al., 2007).

Furthermore, refugees should secure adequate standard of living which entails access to shelter, health care, food, water and other means of survival. National authorities and the international community are expected to ensure that refugees have access to essential food and potable water, basic shelter and housing, sanitation as well as essential medical services (Mooney et al., 2007).

Refugees should get access without discrimination to employment and income generating opportunities. This does not mean that they must be employed before considering displacement to have ended, nor does it require that they regain their previous livelihoods. Rather, Mooney et al. (2007) explained that displacement ends when refugees have no barriers to employment and income generating opportunities for reasons related to their status.

Refugees are expected to get access to basic public services such as education and health services. They should not face challenges associated with access to these public services for reasons linked to their status. Replacement of personal documentation is often essential so that they can regain access to public services. In addition, they should be able to reunite with family members if they choose to do so (Mooney et al., 2007).

Refugees are expected to exercise their rights to participate fully and equally in public affairs after durable solutions have been introduced. This includes the right to associate freely and have access to public institutions. When all these conditions are assured within the context of voluntary repatriation, local integration, and resettlement in a third country, it is hopeful that a durable solution will be achieved (Mooney et al., 2007).

The conceptual framework had components that were relevant to the study. First, it considered the cessation clause for refugees and supported the concurrent application of the three durable solutions. Secondly, it covered socio-economic and political inputs needed for a successful implementation of the durable solutions. For instance, income generating opportunities, employment and non-discrimination against refugees for reasons related to their status were key expectations included in the original framework. Finally, it identified refugees' knowledge about the durable solutions as an essential requirement for a successful implementation of the durable solutions.

Despite the strengths of the framework, there are some limitations that need to be considered. First of all, the framework identified what is required towards reaching a durable solution to refugee problems, however, it did not include specific views from refugees themselves. Also, it did not mention refugees' most preferred durable solution and the specific conditions that influence refugees to opt for a particular durable solution.

In order to make the conceptual framework more focused on the topic, some basic services were included in the framework as expectations of the durable solutions, because the availability of these services would influence

refugees' preference for a particular durable solution (DRC, 2008). These were financial assistance and transportation packages (Figure 4).

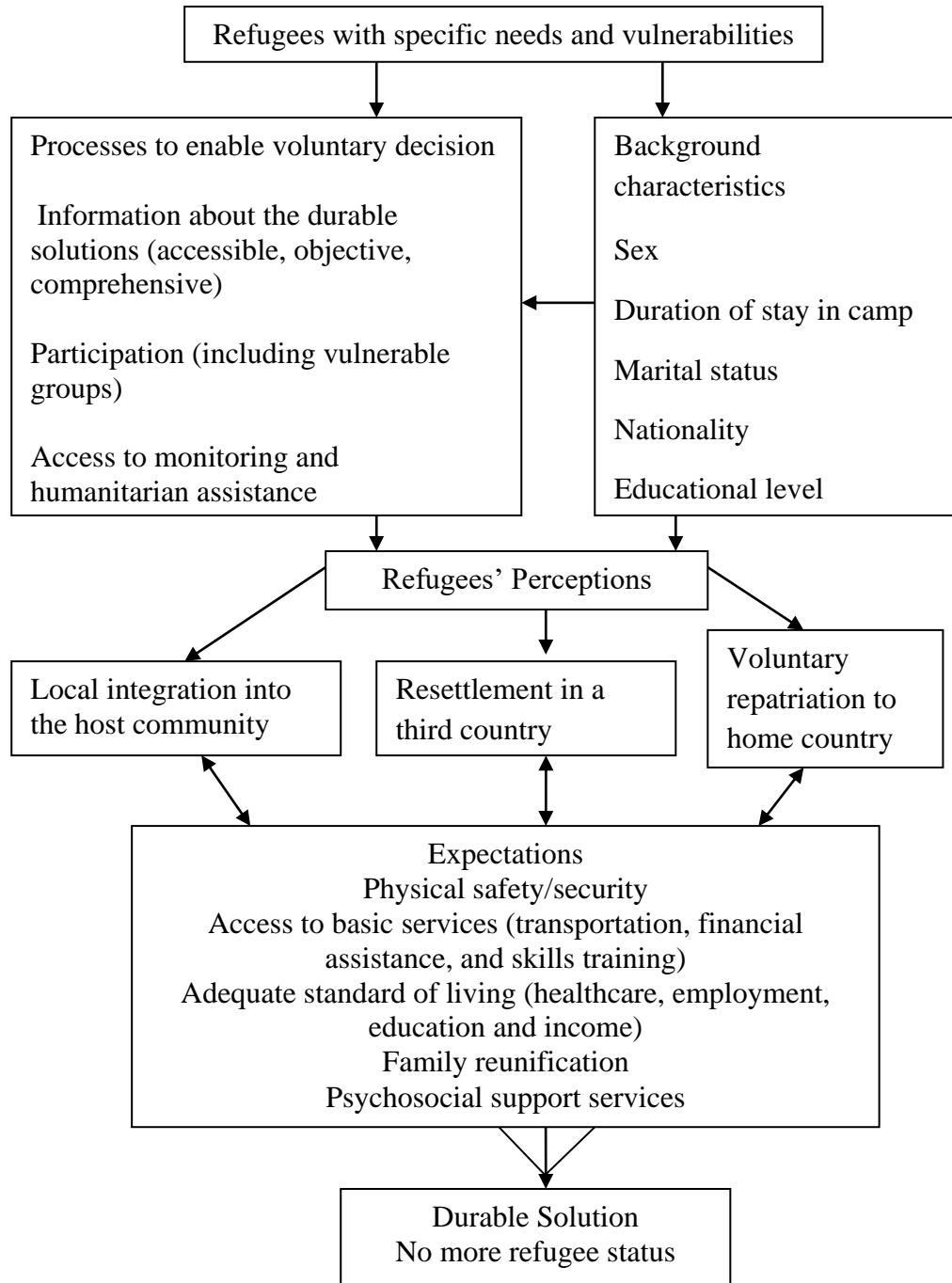


Figure 4: A conceptual framework for the durable solutions

Source: Adapted from Mooney et al. (2007)

In addition, background characteristics of refugees like age could influence their knowledge, expectations, and preference for the durable solutions (Atfield et al., 2004). For instance, the expectations of a 20 year old refugee for voluntary repatriation could be access to employment or education in the country of origin, which might be different from the expectations of a 65 year old refugee who might be concerned about health care services in the country of origin. Besides, refugees' duration of stay in a camp may influence their knowledge about the durable solutions.

Male and female refugees might have different knowledge about the durable solutions. For instance, female refugees may develop the perception that they stand a better chance than males to be resettled in a third country (Sandvick, 2010), or they may have different expectations and preferences for the durable solutions owing to the different roles they play in society (Atfield et al., 2004). For instance, if the jobs available in the host country are mainly construction works, male refugees searching for employment would be encouraged by this opportunity to opt for local integration while the female refugees will see local integration as an obstacle to securing employment.

A refugee's marital status influences his/her preference for the durable solutions. For instance, if a Liberian refugee marries a Ghanaian citizen, that conjugal union can make the refugee opt for local integration especially when the Ghanaian spouse is unwilling to join his/her partner to voluntarily repatriate or resettle in a third country.

In addition, the refugees' knowledge, preference and expectations of the durable solutions would vary with respect to their educational levels. For instance, adolescent refugees who had completed Secondary School Education

may be searching for opportunities to further their education whereas those who have never been to school would be expecting job training programmes to help them secure a job. Utilising these background characteristics, a modified framework was constructed to examine the refugees' knowledge, preference and expectations of the durable solutions (Figure 4).

Refugees are vulnerable people and they suffer from many problems because of their status (Stein, 2011). In the process to solve these problems, humanitarian agencies such as Ghana Refugee Board and UNHCR are expected to give them comprehensive and objective information about the durable solutions. Interplay between their acquired knowledge of the durable solutions and their background characteristics influence the perceptions they would have about the durable solutions. Consequently, they would have expectations of the durable solutions based on their perceptions. In turn, their perceptions would invoke their choice of durable solution. Thus, if their expectations for a particular durable solution are met, they would opt for that particular durable solution or vice versa.

Summary

This chapter reviewed relevant literature pertaining to the present study. Key issues discussed included the concepts of voluntary repatriation, local integration, resettlement in a third country, protracted refugee situations, and the durable solutions to refugee problems. The conceptual framework adapted for the study has also been described in the chapter. The next chapter presents the study area and methodological issues involved in the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter describes the data collection procedures. It focuses on the study area, research design, target population, sample size, sampling procedures, data and sources, research instruments, training of field assistants, pre-testing of instruments, and experiences from the field.

Study area

The study area was the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana. The Buduburam refugee camp is situated at Buduburam within the Gomoa District in the Central Region of Ghana (Ntow, 2004). It is located at approximately 45 kilometres (25 miles) from the capital, Accra (Figure 5).

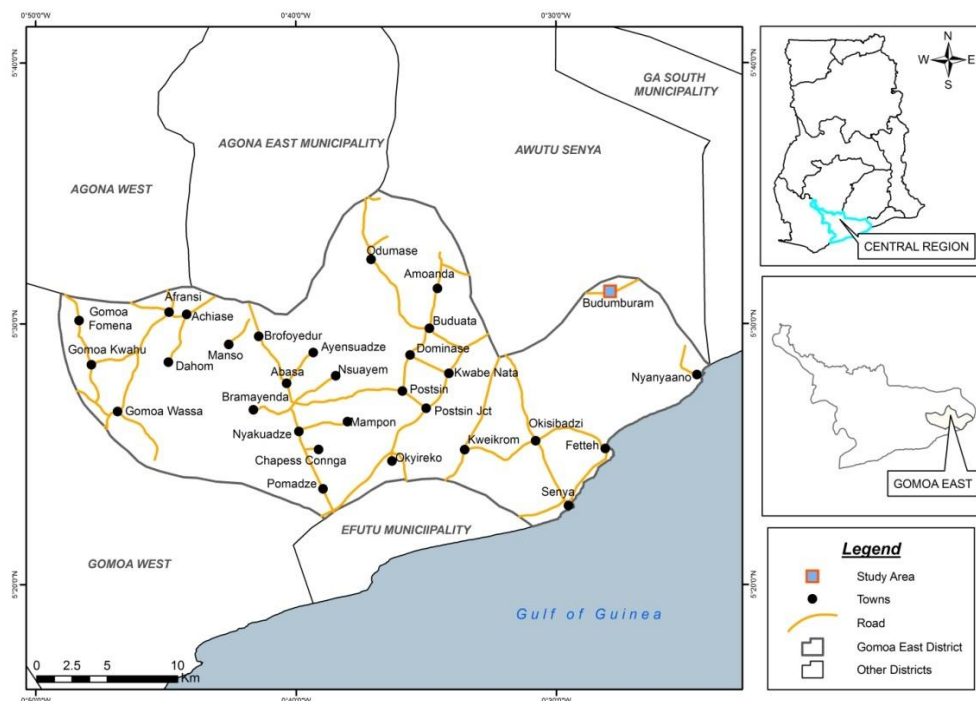


Figure 5: Map of Gomoa District showing the study area

Source: Cartographic Unit, Department of Geography and Regional Planning, UCC (2012).

