

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

CHALLENGES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF DURABLE
SOLUTIONS FOR REFUGEES IN GHANA

BY

MAWULI KOFI TIH

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
OF THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE
COAST, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
AWARD OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN DEVELOPMENT
STUDIES

APRIL 2013

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

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

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

Name: Mawuli Kofi Tih

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.

Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Dr. Akwasi Kumi-Kyereme

Co- Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Mr. Fredrick Koomson

ABSTRACT

This study examined the challenges that the various refugees institutions, organizations, and allied bodies or agencies face in the implementations of durable solutions for refugees in the country. The purposive and accidental sampling techniques were used to select 65 respondents from UNHCR Ghana, Ghana Refugee Board, International Organization for Migration as well as Krisan/Sanzule/Ekwei, and Budumburam refugee camps. The main instruments used for data collection were interview guide and focus group discussion guides. The finding of the study revealed that resettlement prevents refugees to patronize local integration programmes and also lack of local integration policy is a major hindrance to local integration programmes. The absence of policy guidelines and integration mechanisms to direct the implementation of local integration of refugees in Ghana is a major challenge. The office of UNHCR Ghana has no control over resettlement programmes and also the challenge of high expectations among refugees regarding the possibility of resettlement in a third country.

In order to deal with the challenges, it was recommended that UNHCR and Ghana Refugee Board should embark on more effective educational programmes to inform refugees about the current relevant information concerning durable solutions. Also when repatriation is being promoted, UNHCR should restrict resettlement interventions to refugees with acute protection or specific needs. Finally, Ghana Refugee Board should be more resourced in order to live up to the current challenges of hosting refugees in the present global world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been completed if I had not been given the assistance needed. It is, therefore, necessary to thank all those who, in one way or the other, contributed to the successful completion of this work. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Akwasi Kumi- Kyereme, my principal supervisor of University of the Cape Coast (UCC) under whose supervision, counseling, criticisms and directives this thesis materialized. I would not have been able to present this work in this form had it not been for the patience and guidance of my supervisor.

I am also grateful to Mr. Frederick Koomson, my co- supervisor of the Institute for Development Studies, Mr. Francis Dake of Department of Hospitality and Tourism Management and Mr. Samuel Agblorti of Department of Population and Health who selflessly guided me to complete this work. I would also like to express my warmest appreciation to Mr. Padi Tetteh, the Coordinating Director of Ghana Refugee Board, Mad. Abaa Opoku-Mensah, the Durable Solutions officer of United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) Ghana, Mr. William Lorenz the Senior Operation Officer of International Organization for Migration (IOM) and finally Mr. Francis Obeng of Ghana Red Cross Society, Mr. Sackye of National Catholic Secretariat, Accra.

I would be ungrateful if I do not mention the immense contributions made by the camp managers, Mr. Banabas of Krisan/ Sanzule/Ekwei refugee camp in the Western region and Mr. Tamekloh Agbevivina of Budumburam refugee camp in the Central Region, and all my refugee friends in those camps. My sincere thanks go to my friends especially Mr. Jones Anyamesem, Kweku

Anderson, Paaga Dominic and Vivian Nyalemegbe all of University of Cape Coast. I cannot end without thanking my wife Mad. Abigail Larbi, my children Etornam, Dzidzor and Selorm who gave me time and privacy needed to put my thoughts together. To all these persons, I once again acknowledge my indebtedness. None of them, however, is to be blamed for any shortcoming in this work. I take responsibility for all errors made.

DEDICATION

To Torgbe Tih Koku and Anastasia Belle my parents, my sisters Lorlornyo, Toyo, Grace and only brother Prosper Tih.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Content	Page
DECLARATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
DEDICATION	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
LIST OF ACRONYMS	xiii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	
Background to the study	1
Statement of the problem	9
Objectives of the study	12
Research questions	13
Significance of the study	13
Scope of the study	14
Organization of the study	14

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction	15
The concept of durable solutions	15
Repatriations	16
The role of UNHCR in return and reintegration process	19
Difficulties of repatriations	22
Local integration	26
Obstacles to local integration	32
Resettlement	36
Constrains to resettlement	41
Theoretical perspectives of refugees in relation to durable solutions	45
Refugee theory	45
Conceptual framework	48

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction	52
Research design	52
Study Area	52

Study population	58
Sources of data	59
Sample and sampling technique	59
Data collection instruments	62
Data collection method	62
Field experience	64
Data analysis	65

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Introduction	66
Background characteristics	66
Roles the institutions play in the implementation of durable solutions	68
Factors that hinder successful repatriation of refugees from Ghana	72
Causes of the problems of refugee integration in Ghana	87
Challenges confronting successful resettlement of refugees in Ghana	95