The refugee camp is within the Fetteh area, which is under the traditional authority of Gomoa-Fetteh (Gyau, 2008). The vegetation cover is grassland mixed with shrubs and some trees (Kuada & Chachah, 1999). The Buduburam community experiences two rainfall patterns. Usually, the first is between April and July and the second season is between September and November (Kuada & Chachah, 1999).

The refugee camp was named after a man called Budu from Fetteh who used the land for farming. While he was staying there, he dug out a well which became useful to the people. Therefore, the people named the village in his honour. Buduburam means “Budu’s well” (Gyau, 2008).

The refugee camp was established in 1990 to host Liberian refugees who came to Ghana to seek asylum as a result of the first civil war in Liberia between 1989 and 1996 (Omata, 2011). The second Liberian civil war between 1999 and 2003 caused further influx of Liberians into the refugee camp. From 1991 to 2001, Sierra Leonean refugees also settled in the camp (Omata, 2011). Many of these individuals are not recognized as refugees by the UNHCR on the grounds that they illegally fled from Sierra Leone first to Ivory Coast, and then to Ghana (Addo, 2008). There is still influx of people from other neighbouring African countries such as Togo, Cote d’Ivoire, Sudan, and Nigeria.

Originally, the camp was created on a 140-acre parcel of land to cater for 5,000 refugees. However, due to the protracted armed conflicts in Africa, the refugee population in the camp has extended to nearby villages such as Kasoa and Awutu (Addo, 2008).

The camp has a total of 3,060 houses and an average household size of 6.1 (Ghana Statistical Service [GSS], 2000). At the Buduburam refugee camp, there are currently about 11,099 Liberian refugees. About 5,674 of them are males while 5,425 are females (UNHCR, 2011).

Businesses in the form of trading in the Buduburam camp has become a profitable venture and this has made both refugees and the indigenes shift from farming to trading, but the trading activities in the camp are dominated by the Liberian refugees (Gyau, 2008).

Buduburam refugee camp offers a good setting for studying the views of refugees about the durable solutions because unlike the other refugee camps in Ghana, GRB in collaboration with the UNHCR and other stakeholders provided voluntary repatriation for the refugees, but some refused to be repatriated for various reasons. Presently, the government of Ghana has publicly declared intentions to invoke the cessation clause on the refugees living in the camp (IRIN, 2008).

Research design

Mixed method involving the triangulation of qualitative and quantitative approaches was adopted in the study. Combining different approaches in a study enhance a deeper understanding of refugees' views about the durable solutions from several angles rather than looking at it from a single approach. Thus, this approach allowed the convergence of the findings from different data sources, which enabled a better understanding of the durable solutions based on qualitative and quantitative paradigms.

By using a qualitative approach, the evidence collected focused on the perceptions of the refugees about the durable solutions while the quantitative approach concentrated on the knowledge and expectations of the refugees about the durable solutions. Their most preferred durable solution and the reasons for their choice were gathered using these methods concurrently. The study was cross sectional, and samples of the respondents were drawn from the larger population.

Target population

The target population for the study were males and females aged 18 years and above who were officially registered by Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) as people holding refugee status (Table 1). The constitution of Ghana pegs the age of voting at 18 years and above on the assumption that at that age, one is capable of making independent decisions about his or her life.

Table 1: Target population by sex and nationality

Nationality	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Liberian	3,662	3,482	7144
Togolese	8	7	15
Sierra Leonean	1	0	1
Ivorian	6	0	6
Total	3,677	3,489	7,166

Source: Buduburam Refugee Camp Management, 2011

As a result, refugees who were 18 years and above and had registered their status were selected for the study because they were expected to make

independent decisions to either return to their country of origin, integrate into Ghana, or resettle in a third country. About 7,166 registered refugees aged 18 years and above constituted the target population (Table 1).

In addition, opinion leaders from Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, and Togo were targeted for in-depth interviews. These leaders were selected in anticipation that as they interact with their respective nationals, UNHCR and the refugee camp management, they might have gotten experiences, insights, opinions and knowledge about the durable solutions.

Sample size

For the determination of a sample size which is representative of a given population, Gerontologija (2006) proposed a formula, which was used in the study. According to Gerontologija (2006), the formula is useful in case studies because the level of precision set at 5 percent risk level enable researchers to look at the proportion of people who have a particular condition among others with different conditions. For instance, the formula considers the assumption that when refugees are repeatedly selected among asylum seekers residing in the Buduburam refugee camp, the average value obtained in the sample is estimated to be equal to the true population value.

Therefore, to calculate the required sample size, the level of precision, level of confidence or risk and the degree of variability need to be known first. The level of precision is the range in which the true value of the population is estimated to be. This range is often expressed in percentage points, (For example, ± 5 percent). The degree of variability refers to the distribution of attributes in the population (Gerontologija, 2006). The level of precision set at

80 percent indicates that a large majority do not or do, respectively, have the attribute of interest. The proportion of 0.5 indicates the maximum variability in a population.

The formula to yield a representative sample for a given population is displayed as:

$$n = \frac{z^2 \times p(1-p)}{e^2}$$

Where:

n = required sample size

z = It is the abscissa of normal curve that cuts off an area at the tail, usually set at 95% (standard value of 1.96)

p = estimated proportion of an attribute that is present in the population, a reasonable estimate is 80%

e = level of precision, sometimes referred to as the degree of accuracy, usually set at 0.05.

With a proportion of the study population with similar characteristic (p) set at 80% which is equivalent to 0.80 (as prescribed by Gerontologija), the sample size of the study was calculated as follows:

$$n = \frac{1.96^2 \times 0.8(1-0.8)}{0.05^2}$$

$$n = \frac{3.814 \times 0.16}{0.0025}$$

$$n = \frac{0.61024}{0.0025}$$

$$n = 244$$

The distribution of the total sample size is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Sample size distribution by sex and nationality

Nationality	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Liberian	117	112	229
Togolese	5	4	9
Sierra Leonean	1	0	1
Ivorian	5	0	5
Total	128	116	244

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Sampling procedures

Probability and non-probability sampling techniques were used for selecting the respondents. The target population was divided into four groups on the basis of nationality, namely Liberia, Togo, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire, and samples were drawn from each group (Tables 1). About 3.2 percent, 60 percent, 80 percent, and 100 percent of the refugees in the target population were selected from Liberia, Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, and Sierra Leone respectively. Disproportionate percentages were used to enable the refugees from all the different countries to be represented in the sample (Table 2). This was because the Liberia refugees alone constituted about 99 percent of the entire population. Therefore, applying the random technique without disproportionate allocations for all the countries would have eliminated the refugees from the other countries because they were infinitesimal.

The simple random method of sampling was used in selecting 244 respondents from the groups in order to be sure that all the refugees who formed the target population had an equal chance of being selected. The names of the refugees registered by GRB and UNHCR were written on pieces of papers and the papers were put in a box and then a field assistant was blindfolded to select one piece of paper in the box at a time. The box was shaken and another field assistant was blindfolded to draw a piece of paper and set it aside, the box was shaken again and another piece of paper was drawn. This lottery procedure was repeated for the refugees from Liberia, Togo, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire respectively until the desired sample size of 244 was achieved. All the selected names on the pieces of papers were considered as respondents for the study. With the help of the refugee camp management, the selected respondents were tracked for the administration of the questionnaires.

In addition, six opinion leaders were purposively selected for the in-depth interviews on the basis that leaders from different nationalities and those participating in the voluntary repatriation programme at the Buduburam camp will be duly represented. Besides, these were main leaders who represented their countries during any negotiations with GRB, UNHCR and the camp management.

Among the six opinion leaders, two were Liberians who were key members of the voluntary repatriation programme in the Buduburam camp. These respondents were selected on the assumption that regarding their positions, they might have had some knowledge about the durable solutions. Other two Liberian respondents were sampled because they were renowned

leaders of the former Welfare Council and Neighbourhood Watchdog Team in the camp. They were selected on the assumption that they might have had a relatively rich experience in relation to the expectations and challenges associated with the implementation of the durable solutions.

The final two respondents for the in-depth interviews were leaders representing Cote d'Ivoire and Togo. Two in-depth interviews were assigned for these respondents because apart from their leadership positions, they were the only registered refugees who were 18 years or older (Table 1).

Data and sources

Data for the study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were obtained from respondents by using structured questionnaire consisting of open-ended and close-ended questions. An interview guide was also used for the in-depth interviews. The administering of questionnaires and in-depth interviews formed the basis of the primary data.

The secondary data sources were in the form of global refugee reports on Ghana and documents showing the total number of registered refugees living in the Buduburam camp. These documents were obtained from the Buduburam refugee camp manager's office.

Research instruments

Questionnaires and interview guide were used in collecting primary data from the respondents. The questionnaire comprised a combination of open-ended, close ended and Likert scale questions (Appendix I). With respect to questions that required 'yes' or 'no' responses, the instrument provided an

opportunity for respondents to explain the responses they chose. A questionnaire was used because English was the first language of the respondents. However, respondents who could neither read nor write were assisted in the filling of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was put into sections with respective sub-titles for easy understanding. Specifically, the questions were grouped into four sections, namely Sections 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. Section 1 contained questions about the background characteristics of the respondents which are sex, age, highest level of education attained, marital status, main occupation, nationality, duration of stay in the camp, and religious affiliation. Section 2 gathered responses on the refugees' preference and knowledge of the durable solutions.

The third section was purposefully designed to solicit information on the refugees' expectations of the durable solutions. The fourth section covered issues on challenges associated with the implementation of the durable solutions. The questionnaire provided an efficient means by which statistically quantifiable information could be collected.

An interview guide was the instrument used for the in-depth interviews (Appendix II). The interview guide was semi-structured and contained questions about the durable solutions. Specifically, six respondents were interviewed on their knowledge and expectations of the durable solutions. Their perceived challenges associated with the durable solutions were also covered in the in-depth interviews. Recommendations from the key informants were made for solving the challenges associated with the implementation of the durable solutions. The in-depth interview was used as a supplement in

order to address the chief drawback of the questionnaire, which provided responses that were superficial. The in-depth interview was flexible, and provided an opportunity to observe non-verbal behaviour of the respondents.

Training of field assistants and pre-testing of instruments

A total of four field assistants participated in a 2-day training that started on 29th December, 2011. The participants were trained for the administration of the questionnaires only while I took charge of the in-depth interviews. The participants were finally selected to constitute a team for the data collection. The selection was based on their participation and performance in both the training and pre-testing of the questionnaires.

A pre-test fieldwork was carried out by asking direct questions from the questionnaires to find out how respondents reacted to the questions. Ten asylum seekers (people seeking for refugee status) living in the Buduburam refugee camp were arbitrarily selected to respond to the pre-test questionnaires. Five of the questionnaires were given to the respondents to self-administer them. Asylum seekers were selected because they were also displaced people living in the camp, therefore, it was assumed that they experienced similar living conditions as refugees. The outcome of the pre-test suggested that the content of the questionnaire was easy to understand and did not contain ambiguities.

Fieldwork

Before the commencement of the data collection, a letter from the Department of Population and Health of the University of Cape Coast was sent to the Ghana Refugee Board requesting for permission to conduct the research

at the Buduburam camp. After the permission was granted by the Ghana Refugee Board, an approval letter was sent to the camp manager to allow the commencement of the research.

With the help of the four field assistants, the fieldwork began on January 7th, 2012 and ended on March 10th, 2012. The questionnaires were administered by using the list of the randomly selected respondents living at the Buduburam camp. The respondents were tracked with the help of the camp management until all the questionnaires were administered.

An in-depth interview was organised for the purposively sampled key informants. After obtaining consent from the respondents and the camp manager, the interviews were recorded and transcribed. The issues discussed focused on the knowledge, preference, expectations, and challenges associated with the implementation of the durable solutions. Respondents were also asked to make some recommendations for the durable solutions.

Ethical issues

Ethical issues are very relevant when conducting studies on vulnerable people like refugees. In the first place, a cover letter, copies of the research proposal, questionnaires, and interview guides were sent to the Ethical Review Board of the University of Cape Coast for their perusal. Also, the ethics for conducting research at the Buduburam camp were explained to me by the coordinator in charge of research at the Ghana Refugee Board.

It is important to build a mutually beneficial relationship with the study participants. Consequently, the purpose of the study was explained to the participants. The research instruments were administered only after

respondents consented to participate. The respondents were informed of their rights to opt out of the interview at any point in time. Furthermore, all forms of identification such as respondents' names, telephone numbers and addresses were avoided in the collection and analyses of the data. The study participants were assured of confidentiality and numbers were used in the data collection and analyses instead of names to ensure anonymity.

It was expected that some of the respondents could exhibit signs of emotional trauma, therefore, arrangements were made for counselling. However, such cases did not occur and the respondents were willing to participate in the study.

Data processing and analyses

After the fieldwork, data collected were examined and edited to ensure quality. This process involved scrutinizing the responses for unanswered questions or ambiguous responses without necessarily changing the meaning of the responses. Inconsistencies and omissions were checked and corrected. The questionnaires were serially numbered for easy identification. Finally, the questionnaires were coded and fed into the computer for analyses. The data were analysed using the Statistical Product for Service Solutions (SPSS) version 16 software.

Frequency distribution tables were drawn to report outcomes of the background characteristics of the respondents such as sex, age, marital status, highest educational attainment, main occupation, and religious affiliation. Mean and range were used to describe the average age of the respondents.

The most common responses in the open-ended questions were categorized in order to summarise the data into major themes. Once there is the need to examine the interrelationship between two or more variables, the usefulness of tables as summarizing tools were relevant for the study. By using descriptive statistics, two or more independent variables such as sex and age of respondents were cross tabulated against the dependent variables like respondents' knowledge of the durable solutions. Pie and bar charts were used to report the outcome of some variables.

The Chi-square statistic was employed for the testing of the research hypotheses. The Chi-square test was used primarily because it allowed the prediction of categorically independent variables such as the sex of respondents on other dependent variables such as the respondents' preference for the durable solutions.

The in-depth interviews were transcribed and recurring themes were selected manually. This process involved drawing relationships between the categories of the responses and the most recurring themes were considered for the analyses.

Challenges from the field

Tracking some respondents to participate in the study was challenging. For instance, several visits to a respondent's house proved futile because the respondent had busy schedules and did not often stay at home. It took several follow-ups before the respondent was finally tracked for the in-depth interview.

Also, some respondents showed open but non-verbal unwillingness to participate in the study because they perceived that the research team were people from Criminals Investigation Department [CID]. To address this challenge, the field assistants explained the purpose of the study to the respondents and showed them identification cards and approval letters from GRB. The research team also explained the importance of the research and how it could serve as a platform for them to dilate on some of their apprehensions about the durable solutions. Owing to this, they participated out of their own will.

Finally, the field work coincided with the New Year festivities making it difficult to contact some of the respondents because of the entertainment functions in the Buduburam camp. However, the participants were finally contacted and they participated in the study out of their own will.

Summary

This chapter focused on the profile of the study area, research design, target population, sample size, sampling procedures, data and sources, and research instruments. The procedures followed to collect the field data, statistical tools employed for the analyses, and the challenges encountered during the field survey have also been described. The next chapter presents the results and discussion of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter presents the analyses, results, and discussion of the study. It covers the background characteristics of respondents, knowledge about the durable solutions, most preferred durable solution, expectations of the durable solutions, and challenges associated with the implementation of the durable solutions.

Background characteristics of respondents

Description of the background characteristics of respondents is essential for the interpretation of the findings within the context of the durable solutions (Atfield et al., 2004). The background characteristics covered in the study were sex, age, marital status, educational attainment, religious affiliation, nationality, main occupation, and respondents' duration of stay in the camp.

The results show that more than half (51%) of the respondents were males while 49 percent were females (Table 3). This conforms to the 2009 UNHCR's Global Report in which male refugees were found to be more than female refugees in Ghana (UNHCR, 2009).

The ages of the respondents ranged from 20 to 60 years and above, and the mean age was 36 years (Table 3). Although the ages of the respondents were captured in single years, they were categorized into ten year intervals in order to reveal the distribution of respondents within each cohort. The results indicate that more than one-third (38%) of the respondents were aged between 20–29 years while about 35 percent were aged between 30–39 years. The

proportion of respondents in each age group decreased as age increased reflecting a young age structure of the refugee population (Table 3). Table 3 further shows that about 34 percent of the respondents were never married while 29 percent were married. The respondents who were widowed (9%) were more than those who were divorced (3%).

Table 3: Background characteristics of respondents

Background characteristics	Frequency	Percent
Sex		
Male	125	51.2
Female	119	48.8
Age		
20-29	92	37.7
30-39	85	34.8
40-49	37	15.2
50-59	14	5.7
60+	16	6.6
Marital Status		
Never Married	83	34.0
Married	70	28.7
Divorced	6	2.5
Widowed	19	7.8
Cohabitation	66	27.0
Highest level of education		
No formal education	46	18.9
Primary	20	8.2
Middle/JSS	23	9.4
Senior secondary	119	48.8
Tertiary	36	14.8

Table 3 continued.

Religious affiliation		
Christianity	227	93.0
Islam	15	6.2
Traditional/spiritualist	2	0.8
Main occupation		
Trader	49	20.1
Farmer	37	15.2
Unemployed	114	46.7
Student	28	11.5
NGO	5	2.0
Teacher	5	2.0
Seamstress/Tailor	6	2.5
Duration of stay in the camp (years)		
0-4	9	3.7
5-9	43	17.6
10-14	116	47.6
15-19	62	25.4
20-24	14	5.7
Nationality		
Liberian	229	93.9
Togolese	9	3.7
Sierra Leonean	1	0.4
Ivorian	5	2.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Nearly half (49%) of the respondents had received Senior Secondary School Education while about one out of five respondents (19%) had no formal education (Table 3). The considerable level of education among the respondents confirms the 2009 UNHCR's Global Report in which 5,500 refugees were enrolled in schools in Ghana (UNHCR, 2009).

Majority (94%) of the respondents were Liberians while less than one percent (0.4%) were Sierra Leoneans (Table 3). This implies that, despite the inflow of refugees from other African countries, Liberian refugees were the most populous group living in the Buduburam refugee camp. This is because the refugee camp was originally created for only the Liberian refugees (Omata, 2011).

Christianity (93%) was the most common religion while only 6 percent professed Islam (Table 3). About half (47%) of the respondents were unemployed, 12 percent were students, 15 percent were farmers, and one out of five (20%) were traders (Table 3). This approves Sarfo-Mensah's findings that although the refugee laws allow them to earn a living, it is difficult for them to secure formal employment in Ghana (Sarfo-Mensah, 2009).

Nearly half (48%) of the respondents had lived in the Buduburam camp as refugees for a period of 10 to 14 years, a quarter (25%) had stayed in the camp for a period of 15 to 19 years while 6 percent had lived in the camp for 20 or more years (Table 3).

Knowledge about the durable solutions

Inferring from the conceptual framework adapted for the study, basic knowledge of voluntary repatriation, local integration, and resettlement in a third country is needed for a successful implementation of the durable solutions (Mooney et. al, 2007). In order to explore the respondents' knowledge of the durable solutions, first, they were asked whether they had heard of voluntary repatriation, local integration or resettlement in a third country. The results in Table 4 show that about 95 percent of the respondents

had heard of voluntary repatriation while 94 percent and 84 percent had heard of resettlement in a third country and local integration respectively.

Table 4: Knowledge of respondents about the durable solutions

Durable Solutions	Frequency	Percent
Voluntary repatriation to country of origin		
Haven't heard of voluntary repatriation	12	4.9
Heard of voluntary repatriation	232	95.1
Local integration into host country		
Haven't heard of local integration	39	16.0
Heard of local integration	205	84.0
Resettlement in a third country		
Haven't heard of resettlement in third country	14	5.7
Heard of resettlement	230	94.3

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

These findings support the views of Mooney et al. (2007) on the need for UNHCR and national authorities (GRB) to educate refugees about the durable solutions. They suggested that the use of mass media may be the most effective way to reach out to all refugees to inform them about the durable solutions (Mooney et. al, 2007).

Knowledge of the durable solutions by background characteristics

Table 5 shows that more females (96%) than males(94%) had heard of voluntary repatriation, while nearly an equal proportion of males and females had heard of local integration (84%), and resettlement in a third country (94%). All the respondents who had attained Middle/Junior High School

education had heard of voluntary repatriation while about 85 percent of those who had no formal education had heard of voluntary repatriation (Table 5).

Table 5: Knowledge of the durable solutions by background

characteristics

Background characteristics	Knowledge of the durable solutions (%)		
	Heard of voluntary repatriation (N=232)	Heard of local integration (N=205)	Heard of resettlement (N=230)
Sex			
Male	94.4	84.0	94.4
Female	95.8	84.0	94.1
Highest level of education			
No formal education	84.8	80.4	87.0
Primary	95.0	70.0	100.0
Middle/JHS	100.0	91.3	95.7
Senior High	97.5	85.7	96.6
Tertiary	97.2	86.1	91.7
Duration of stay in camp (years)			
0-4	88.9	77.8	88.9
5-9	100.0	88.4	97.7
10-14	94.8	82.8	94.0
15-19	91.9	82.3	91.9
20-24	100.0	92.9	100.0
Nationality			
Liberian	94.8	84.3	94.3
Togolese	100.0	88.9	88.9
Ivorian	100.0	60.0	100.0
Sierra Leone	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Majority of the respondents (91%) who had attained Middle/Junior High School education had heard of local integration while less than three quarters (70%) of those who had attained Primary School Education had heard of local integration (Table 5). All those who had attained Primary School education had heard of resettlement in a third country while about 92 percent of those who had attained Tertiary education had heard of resettlement in a third country (Table 5). This implies that formal education positively influenced the refugees' knowledge about the durable solutions which was also identified in the conceptual framework adapted for the study.