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS

AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction	103
Summary	103
Conclusions	106
Recommendations	107
REFERENCES	110
APPENDICES	
A: Interview Guide for UNHCR Officials	121
B: Interview Guide for GRB officials	125
C: Interview Guide for NGOs	129
D: Interview Guide for Refugees	133
E: Discussion Guide for Refugee Leaders	138

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1:	Composition of the sample	61
2:	Age and sex distribution of respondents	67
3:	Religious and marital status of respondents	68

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1 Conceptual framework showing attitude of refugee to durable solutions	51
2 Map of Ghana showing the two refugee camps	58

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CCG	Christian Council of Ghana
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
GRB	Ghana Refugee Board
GRCS	Ghana Red Cross Society
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Syndromes
ICC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDP	Internal Displaced People
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LRRRC	Liberia Refugee Repatriation Reintegration Council
NADMO	National Disaster Management Organization
NCS	National Catholic Secretariat
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
SPAS	Safety Preparedness and Support.
RRF	Resettlement Registration Form
UDHR	Universal Declaration on Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WFP	World Food Programme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the study

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) annual 2008 Global Trends Report showed that the number of people forcibly uprooted by conflict and persecution worldwide was 42 million at the end of 2008. This total includes 16 million refugees and asylum seekers as well as 26 million people uprooted within their own countries. As Antonio Guterres, head of UNHCR, bluntly put it: *Being forced from your homes by conflict or persecution is a tragedy whether you've crossed an international border or not. Today, we are seeing a relentless series of internal conflicts that have resulted into millions of uprooted people* (UNHCR, 2008).

The World Refugee Survey Annual Report 2007 released in Ghana, indicated that the number of refugees and asylum seekers worldwide is on the increase, with 13.9 million, the highest number since 2001. According to figures released by the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2007), there were about 11.4 million refugees and 26 million internally displaced people forced to flee their homes by conflict or persecution at the end of 2007. Some major refugee hosting countries in 2008 included Pakistan, Syria, Iran, Germany, Jordan, Chad, Tanzania and Kenya. Major countries of origin of refugees also includes Somalia (561,000), Sudan (419,000), D.R. Congo (368,000) Afghanistan (2.8 million) and Iraq (1.9 million), which together account for about 45 percent of all global refugees (UNHCR, 2009).

The Africa refugee situation is not different. In recent years, political upheavals, civil wars, and hunger have forced millions of Africans from their homes across international borders. This situation has grown at a dramatic rate rising from 750,000 in 1968 to over 5 million in 1981 (Freund & Kalumba, 1986). As at December 31, 2006, it was reported that there were nearly 3 million refugees and asylum seekers in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Millions of refugees around the world continue to live with the hope of finding solutions to their plight. Finding durable solution is part of UNHCR's and its partner's core mandate. The return and reintegration of refugees, integrating refugees into the host country and the strategic resettlement of refugees into the third country constitute durable solutions. However, in an attempt to find durable solutions for refugees, the UNHCR, donor agencies, host governments and the international community are confronted with a number of challenges making it difficult for refugees to benefit fully from durable solution programmes (UNHCR, 2006).

The UNHCR together with its partners encounter various forms of challenges at the global level to implement the various aspects of durable solutions. Protracted refugee situation is one of such challenges that confront the organization. According to UNHCR, protracted refugee situations are where over 25,000 or more refugees from the same nationality have been living in exile for five years or more in a given asylum country. Such situations leave refugees in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo (Crisp & Amy, 2009).

According to UNHCR (2004) protracted refugee situations are when refugee populations have moved beyond the emergency phase where the focus is on life- saving protection and assistance to a point where they do not expect possible durable solutions in the foreseeable future (Long, 2011). In caring for such refugees in such situations the international community, UNHCR and its allied bodies incur extra cost in protecting and safeguarding the interest and welfare of refugees. This further mounts pressure on limited available facilities to UNHCR due to donor-fatigue and also posse danger to UNHCR staff due to the precarious conditions in which they work (UNHCR, 2007). The UNHCR stated in its 2004 report that protracted refugee situations lead to wasted lives, squandered resources and increased threats to security (UNHCR, 2005). Failure to address the situation in these countries of refugee origin such as Afghanistan, Burundi, Iraq, Rwanda, Somali, Sudan, or Burmese means that refugees cannot return home. Such chronic and stagnating refugee situations are a growing challenge for the international community, thus draining the organization of resources which could be used elsewhere (Smith, 2004).

The contemporary world has also brought new challenges to the work of the UNHCR office in its operation of implementing durable solutions. Host governments complain that refugee camps and settlements have been infiltrated by armed elements, and refugees intercepted. Insecurity has been particularly acute in West Africa, the Great Lakes, Colombia, and Iraq, just to mention some examples. In such complex humanitarian emergencies, getting the necessary contact to refugees to ensure their protection and finding durable solutions for

them is increasingly difficult to attain. In many of these situations combatants roam freely terrorizing refugees and humanitarian workers alike (Guido, 2011).