All those who had stayed in the Buduburam camp for 5-9 years and 20-24 years had heard of voluntary repatriation while about 89 percent of those who had stayed in the camp for less than 5 years had heard of voluntary repatriation. It was found that roughly 93 percent of those who had lived in the camp for 20 or more years had heard of local integration while about 78 percent of those who had stayed in the camp for less than five years had heard of local integration. All those who had stayed in the camp for 20-24 years had heard of resettlement in a third country while 89 percent of those who had lived in the camp for less than five years had heard of resettlement in a third country (Table 5).

All the respondents from Togo, Sierra Leone, and Cote d'Ivoire had heard of voluntary repatriation while about 94 percent of those from Liberia had heard of voluntary repatriation. All the respondents from Sierra Leone had heard of local integration while less than three quarter (60%) of those from Cote d'Ivoire had heard of local integration. All the respondents from Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire had heard of resettlement in a third country while

about 89 percent of the Togolese had heard of resettlement in a third country (Table 5).

Perceptions about the durable solutions

Focus on the respondents' understanding of the durable solutions is crucial to the application of any durable solution (Mooney et al., 2007). About 83 percent (83.2%) of the respondents explained that voluntary repatriation is a situation whereby refugees willingly return to their countries of origin while only 0.4 percent said that voluntary repatriation is a situation whereby refugees return to their countries of origin after they had disagreed to opt for local integration (Table 6). This was confirmed by a 45 year old female Liberian refugee during the interview: "voluntary repatriation comes about when Liberians decide on their own to go back home. It is not by force; it depends on us."

Refugees from countries apart from Liberia felt they were temporarily exempted from voluntary repatriation programmes. This was revealed by a male Ivorian leader who had lived in the camp since 2004:

Here [Buduburam refugee camp], only the Liberians are going home and we are here waiting for an order from the United Nations for us to go back home. So, voluntary repatriation belongs to the Liberians now, but we are waiting.

For local integration, more than half (52%) of the respondents perceived it as living in a host country as a citizen without any form of discrimination while one out of twenty (5%) explained local integration as living permanently in the host country as refugees (Table 6). This suggests

that although most respondents had heard of local integration, many do not fully understand it. A 42 year old male Liberian refugee attested to this during the interview: “we [refugees] have not been educated on local integration, so, I have no knowledge of it”.

About 65 percent of the respondents said that resettlement in a third country refers to a permanent transfer of refugees from the host country to a third country while roughly 15 percent explained resettlement as a transfer of refugees to a developed country to enable them work, return and rebuild their countries of origin (Table 6).

Table 6: Perceptions about the durable solutions

Perceptions about the durable solution	Frequency	Percent
Voluntary repatriation to country of origin		
Willing return to country of origin	203	83.2
Return to country of origin after disagreeing to integrate locally	1	0.4
No opinion	40	16.4
Local integration into host country		
Living in host country as a citizen without discrimination	126	51.6
Living temporarily in host country for security	8	3.3
Living in host country permanently as a refugee	13	5.3
No opinion	97	39.8
Resettlement in a third country		
Permanent transfer from host country to a third country	159	65.1
Transfer to a developed country to work, return and rebuild country of origin	37	15.2
No opinion	48	19.7

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

However, the respondents had the opinion that resettlement opportunities are for special groups of people. This can be deduced from the statement of a 49 year old refugee from Liberia:

Resettlement is when few refugees are sent to a third country for asylum. Only few refugees have the chance to be resettled. Those with special cases and severe medical conditions are given the chance to resettle in a third country.

Mooney et al. (2007) defined resettlement as resettling and starting a new life in another country (p. 91). This is consistent with the perceptions of the respondents about resettlement in a third country.

Knowledge about organisation(s) responsible for implementing the durable solutions

Refugees' knowledge about the organisation(s) responsible for the implementation of the durable solutions is an important step to finding a permanent solution to their problems (Mooney et al., 2007). It was found that 48 and 44 percent of the respondents believed that both GRB and UNHCR were responsible for voluntary repatriation and local integration of refugees respectively while 57 percent claimed that only UNHCR was responsible for resettlement of refugees in a third country (Table 7). In consonance with the findings, Congolese refugees in Johannesburg declared that both GRB and UNHCR were responsible for local integration (Hlobo, 2004).

Mooney et al. (2007) suggested that national authorities (GRB), with the support of UNHCR should take appropriate measures to establish conditions as well as provide the means to enable refugees return voluntarily

to their place of origin, resettle voluntarily in a third country, or integrate in another part of the host country. In that context, they subscribed to the fact that UNHCR and GRB are the organisations responsible for the implementation of the durable solutions which is in harmony with the results (Table 7).

Table 7: Knowledge about organisation(s) responsible for implementing the durable solutions

Durable solutions	Organisation(s) (N=244)			
	Only GRB (%)	Only UNHCR (%)	GRB and UNHCR (%)	No Decision (%)
Voluntary repatriation	1.6	34.8	48.0	15.6
Local integration	8.6	7.8	43.9	39.7
Resettlement in a third country	0.8	57.4	27.9	13.9

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Most preferred durable solution by background characteristics

Of particular interest to UNHCR and other donor agencies is refugees' most preferred durable solution to their plight (UNHCR, 2007). This information is useful for assessing the potential demands for voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement in a third country.

The results in Table 8 indicate that the refugees' most preferred durable solution was resettlement in a third country (77%) while 9 percent and 6 percent preferred voluntary repatriation and local integration respectively. About 8 percent of the respondents could not choose any of the three durable solutions. These indications confirm the findings of a study in Cairo where

78.2 percent of the Sudanese refugees preferred resettlement in a third country to voluntary repatriation and local integration (Ahmed, 2009).

More males (79%) than females (74%) preferred resettlement in a third country, but more females (12%) than males (7%) preferred voluntary repatriation while nearly an equal number of males (6.4%) and females (5.9%) preferred local integration (Table 8). Resettlement in a third country was the most preferred durable solution among respondents of all the age groups while none of the respondents who were 60 years and above preferred local integration into Ghana (Table 8).

The respondents in all the various marital statuses preferred resettlement in a third country to voluntary repatriation and local integration (Table 8). For instance, more than three-quarters of those who were never married (78%) and those who were married (74%) preferred resettlement in a third country (Table 8).

Resettlement in a third country was the most preferred durable solution among respondents in all the levels of education while none of the respondents who had attained Primary and Middle/Junior Secondary School Education opted for voluntary repatriation and local integration respectively (Table 8). More than three-quarters of the Liberians (77%) and Togolese (78%) preferred resettlement in a third country while an equal proportion of the Ivorians preferred both resettlement (40%) and local integration (40%).

Table 8: Respondents' most preferred durable solution by background characteristics

Background characteristics	Most preferred durable solution (%)				N
	Voluntary Repatriation	Local integration	Resettlement	No Decision	
Total	9.4	6.2	76.6	7.8	244
Sex					
Male	7.2	6.4	79.2	7.2	125
Female	11.8	5.9	73.9	8.4	119
Age					
20-29	10.9	5.4	78.3	5.4	92
30-39	5.9	4.7	83.5	5.9	85
40-49	8.1	10.8	73.0	8.1	37
50-59	14.3	14.3	50.0	21.4	14
60+	18.8	0.0	62.5	18.7	16
Marital status					
Never married	7.3	2.4	78.3	12.0	83
Married	4.3	12.8	74.3	8.6	70
Divorced	16.7	0.0	83.3	0.0	6
Widowed	26.3	10.5	57.9	5.3	19
Co-habiting	12.1	3.0	81.9	3.0	66
Highest level of education					
No formal education	21.7	13.0	52.2	13.1	46
Primary	0.0	10.0	90.0	0.0	20
Middle/JHS	4.3	0.0	87.0	8.7	23
Senior High	5.9	4.2	84.9	5.0	119
Tertiary	13.9	5.6	66.7	13.8	36
Nationality					
Liberian	8.7	5.7	77.3	8.3	229
Togolese	22.2	0.0	77.8	0.0	9
Ivorian	20.0	40.0	40.0	0.0	5
Sierra Leone	0.0	0.0	100	0.0	1

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

The results imply that there is a growing conflict of interest between the refugees and UNHCR. This is because most respondents preferred to be resettled in a third country while available literature on the durable solutions revealed that UNHCR and most host countries encouraged voluntary repatriation and local integration more than resettlement in a third country (Long, 2007; UNHCR, 2006; Crisp, 2004).

In response to the conflict of interest, Mooney et al. (2007) suggest that refugees should have the right to make informed and voluntary decisions as to whether they want to return to their home country, integrate at the place where they found refuge, or choose to be resettled in a third country. They give primacy to refugees rather than UNHCR and the refugee hosting countries.

Chi-square test was used to compute the relationship between the age of respondents and the most preferred durable solution. The Chi-square value of 36.149 ($p=0.112$) indicates that there was no significant relationship between the age of respondents and the most preferred durable solution (Table 9). This means that respondents in the various age cohorts were unanimous in the decision to prefer resettlement in a third country to the other durable solutions. However, other background characteristics such as respondents' level of education ($\chi^2=30.452$; $p=0.002$), occupation ($\chi^2=35.993$; $p=0.007$), and duration of stay in the refugee camp ($\chi^2=33.979$; $p=0.001$), showed significant relationships with the most preferred durable solution (Table 9).

Table 9: Chi square tests of respondents' background characteristics by most preferred durable solution

Background characteristics	χ^2	Sig ≤ 0.05	Degree of freedom
Sex	1.707	0.635	3
Age	36.149	0.112	27
Marital status	23.746	0.022	12
Highest level of education	30.452	0.002	12
Religious affiliation	9.872	0.130	6
Nationality	14.591	0.103	9
Occupation	35.993	0.007	18
Duration of stay in camp (years)	33.979	0.001	12

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Reasons for the preferred durable solution

Understanding the reasons why refugees opt for a particular durable solution is essential to identifying strategies that will improve services to them (Mooney et al., 2007). As shown in Table 10, about forty-eight percent of the respondents reported that they chose voluntary repatriation because UNHCR had informed them that opportunities for resettlement in a third country had been limited to refugees with 'special conditions' like severe medical problems while 44 percent preferred voluntary repatriation because they felt homesick (UNHCR, 1996).

By linking the results to the model for understanding the decision to return in Chapter Two, homesickness and the refugees' desire to rebuild their countries of origin were found to be 'push' factors that attracted them to

voluntarily return to their countries of origin while fear of persecution, memories of war, fear of being unsuccessful at home, and unsatisfactory package for voluntary repatriation were ‘pull’ factors preventing them from returning home (Tables 10 and 11).

More than half (53%) of the respondents opted for local integration into Ghana because they felt safe and more secured in the country while more than a quarter (27%) said they were content with life in Ghana (Table 10). Others mentioned marriage, age, and employment as reasons for opting for local integration. For instance, about 7 percent said they were too old to restart life in another country, and 7 percent said they were married to people with different nationalities, hence, they could not leave their conjugal unions for neither their country of origin nor a third country while another 7 percent were hopeful about getting employment in Ghana (Table 10). The issue of marriage as a factor influencing refugees to opt for local integration was also found in a study at the Krisan Refugee Camp in Ghana where marriage was regarded as a ‘safety net’ for ensuring peaceful co-existence between refugees and the host community members (Agblorti & Awusabo-Asare, 2011).

Safety and security were the commonest reasons that respondents gave for preferring local integration to voluntary repatriation. This assertion was confirmed in an interview with a 52 year old Liberian widow:

For one fact, I am a widow and my husband was among the people summoned by the army in the city where Samuel Doe (21st president of Liberia) came from. So, we have a lot of enemies and my children are all here with me. I want a place where they will take care of themselves. As I am speaking now,

*I prefer local integration. I am not prepared to go back home
for security reasons.*

Table 10: Reasons for the preferred durable solution

Reasons by durable solutions	Frequency	Percent
Voluntary repatriation to country of origin		
Homesickness	10	43.5
Limited opportunities for resettlement	11	47.8
Want to participate in nation building at home	2	8.7
Local integration into host country		
Assurance of safety/security	8	53.2
Too old to restart life	1	6.7
Hopeful about employment opportunities	1	6.7
Married in Ghana	1	6.7
Content with life in Ghana	4	26.7
Resettlement in a third country		
Resettled refugees return with improved social status	23	12.5
Hopeful about employment opportunities	37	20.1
Hopeful about educational opportunities	22	12.0
Hopeful about humanitarian assistance from UNHCR	6	3.3
Hopeful about high living standards	96	52.1

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Similarly, Dick found out that the main reason why the Liberian refugees in Ghana preferred resettlement in a third country to voluntary repatriation was the feeling of insecurity in their country of origin (Dick, 2002).

Despite the report from UNHCR that opportunities for resettlement in a third country had been limited, some respondents opted for resettlement in a

third country and gave reasons for their choice. Major reasons given by the respondents for opting for resettlement in a third country included the hope for better living conditions (52%) and the possibilities of securing employment in a third country (20%) while 13 percent opined that resettled refugees from Australia and United States who visited the refugee camp demonstrated improved lifestyles and that influenced their decision to go in for resettlement in a third country (Table 10).

It is clear from the afore-mentioned indications that most of the respondents preferred resettlement in a third country in order to improve on their living standards. A 45 year old female Liberian refugee said:

Most people consider resettlement and I also consider it because resettlement will give you the chance to improve your life. We have been here as refugees for a long time and our lives in this country have not improved. Refugees who left for resettlement come back and you see the difference between them and us. They are advancing in their education and living conditions, but everything here in the camp is at a standstill.

Mooney et al. (2007) mentioned incentives for return or resettlement. They argued that a small amount of encouragement or inducement for refugees to return home or resettle in a third country could prove valuable. However, they were quick to suggest that any incentives for return or resettlement should be permissible only if conditions of safety exist in the areas of return or resettlement. The results in Table 9 indicate that safety and security were regarded as incentives for local integration rather than voluntary repatriation and resettlement in a third country.

Reasons for disliking a particular durable solution

Among respondents who disliked voluntary repatriation, about 40 percent gave the reason that they feared potential persecution at their countries of origin, followed by 37 percent who said they were scared of being unsuccessful in their countries of origin while only 6 percent complained that they were not satisfied with the package for voluntary repatriation (Table 11).

Table 11: Reasons for disliking a particular durable solution

Durable solutions	Frequency	Percent
Voluntary repatriation to country of origin		
Fear of persecution/insecurity	29	39.7
Fear of being unsuccessful	27	37.0
Memories of war	8	11.0
Unsatisfactory package	4	5.5
Left country of origin young without family	5	6.8
Local integration of refugees		
Discrimination	38	29.5
Language barrier	12	9.3
Bored with staying in Ghana	34	26.4
Difficulty in getting employed	34	26.4
No educational opportunities	11	8.5

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Out of the 129 respondents who disliked local integration, about 30 percent said discrimination against their status was the reason for their decision, slightly more than a quarter (26%) claimed that they were not sure of securing employment in Ghana while 9 percent attributed language barrier as the factor causing them to dislike local integration into Ghana (Table 11).

Durable solution mostly disliked by refugees by sex, age, educational level and nationality

After identifying the refugees' most preferred durable solution, it is essential to know which one is mostly detestable to them (UNHCR & WFP, 2011). The results in Table 12 indicate that more than half (55%) of the respondents expressed repugnance for local integration, and almost the same proportion of males (55%) and females (55%) disliked local integration while none of the females showed any distaste for resettlement in a third country.

In addition, none of the respondents within the various age groups disliked resettlement in a third country except those who were 60 years and above (5%), however, those in all the age groups mostly disliked local integration into Ghana (Table 12).

More than half of the respondents who had completed Middle/ Junior Secondary School (61%), Secondary School (56%), Tertiary School (58%) as well as those who had no formal education (57%) disliked local integration while only 4 percent of those who had attained Middle/Junior Secondary School education disliked resettlement in a third country (Table 12).

Local integration into Ghana was mostly disliked by respondents from Liberia (54%), Togo (67%), Sierra Leone (100%) and Cote d'Ivoire (60%) while none of the respondents from Togo, Sierra Leone, and Cote d'Ivoire disliked resettlement in a third country (Table 12).

Table 12: Durable solution mostly disliked by background characteristics

Background characteristics	Durable solution mostly disliked (%)				N
	Voluntary Repatriation	Local integration	Resettlement in a third country	No decision	
Total	29.5	54.9	0.4	15.2	244
Sex					
Male	29.6	55.2	0.8	14.4	125
Female	29.4	54.6	0.0	16.0	119
Age					
20-29	30.4	57.6	0.0	12.0	92
30-39	31.8	52.9	0.0	15.3	85
40-49	40.5	43.2	0.0	16.3	37
50-59	7.1	57.1	0.0	35.8	14
60+	6.2	75.0	6.2	12.6	16
Highest level of education					
No formal education	23.9	56.5	0.0	19.6	46
Primary	45.0	30.0	0.0	25.0	20
Middle/JSS	30.4	60.9	4.3	4.3	23
Secondary	31.1	56.3	0.0	12.6	119
Tertiary	22.2	58.3	0.0	19.4	36
Nationality					
Liberian	29.3	54.1	0.4	16.2	229
Togo	33.3	66.7	0.0	0.0	9
Sierra Leone	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	1
Ivorian	40.0	60.0	0.0	0.0	5

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Most preferred countries of resettlement

The United States, Canada and Australia are the three most preferred countries by refugees for resettlement (UNHCR, 2005). It is obvious in Figure

6 that about 35 percent of the respondents reported that they preferred to be resettled in Australia while 21 percent were indecisive, but preferred to be resettled in a developed country. This finding corresponds to a study in Egypt where 52 percent of Sudanese refugees residing in Cairo preferred to be resettled in Australia while 27 percent preferred to be resettled in United States and Canada (Ahmed, 2009).

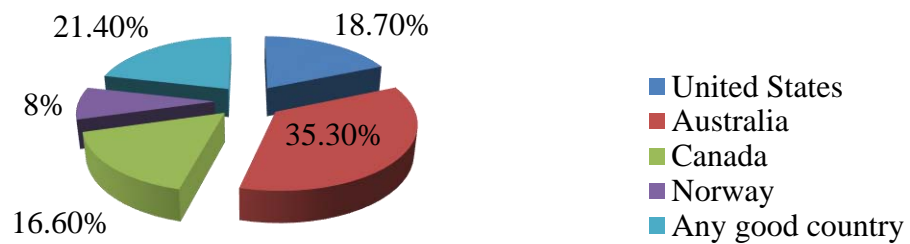


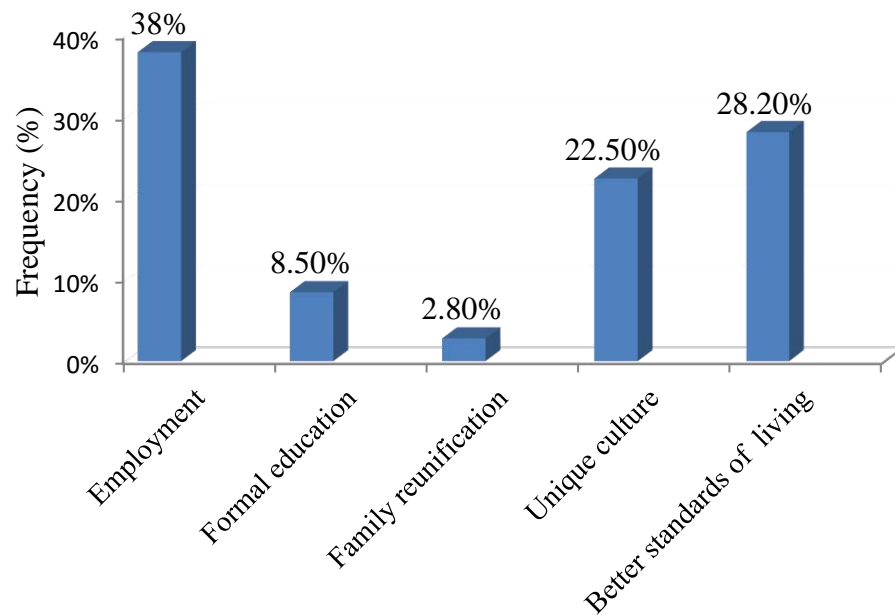
Figure 6: Most preferred countries of resettlement

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Reasons why Australia is preferred to other countries

Australia is one of the countries that receive refugees for resettlement (UNHCR, 2005). However, resettlement in Australia is usually offered to special groups of people particularly those who are subject to human right abuse in their home countries as well as those who are urgently in need of assistance, and for whom other durable solutions cannot be found (Australia’s Department of Immigration and Citizenship [ADIC], 2011).

As shown in Figure 7, the main reasons why the respondents preferred Australia to other countries of resettlement included their hope for brighter opportunities for employment (38%), hope for better standard of living (28%), the feeling that Australia has unique and rich culture which they admired (23%), and their hope of attaining formal education in Australia (9%)



Reasons for preferring Australia

Figure 7: Reasons why Australia is preferred to other countries

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Expectations of the durable solutions to refugee problems

A five point Likert scale format was used to solicit information from respondents about their expectations of the durable solutions (Appendix I). However, in the analyses, the responses were collapsed into three, namely, agree (A), undecided or uncertain (U), and disagree (D) since the other two extreme responses (strongly agree and strongly disagree) simply emphasized the extent of agreement or otherwise. The questions were based on three broad themes, which were respondents' expectations of voluntary repatriation to their countries of origin, local integration into Ghana, and resettlement in a third country.