According to the UNHCR in Lebanon for example, they find it difficult in gaining humanitarian access to areas where refugees are found due to the prevailing conflict and security situations on the ground. It is also reported that insecurity is possibly the most serious challenge facing UNHCR and its partners in Somalia. In other words, Somalia remains the most dangerous place for humanitarian workers (Abild, 2009).

In 2008 there were a total of 154 direct attacks against aid workers, with 35 fatalities (NGO-SPAS, 2009). These figures represent over 30 per cent of the global total in aid worker deaths. In comparison to 17 in Darfur (Sudan), where the average annual attack rate was 27 per 10 000, the rate of attacks against UN national staff in Somalia was 467 per 10 000 (Amnesty International, 2008). Under such circumstances, carrying out protection activities becomes particularly challenging, let alone initiating any action for durable solutions (Didomenico, Harmer, & Stoddard, 2009). In March 2003, the killing of two humanitarian workers in Liberia led to the suspension of operations in the east of the country, with the consequence that UNHCR could not provide assistance to Ivorian refugees and Liberian returnees until the end of the year (Omata, 2011).

Also the absence of state capacity to absorb refugee flows (reintegration) often result in serious obstacles to securing viable and dignified socio-economic livelihoods. In Afghanistan, for example, the massive numbers who chose to repatriate were unexpected, and this did not only lead to serious stress being

placed on extremely limited Afghan resources but also posed security threat as security deteriorates in and around Afghanistan. According to Parker (2008) the primary challenges are security and political instability and that the situation is so precarious that the successful repatriation of millions of refugees appears ever more elusive.

Such institutional incapacity has frequently created obstacles for returnees interested in reclaiming or accessing economic facilities. For those who can afford bribes, many more opportunities are available to them, including greater security and protection (Campbell, & Elisabeth, 2006). Those who cannot are usually also vulnerable to theft and violence in addition to abuse, detention, violence, and discrimination (Landau, 2004). This may not only prevent returnees access to sustainable livelihoods, but may also re-ignite intra-community conflicts or create new divisions between returnees and “stayees”, as has occurred for example in Southern Sudan (Duffield, 2007).

Currently, one of the major constraints facing the implementation of durable solutions is the inability of UNHCR and its partners to manage the expectations of refugees, balancing their needs and resources available. Returnees, host communities and governments in the country of origin may have high expectations of assistance from the international community and, especially, from UNHCR. Naturally the needs and aspirations of these returnees are normally higher than available resources because of their background and experience in exile. The assistance rendered to returnees and their host communities can be

insufficient and when their expectations are not readily met, subsequent repatriation programmes are hampered.

On the part of refugees such unrealistic expectations among them, regarding the possibility of resettlement in the third country, makes it difficult to promote other durable solutions such as voluntary repatriation, and local integration (UNHCR, 2011a). During post-conflict situations, the reintegration of returnees poses a considerable challenge. The transition from short-term humanitarian assistance in support of reintegration to longer-term reconstruction is rarely a smooth process. In the politically fragile environment that frequently characterizes post-conflict situations, returnees are often left in deprived conditions for extended periods without means or opportunities to better their situation. As a result, roughly half of all post-conflict situations slide back into violence in effect producing more than expected refugees defeating the entire programme of voluntary repatriation.

In addition to insecurity, and logistical challenges that plague the operations of durable solutions, the drastic change in weather conditions recently has compounded the organization's humanitarian situation. The floods that hit Eastern Kenya in 2006 for instance, required airlifting and dropping of emergency assistance for a month. This required costly use of air transport for humanitarian personnel and relief items. Also UNHCR has been asked to lead relief efforts in the Pakistani flood disaster and extend its technical expertise to local authorities (Entwisle, 2010).

Also, in areas with dangerous security conditions, the organizations depend on air services. In Darfur, relief agencies rely heavily on air transport for humanitarian personnel to access and meet the basic needs of more than two million people in the province which was a great cost to the organizations. In Somalia, World Food Programme (WFP) moved critical relief supplies by air for other United Nations agencies for the people displaced by recent intensified fighting in Mogadishu, in addition to the ongoing humanitarian air service for the international aid community.