Expectations of voluntary repatriation

All the services stated in Table 13 were expected to be available before or after the refugees repatriate on their own will to their countries of origin. However, the respondents' most prominent expectations of voluntary repatriation were easy access to education (97%), health care (97%), financial assistance (96%), transportation (96%) and security services (95%).

In line with the results, Mooney et al. (2007) recommended that all the services in Table 13 should be available to refugees before/after they voluntarily repatriate to their countries of origin. They hinted at some expectations of voluntary repatriation by mentioning the provision of shelter, health care, security and other means of survival as important services needed to ensure a successful return of refugees to their country of origin.

Increment of the money for voluntary repatriation was the major expectation of voluntary repatriation in the in-depth interview while others expected the provision of housing and educational opportunities for refugees. For example, a male Liberian refugee aged 49 years old said:

Good education should be given to our children when we go back home. If you give us money alone, it will get finished but with good education for our children, we are sure that they will get a good job for survival. This will make us happy because they are our hope for the future.

Table 13: Expectations of voluntary repatriation

Statement	Voluntary repatriation to country of origin (N=244)		
	A (%)	U (%)	D (%)
Safety/security measures should be put in place before voluntary repatriation	95.1	2.5	2.4
Refugees should have access to housing at their country of origin	93.8	4.1	2.1
Refugees should have access to employment in their country of origin	94.6	4.5	0.9
Refugees should have access to skills training in their country of origin	94.3	4.1	1.6
Refugees should have access to education in their country of origin	97.1	2.9	0.0
Refugees should have access to healthcare services in their country	97.1	2.5	0.4
Financial assistance to refugees should be included in the package for voluntary repatriation	95.5	2.9	1.6
Family reunification services should be provided to trace family members of refugees	92.3	5.7	2.0
Transportation of all properties belonging to refugees should be included in the package	95.5	3.7	0.8
Psychosocial support services should be provided to refugees before departure and on arrival in their country of origin	94.2	4.2	1.6
Follow up mechanism should be provided to monitor well being of refugees after return	81.1	14.8	4.1
Refugees should be compensated for loss of properties during the conflict	77.0	13.9	9.1

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

On the other hand, a female Liberian refugee from Zone 6 in the refugee camp complained about money by stating that:

For voluntary repatriation, they have given us a package, but it is very small because we have stayed in exile for a long time and we are going back with children. We are going back with just \$150 to establish ourselves. We need more money and better accommodation for us to live well.

In addition, a 45 year old female Liberian refugee explained that: “if you give me \$150, by the time I reach home I cannot use it for anything.” This implies that money for refugees is a key incentive for voluntary repatriation which was also included in the conceptual framework adapted for the study (Mooney et al., 2007).

Expectations of local integration

Table 14 shows that more than three-quarters of the respondents expected that safety/security services (92%), health care services (92%), formal education (91%), skills training (91%) and the elimination of all forms of discrimination against refugees (89%) should be assured before the refugees are integrated into Ghana.

Also, it was found in the in-depth interview that refugees’ major expectations of local integration were money, work and housing, educational opportunities, and the elimination of all forms of discrimination against them. For instance, a female Liberian refugee aged 45 years said:

Those of us that will be integrated into Ghana, we ask the people [Ghanaians] to make us look like them. We don’t want to be treated like refugees if we are integrated. If we are among them, we will comply with their rules.

Table 14: Expectations of local integration

Statement	Local integration into host country (N=244)		
	A (%)	U (%)	D (%)
Safety/security measures should be put in place before local integration	92.2	6.6	1.2
Refugees should not be subjected to any form of discrimination for reasons related to their status	89.0	4.5	6.5
Refugees should have access to health care	92.2	5.8	2.0
Refugees should have access to employment in the host country	88.9	6.2	4.9
Refugees should have access to skills training	90.6	7.4	2.0
Refugees should have access to formal education in the host country	91.4	4.9	3.7
Refugees should have the right to own landed property after being integrated into the host country	79.1	12.3	8.6

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

A 52 year old female Liberian refugee mentioned money as an expectation of local integration. She reported that:

Even in Ghana, there are so many people here that are not working and they don't have places to stay. So I can't say they should give us millions or thousands, but all depends on what the government can afford to give to those who want to be locally integrated.

These findings are consistent with the conditions/expectations of local integration which have been explained in the conceptual framework (Mooney et al., 2007). Mooney et al. mentioned that refugees should not be subjected to

any form of discrimination for reasons related to their displacement. Refugees are expected to participate in the social and economic structures of the host community (Meyer, 2008; Crisp, 2004; UNHCR, 2004; Banki, 2004). Also, Ager and Strang (2004) suggested that elimination of all forms of discrimination against refugees is a key expectation of local integration and this was found in the results.

Expectations of resettlement in a third country

More than three-quarters of the respondents agreed that access to health care (94%), employment (94%), education (94%), and housing (94%) were expectations of resettlement in a third country (Table 15). Although Mooney et al. (2007) did not outline specific expectations of resettlement in a third country, on balance, they acknowledged the need for healthcare, employment, and housing in a third country for all the three durable solutions. These expectations were found in the results in both Table 15 and the IDI. This suggests that the respondents hoped for better standards of living if they are resettled in a third country. For example, a male Liberian refugee aged 42 years narrated:

My major expectation is a third country where I will be able to advance myself. I don't want to be somewhere that I cannot get access to education and employment. I want to regain the lost years to cover up; else going back home [Liberia] will be a shame to me. I will be neglected. They [friends in Liberia] will make fun of me for the time I have spent here because I have not acquired anything.

Table 15: Expectations of resettlement in a third country

Statement	Resettlement of refugees in a third country (N=244)		
	A (%)	U (%)	D (%)
Refugees should have access to employment in a third country	93.8	4.2	2.0
Refugees should have access to skills training in a third country	91.8	4.1	4.1
Refugees should have access to housing in a third country	93.5	4.1	2.4
Refugees should have access to formal education in a third country	93.8	4.2	2.0
Refugees should have access to health care services	93.9	4.1	2.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Generally, the results on the expectations of the durable solutions as well as the conceptual framework for the study points out that regardless of the type of durable solution, access to employment, skills training, health care, and education were the most substantive expectations of the durable solutions.

Expectations of the durable solutions by sex

The results in Table 16 show that more females than males agreed to all the expectations of the durable solutions, but more males than females agreed that follow up mechanisms should be provided to monitor the well being of refugees after they return to their countries of origin.

A Chi-square test was used to compute the relationship between the sex of respondents and the expectations of the durable solutions. The Chi-square value of 13.801 ($p= 0.003$) indicate a significant relationship between the sex of respondents and the expectations for financial assistance (Table 16).

Table 16: Expectations of the durable solutions by sex

Expectations of the durable solutions	% in agreement by sex				
	Male	Female	X ²	Sig. ≤ 0.05	Degree of freedom
Voluntary repatriation					
Safety/security measures should be put in place	47.2	52.8	5.137	0.274	4
Refugees should have access to housing	46.4	53.6	4.320	0.364	4
Refugees should have access to employment	48.0	52.0	3.803	0.284	3
Refugees should have access to skills training	47.6	52.4	6.163	0.104	3
Refugees should have access to formal education	48.4	51.6	3.930	0.140	2
Refugees should have access to healthcare services	49.2	50.8	4.143	0.246	3
Financial assistance should be included in the package for voluntary repatriation	49.2	50.8	13.801	0.003	3
Family reunification services should be provided to trace family members of refugees	46.4	53.6	1.610	0.657	3
Transportation of properties belonging to refugees should be included in the package	49.2	50.8	9.799	0.020	3
Psychosocial support services should be provided	47.2	52.8	2.867	0.413	3
Follow up mechanism should be provided to monitor well being of refugees after return	57.6	42.4	5.294	0.258	4
Refugees should be compensated for loss of properties during the conflict	38.8	61.2	8.422	0.077	4

Table 16 continued.

Local integration					
Safety/security measures should be put in place	46.0	54.0	1.759	0.780	4
Refugees should not be discriminated for reasons related to their status	44.4	55.6	4.935	0.294	4
Refugees should have access to health care	47.2	52.8	6.682	0.154	4
Refugees should have access to employment	45.6	54.4	8.887	0.031	3
Refugees should have access to skills training	46.0	54.0	3.122	0.538	4
Refugees should have access to formal education	46.4	53.6	13.358	0.010	4
Refugees should have the right to own landed property	40.8	59.2	8.640	0.071	4
Resettlement in a third country					
Refugees should have access to employment	47.2	52.8	5.818	0.213	4
Refugees should have access to skills training	46.0	54.0	5.001	0.287	4
Refugees should have access to housing	47.2	52.8	5.521	0.238	4
Refugees should have access to formal education	48.4	51.6	7.387	0.117	4
Refugees should have access to health care services	47.6	52.4	6.274	0.180	4

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

The results further showed a significant relationship between the sex of respondents and the expectation of transportation back home ($\chi^2=9.799$; $p=0.020$). This means that the proportion of males that agreed that transportation

aids should be given to refugees before they return to their countries of origin was significantly different from the proportion of females (Table 16).

The respondents' expectations of getting access to formal education ($\chi^2= 13.358$; $p= 0.010$) and employment ($\chi^2= 8.887$; $p= 0.031$) after they have been integrated into Ghana showed a significant relationship with sex. Thus, the proportion of males that agreed that formal education and employment should be given to refugees after they integrate into Ghana was significantly different from the proportion of females (Table 16).

Challenges associated with the implementation of voluntary repatriation

More than half of the respondents agreed that the fear of persecution (66%), inability to identify their homes in their countries of origin (51%), and difficulty in getting capital (51%), accommodation (61%) and employment (53%) in their home countries prevented them from repatriating voluntarily (Table 17). It was also found in the interview that the fear of persecution in the countries of origin and inadequate finances to restart life prevented them from repatriating voluntarily to their countries of origin. A 52 year old Liberian widow pointed out some challenges she was encountering:

It is our wish to go back home but I prefer resettlement in a third country because I don't have a penny and I don't know if my life will be safe in Liberia. I was having 7 houses, but all were burnt down during the war. I was having land. All my lands have been confiscated; even the government has taken some. So, I am not willing to go back to Liberia.

Table 17: Challenges associated with the implementation of voluntary repatriation

Statement	Voluntary repatriation to country of origin (N=244)		
	A (%)	U (%)	D (%)
I will lose my friends in Ghana if I agree to be repatriated to my country of origin	24.6	17.6	57.8
I will lose my business in Ghana if I accept voluntary repatriation	26.6	13.5	59.9
It will be difficult to get access to accommodation in my country of origin	60.6	14.0	25.4
I shall not get access to employment in my country of origin	52.5	14.8	32.7
I will not get access to formal education in my country of origin	38.9	16.9	44.2
It will be difficult to get access to health care services in my country of origin	45.1	13.9	41.0
I fear possible persecution in my country of origin	66.4	20.1	13.5
I will lose my landed property in Ghana if I agree to be repatriated to my country	21.3	15.6	63.1
I cannot identify my home if I agree to be repatriated to my country of origin	50.9	20.9	28.2
I don't have adequate capital to start a new life in my country of origin	50.9	20.8	28.3

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

As established by Mooney et al. (2007), homes of many refugees may be occupied by internally displaced persons or may have been destroyed during the conflict and this can hinder the return of refugees. They observed that the fear of persecution could prevent refugees from repatriating voluntarily to their countries of origin. These observations were confirmed in the findings from the study. Also, Vendramin and Touzenis (2008) found in

Bosnia and Herzegovina that difficulty in getting access to employment, shelter, security, formal education, and health care were major challenges associated with the implementation of voluntary repatriation.

Challenges associated with the implementation of local integration

More than three-quarters of the respondents agreed that competing with Ghanaians for job opportunities (84%), fear of discrimination from Ghanaians (82%), and inadequate capital to start a new life (81%) would prevent them from integrating into Ghana (Table 18). The fear of discrimination from Ghanaians was found as the major challenge associated with the implementation of local integration as revealed in the in-depth interview by a male Liberian refugee aged 42 years:

Looking at the situation from the time I have been here, even the Ghanaians themselves have their problems. They are faced with problems that the government is struggling to deal with, so if the government add us to them, there will be serious problems. Even some Ghanaians tell us if the government integrate us in the country and give us money, they will deal with us because their problems have not been solved and we are just refugees from other countries. So, it will be a serious problem for the government if they integrate us because definitely some of the Ghanaians will go against that decision.

Table 18: Challenges associated with the implementation of local integration

Statement	Local integration into host country (N=244)		
	A (%)	U (%)	D (%)
It would be difficult to compete with Ghanaians for job opportunities	84.4	5.4	10.2
It will be difficult to get access to accommodation	69.2	15.2	15.6
I fear possible discrimination from Ghanaians	82.4	7.3	10.3
I would not be allowed to own landed property	67.2	19.7	13.1
I don't have adequate capital to start a new life in Ghana	81.1	7.9	11.0
I would be denied to integrate into my preferred community	70.9	18.4	10.6
I would be denied access to healthcare services	54.5	15.7	29.9
I don't have the requisite qualification for employment	61.0	13.6	25.4

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

In congruence with the results from the study, it is contended that inadequate access to housing and public services, discrimination against refugees and the inability to earn a living are challenges associated with the implementation of local integration (Mooney et al., 2007). Also related to the findings is a study by Dick (2002) which revealed that Ghanaians discriminated against Liberian refugees in Buduburam owing to their status as refugees and this is a big challenge to the implementation of refugees' integration into Ghana.

Challenges associated with the implementation of resettlement in a third country

Approximately 45 percent of the respondents agreed that inadequate information (45%) about resettlement in a third country is a challenge to them while some disagreed that uneasy access to employment (59%) and accommodation (61%), discrimination against refugees (52%), and the fear of losing friends in Ghana (57%) prevent them from opting for resettlement in a third country (Table 19).

Table 19: Challenges associated with the implementation of resettlement in a third country

Statement	Resettlement in a third country (N=244)		
	A (%)	U (%)	D (%)
I will find it difficult to adapt to a new language and culture if I accept to be resettled in a third country	41.8	7.4	50.8
I will not get access to employment if I accept to be resettled in a third country	34.0	7.4	58.6
It will be difficult to get access to accommodation if I accept to be resettled in a third country	32.4	6.9	60.7
I will be discriminated against because of my background as a refugee	34.0	14.3	51.7
I don't have adequate information about resettlement in a third country	45.1	15.5	39.4
I will lose my friends in Ghana if I opt for resettlement in a third country	32.7	10.0	57.3
I don't have the requisite formal education for resettlement in a third country	35.6	14.8	49.6

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

The results indicate that the respondents did not consider problems of adjustment as challenges associated with their quest for resettlement in a third country. This is somewhat contrary to the views of Eisendadt (1954) who argued that refugees would find it difficult adjusting to their new environment after they are resettled.

The results from the interview indicate that indecision in relation to selecting a country of one's choice was the only challenge encountered by refugees in their search for resettlement in a third country. A male Togolese refugee aged 40 years old confirmed in this statement: "I don't know the situation in any country. Now, I cannot tell UNHCR that I like this or that country." Thus, the refugees confide in UNHCR to resettle them in a country where their problems will be solved permanently. Their indecision was because they lacked adequate information about countries of resettlement.

Summary

This chapter has provided insights into issues related to the study's objectives. It commenced with the background characteristics of the respondents and then looked at respondents' knowledge, preference, and expectations of the durable solutions. The closing part of the chapter centred on the challenges encountered by refugees in the implementation of the durable solutions. The next chapter looks at the summary, conclusions and recommendations for the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the entire study. It focuses on a summary of the objectives, principal findings, conclusions from the findings, and recommendations. The chapter ends with areas suggested for further research, and the contribution of the study to knowledge.

Summary

The purpose of the study was to assess refugees' perceptions about the durable solutions, using Buduburam refugee camp as a case study. 'When Displacement Ends' framework for the durable solutions was adapted for the study. The research instruments used for the study were questionnaires and in-depth interview guide. Stratified and simple random methods of sampling were used to select 244 respondents for the study. In addition, 6 key informants were purposively sampled for in-depth interviews. The data collected were analysed using frequencies, percentages, averages, and graphs. Chi-square statistic was used to test the hypotheses.

It was found that more males than females had at least heard of the durable solutions while nearly half of the respondents, who had lived in the refugee camp for 10 to 14 years had at least heard of the durable solutions. Half of the respondents who had attained Senior Secondary School Education had at least heard of the durable solutions. Generally, about 95 percent of the respondents had heard of voluntary repatriation while 84 percent and 94

percent had heard of local integration and resettlement in a third country respectively.

Nearly half (48 %) of the respondents believed that GRB and UNHCR were the organisations responsible for the implementation of voluntary repatriation while more than half (57%) believed that only GRB was responsible for the implementation of resettlement in a third country. In addition, about 44 percent agreed that both GRB and UNHCR were responsible for the implementation of local integration.

Majority of the respondents (83%) perceived voluntary repatriation as a process whereby refugees return to their countries of origin on their own will while 52 percent said that local integration is about living in the host country as a citizen without any form of discrimination. About 65 percent understood resettlement in a third country as a permanent transfer of refugees from the host country to a third country.

Most respondents (77%) preferred resettlement in a third country to voluntary repatriation (9%) and local integration (6%) while the most disliked durable solution was local integration (55%). The main reason why they disliked local integration was that they were scared of being discriminated against by Ghanaians (30%) while they mostly preferred resettlement in a third country because they hoped to acquire a better living standard in a third country (52%). Australia (35%) was the most preferred country of resettlement, followed by USA (21%). The Chi-square tests showed that there was no significant relationship between the age of respondents and the most preferred durable solution.

More males (79%) than females (74%) preferred resettlement in a third country to local integration and voluntary repatriation while respondents aged between 30-39 years were the group that mostly preferred resettlement in a third country (84%). The respondents who had attained Primary Education mostly preferred resettlement in a third country (90%) while more than three quarters (78%) of the Togolese mostly preferred resettlement in a third country.

Access to health care (97%), formal education (97%), and financial assistance (96%) in the country of origin were the respondents' major expectations of voluntary repatriation. Majority of them agreed that access to health care (92%), security (92%), and formal education (91%) were the main expectations of local integration while access to health care (94%), formal education (94%), employment (94%) and housing (94) in a third country were the main expectations of resettlement. The Chi-square test showed a significant relationship between the sex of respondents and the expectations for financial assistance, transportation, formal education, and employment.

Difficulties in getting access to accommodation (61%) and employment (53%) in the country of origin were major hindrances to the implementation of voluntary repatriation while competition with Ghanaians for job opportunities (84%), discrimination (82%) and inadequate capital (81%) were challenges associated with the implementation of local integration. In addition, inadequate information about resettlement in a third country (45%) was the only clear challenge that the respondents encountered in their quest for resettlement.

Conclusions

The durable solutions are vital mechanisms to curtail the refugee problems especially in this era where most refugees are trapped in camps. Based on the findings from the study, it is concluded that the refugees had heard of the durable solutions, but they did not fully understand the concept especially local integration. However, they knew that GRB and UNHCR are the main organisations responsible for the implementation of the durable solutions.

The refugees' most preferred durable solution is resettlement in a third country. They preferred to be resettled in a third country because they believed their standards of living would improve in a third country, but they disliked local integration because they feared they would be discriminated against by the host population. Australia was the most preferred country of resettlement and the main reason is that the refugees believed they could easily get access to employment in that country.

At least, the refugees expect UNHCR and GRB to provide housing facilities, employment opportunities, formal education, health care, and security for them in their countries of origin, host country or third country after they opt for voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement.

They have a perception that they would find difficulties in getting access to accommodation, capital, health care, and employment both in Ghana and in their countries of origin. These were the main challenges associated with the implementation of the durable solutions. Also, it is deducible from the study that they did not have adequate information about resettlement in a third country while others were scared of persecution in their countries of origin.

Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions of the study, the following recommendations could be considered:

1. UNHCR and GRB should educate the refugees about the durable solutions. Any information given to the refugees about the durable solutions should be accessible and comprehensive, so that they can make informed choices.
2. Some refugees were reluctant to go home because they were scared of persecution in their home countries. UNHCR needs to assist such refugees to gain access to local integration or resettlement in a third country. In the absence of these, all necessary measures must be taken by GRB and UNHCR to ensure that the refugees are assured of their safety and security in their countries of origin.
3. The government through GRB should create opportunities for local integration. Also, they need to educate the host population about the usefulness in integrating refugees with regard to their contribution to the development of the country, in order to eliminate all forms of discrimination against the refugees.
4. The refugees who are willing to be integrated or repatriated should be provided with adequate skills training and capital to enable them establish their own businesses or secure jobs in the employment sector. For instance, they could be trained in tailoring, computing, catering, among others based on their qualifications. The design and content of the training programme should take into consideration the varied needs

and interests of the refugees. This could be organised by UNHCR, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), and other stakeholders.

5. A major recommendation by some refugees during the in-depth interviews was that voluntary repatriation programmes should be extended to those from Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, and Togo because some of them wanted to be repatriated, but are waiting for an order from UNHCR and GRB.
6. The alleged \$150 package for voluntary repatriation should be increased as motivation for refugees who are willing to return home. This will make voluntary repatriation more attractive and some reluctant refugees may consider it as a permanent solution to their problems.

Area for further research

This study focused on the perceptions of refugees about the three durable solutions to refugee problems at the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana. Further research can look at challenges associated with the implementation of the durable solutions from UNHCR and GRB's perspectives. Such a study will identify the difficulties that UNHCR and GRB are encountering in their efforts to implement the durable solutions and the results could be compared with the challenges encountered by the refugees in order to reach a compromise.

Contribution to knowledge

This study makes contributions to knowledge in two main respects.

- First, the research has built on existing studies (such as Tete, 2005; Ager and Strang, 2004; Dick, 2002; Koser, 1998) that focused on one component of the durable solutions. This study reinforced the views of these researchers by combining the three components of the durable solutions while assessing the perceptions refugees have about them; and
- There has been an addition of some background characteristics such as age, sex, duration of stay in camp, marital status, nationality and levels of education to the framework proposed by Mooney et al. (2007). Also, the factors that influence refugees' preference for a particular durable solution were found in the study.
- The study refutes the essentialist notion of refugees returning to their 'roots' as the ideal solution to their problems and rather emphasizes opportunities for refugees elsewhere, particularly in a third country of resettlement.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR REFUGEES

INFORMED CONSENT

Dear Madam/Sir,

My name is _____ and I am a student from the Department of Population and Health, University of Cape Coast, Ghana. We are conducting a study about the durable solutions to refugee problems. We would very much appreciate your participation in this study. This information will help us have an in-depth knowledge about the durable solutions to refugee problems. Whatever information you provide will be kept strictly confidential.

Signature of respondent:Date:

Name of Field assistant:

SECTION 1: Background characteristics of respondents

1.1 Sex 1.Male [] 2.Female []

1.2 Age in completed years [][]

1.3 Marital status

1. Never married [] =>skip to1.5

2. Married []

3. Divorce [] =>skip to1.5

4. Widowed [] =>skip to1.5

5. Co-habitation [] =>skip to1.5

1.4 If married, where does your spouse come from?

1. Ghana [] 2. Liberia []

96. Other (Please specify).....

1.5 Highest level of education attained?

1. No Formal Education [] 2. Primary []

- 3. Middle/JHS []
- 4. Secondary/SHS []
- 5. Tertiary [] => (specify).....

1.6 Religious affiliation

- 1. Christianity []
- 2. Islam []
- 3. Traditional/spiritualist []
- 96. Other (specify).....

1.7 What is your nationality?

- 1. Liberian []
- 2. Togolese []
- 3. Sierra Leonean []
- 4. Ivorian []
- 96. Other (specify).....

1.8 What is your main occupation?

- 1. Trader []
- 2. Farmer []
- 3. Unemployed []
- 96. Other (specify).....

1.9 How long have you been living in the Buduburam refugee camp?

.....

SECTION 2: Knowledge and preference for voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement in a third country.

2.0 Which of these three durable solutions to refugee problems have you heard of? (*You can tick more than one*)

- 1. Voluntary repatriation to country of origin []
- 2. Local integration into host community []
- 3. Resettlement in a third country []

2.1 Do you know the meaning of voluntary repatriation of refugees?

- 1. Yes []
- 2. No [] => skip to 2.3

2.2 If yes, what does it mean?

.....

2.3 Which organisation(s) is/are responsible for voluntary repatriation of refugees?

- 1. Only Ghana Refugee Board []
- 2. Only UNHCR []
- 3. Ghana Refugee Board and UNHCR []
- 96. Other (Specify).....

2.4 How will you rate voluntary repatriation of refugees as a durable solution to refugee problems?

- 1. Very good [] 2. Good [] 3. Bad []
- 4. Very bad [] 99. Don't know []

2.5 Do you know the meaning of local integration of refugees?

- 1. Yes [] 2. No [] => skip to 2.7

2.6 If yes, what does it mean?

.....

2.7 Which organisation(s) is/are responsible for local integration of refugees?

- 1. Ghana Refugee Board and UNHCR []
- 2. Only Ghana Refugee Board []
- 3. Only UNHCR [] 96. Other (Specify).....

2.8 How will you rate local integration of refugees as a durable solution to refugee problems?

- 1. Very good [] 2. Good [] 3. Bad []
- 4. Very bad [] 99. Don't know []

2.9 Do you know the meaning of resettlement of refugees in a third country?

- 1. Yes [] 2. No [] => skip to 3.1

3.0 If yes, what does it mean?

.....

3.1 Which organisation(s) is/are responsible for resettlement of refugees in a third country?

- 1. Ghana Refugee Board and UNHCR []
- 2. Only Ghana Refugee Board []
- 3. Only UNHCR [] 96. Others (Specify).....

3.2 How will you rate resettlement of refugees in a third country as a durable solution to refugee problems?

- 1. Very good [] 2. Good [] 3. Bad []
- 4. Very bad [] 99. Don't know []

3.3 Which of these three durable solutions to refugee problems would you prefer?

- 1. Voluntary repatriation to country of origin []
- 2. Local integration into host community []
- 3. Resettlement in a third country []

3.4 Give reasons for your choice of durable solution

.....

3.5 Which durable solution do you dislike most?

1. Voluntary repatriation [] 2. Local integration []
 3. Resettlement in a third country []

3.6 Give reasons for your answer.....

3.7 If you prefer resettlement in a third country, which specific country do you want to be resettled?

1. United States [] 2. Australia [] 3. Canada []
 4. Norway [] 96. Other (Specify).....

3.8 Why that country?

.....

3.9 How will you rate your economic condition in Ghana?

1. Very satisfactory [] 2. Satisfactory []
 3. Not satisfactory [] 99. Don't know []

SECTION 3: Expectations of voluntary repatriation, resettlement in a third country and local integration

Indicate your agreement/disagreement to the following statements

SA= Strongly Agree; A=Agree; N=Neutral; D=Disagree; SD=Strongly Disagree

No.	STATEMENT	SA	A	N	D	SD
	Voluntary repatriation of refugees to their country of origin					
1	Safety and security measures should be put in place before voluntary repatriation of refugees is implemented					
2	Refugees should have access to housing at their country of origin					
3	Refugees should have access to employment in their country of origin					
4	Refugees should have access to skills training in their country of origin					
5	Refugees should have access to education in their country of origin					

6	Refugees should have access to healthcare services in their country of origin					
7	Financial assistance to refugees should be included in the package for voluntary repatriation					
8	Family reunification services should be provided to trace family members of refugees					
9	Transportation of all properties belonging to refugees should be included in the package for voluntary repatriation					
10	Psychosocial support services such as counselling should be provided to refugees before departure and on arrival in their country of origin					
11	Follow up mechanism should be provided to monitor well being of refugees after return					
12	Refugees should be compensated for loss of properties during the conflict					
	Local integration of refugees in host country					
13	Safety and security measures should be put in place before local integration is implemented					
14	Refugees should not be subjected to any form of discrimination for reasons related to their status					
15	Refugees should have access to health care without any form of discrimination for reasons related to their status					
16	Refugees should have access to employment in the host country without any form of discrimination.					
17	Refugees should have access to skills training before local integration is implemented					
18	Refugees should have access to education in the host country without any form of discrimination					
19	Refugees should have the right to own landed property after being integrated into the host country					
	Resettlement of refugees in a third country					

20	Refugees should have access to employment in a third country without any form of discrimination					
21	Refugees should have access to skills training in a third country					
22	Refugees should have access to housing in a third country					
23	Refugees should have access to education in a third country without any form of discrimination					
24	Refugees should have access to health care services in a third country without any form of discrimination					

SECTION 4: Challenges associated with the implementation of voluntary repatriation, local integration, and resettlement in a third country

Please indicate your agreement/disagreement to the following statements

SA= Strongly Agree; A=Agree; N=Neutral; D=Disagree; SD=Strongly Disagree

No.	STATEMENT	SA	A	N	D	SD
	Challenges associated with the implementation of voluntary repatriation of refugees					
1	I will lose my friends in Ghana if I agree to be repatriated to my country of origin					
2	I will lose my business in Ghana if I accept voluntary repatriation to my country of origin					
3	It will be difficult to get access to accommodation in my country of origin					
4	I shall not get access to employment in my country of origin					
5	I will not get access to education in my country of origin					
6	It will be difficult to get access to health care services in my country of origin if I agree to be repatriated					
7	I fear possible persecution in my country of origin					
8	I will lose my landed property in Ghana if I agree to be repatriated to my country of origin					

9	I cannot identify my home if I agree to be repatriated to my country of origin					
10	I don't have adequate capital to start a new life in my country					
	Challenges associated with the implementation of local integration of refugees					
11	It would be difficult to compete with Ghanaians for job opportunities since I am a refugee					
12	It will be difficult to get access to accommodation after I agree to be integrated into Ghana					
13	I fear possible discrimination from Ghanaians owing to my background as a refugee.					
14	I would not be allowed to own landed property after I agree to be integrated into Ghana					
15	I don't have adequate capital to start a new life in Ghana					
16	I would be denied to integrate into my preferred community in Ghana					
17	I would be denied access to healthcare services after I agree to be integrated					
18	I don't have the requisite qualification for employment in Ghana					
	Challenges associated with the implementation of resettlement in a third country					
19	I would find it difficult to adapt to a new language and culture if I accept to resettle in a third country					
20	I will not get access to employment if I accept to resettle in a third country					
21	It will be difficult to get access to accommodation if I accept to be resettled in a third country					
22	I will be discriminated against because of my background as a refugee					
23	I don't have adequate information about resettlement in a third country					
24	I will lose my friends in Ghana if I opt for resettlement in a third country					
25	I don't have the requisite formal education for resettlement in a third country					

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR REFUGEES

My name is _____ and I am a student from the Department of Population and Health, University of Cape Coast, Ghana. We are conducting a study about the durable solutions to refugee problems. We would very much appreciate your participation in this study. This information will help us have an in-depth knowledge on the durable solutions to refugee problems. Whatever information you provide will be kept strictly confidential.

A. Background characteristics

1. I would like you to describe yourself to me (*Probe: Age, marital status, religious affiliation, nationality, highest educational level attained, main occupation*)

B. Knowledge and preferred durable solution

9. What do you know about the following durable solutions to refugee problems?

i. Voluntary repatriation of refugees to their country of origin

ii. Local integration of refugees into host country

iii. Resettlement of refugees in a third country

10. Which of the three durable solutions do you prefer and why?

C. Expectations of the durable solutions

11. In your opinion what do you think should constitute the package for:

- i. Voluntary repatriation of refugees to their country of origin
- ii. Local integration of refugees into host country
- iii. Resettlement of refugees in a third country

D. Challenges associated with the implementation of the durable solutions

12. In your opinion, what are the challenges associated with the implementation of the durable solutions to refugee problems:

- i. Voluntary repatriation of refugees to their country of origin
- ii. Local integration of refugees into host country
- iii. Resettlement of refugees in a third country

13. How can the challenges associated with the application of voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement of refugees in a third country be addressed?

22. Besides the three durable solutions mentioned, in which ways can refugee problems be addressed.