Other obstacles relating to the implementation of durable solutions relate to the poor diagnosis and communication of priorities between agencies. UN and non-governmental agencies often fail to adequately anticipate the huge and resource-intensive challenges associated with re-absorbing populations, much less the specific requirements of repatriation, reintegration, rehabilitation and reconstruction in transition contexts. When the attendant challenges become overwhelming or funding sources begin drying up, agencies retreat to their own specific niche areas and shy away from cooperation (Kleinschmidt, 2000). There is in fact a weak culture of collaboration and too few incentives to build constructive partnerships in a sustained way (McKeever, 2005). For example, the 4R (repatriation, reintegration, rehabilitation, and reconstruction) concept, although while widely supported on the ground, required considerably more structure and direction than anticipated particularly from UNHCR headquarters. Unfortunately, the concept failed to take root precisely because it lacked adequate institutional arrangements between agencies such as UNHCR and UNDP. Also

poor direction, insufficient resources, limited training for UN staff, and inadequate technical guidance to a significant extent thwarted efforts in its implementation especially in pilot countries. In addition lack of co-operation on the part of refugees is also a major challenge currently UNHCR and its partners are grappling with in order to implement the durable solutions (Essuman-Johnson, 2003).

Durable solutions programmes are expensive. Donor countries and host countries share a concern with cost and speed. UNHCR and the UN system rely on contributions to fund their operations and activities. This means that the availability of resources is unpredictable and often inadequate and opportunities may be lost to refugees waiting to benefit from durable solutions. The persistent funding difficulties in terms of programmes funding appeal that are under subscribed, have been the greatest for implementation of durable solutions especially in countries affected by armed conflict, such as Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Liberia, Rwanda, Somalia, and Tajikistan (Parker, 2008).

Also, some countries in the West African Sub- region do not only suffer political strife or find it difficult to sustain post crises recoveries but also suffer from economic instability thereby undermining all efforts for successful durable solutions implementation. According to UNHCR the difficult socio-economic conditions in the sub region pose a serious impediment and threat to self- reliance to refugees. Lack of availability and access to land in some countries sometimes hinders local integration (Dick, 2002b).

Statement of the problem

The three durable solutions namely; voluntary repatriation, local integration in the country of first asylum or resettlement in a third country are the options available for the permanent resolution of the 'refugee cycle' (Long, 2011). All three are regarded as durable because they promise an end to refugees' suffering and their need for international protection and dependence on humanitarian assistance (UNHCR, 2008).

Over the past decades, refugee situations have increasingly become protracted as a consequence of continued conflict or renewed outbreak of hostilities in post-conflict situations (Long, 2011). This development has, on one hand, increased the burden upon UNHCR and other relief organizations beyond their capacity and on the other hand, highlighted the inadequacy of the response of the international community to meet the long term needs of refugees who have fallen into the so-called 'gap' between traditional short term humanitarian assistance and more long term development assistance (Allen & Le Rosi, 2010).

The government of Ghana embarked on a programme in 2008 to repatriate a number of refugees to their home country but failed to a large extent because only few of the refugees expressed interest in returning home (Omata, 2011a). What even made the repatriation programme fiasco was that majority of the repatriated refugees keep on returning to Ghana. The UNHCR 2008 annual report indicated that the large scale repatriation movements observed in the past have decelerated. Return figures have continuously drooped since 2004.

The issue of refugee integration in the country remains undecided. The country lacks the necessary legislative instrument and policy framework to direct the implementation of such a programme. The government of Ghana even though has ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the state of refugees, the country has been reluctant to promote the idea of local integration for refugees. Many refugees in the country who may like to integrate locally are left with no choice but opt for other aspect of durable solutions because of the fact that the Ghanaian authorities are silent on the subject of local integration.

Since the current government's inauguration in January 2009, the Ghana Refugee Board has not met once. At the time of the study, the Board lacked the services of a substantive Chairperson (without whom the Board cannot sit) to effectively perform its functions as mandated in the constitution establishing it. Subsequently, the Board has not been able to advise government on current refugee-related issues (Agblorti, 2011). Further, the crackdown and mass deportation in 2008 by the Ghanaian authorities (government) over a protest by Liberian refugees who demanded a larger say has highlighted the challenges UNHCR and their Ghanaian counterpart; Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) encounter to protect refugees in the country.

Resettlement in a third country is always regarded as the least among the durable solution options. This is because the UNHCR has traditionally regarded resettlement as the last option of the durable solutions to refugee situation. Resettlement as one of the three durable solutions available for refugees is of vital

importance to the solution of both the problem of individual refugee and those of group refugees. The UNHCR uses resettlement as a vital protection tool, a durable solution and an international responsibility sharing mechanism to provide protection to refugees whose life, liberty, safety, health or fundamental human rights are at risk in their country of asylum. Although ostensibly of equal importance to the other durable solutions, it continues to be treated as the last resort and supplied with hesitation even to refugees who clearly have neither an ability to integrate locally nor any ability in the foreseeable future to voluntarily repatriate. Currently, resettlement benefits only a small number of refugees (Kiros, 2009).

The UNHCR (2007) indicated that less than one percent (1%) of total refugees in that year were resettled. In its 16th Annual Tripartite Consultation on Resettlement in 2010, UNHCR painted a gloomier picture relating to resettlement stating that in that year, resettlement countries provided less than 80,000 places for UNHCR resettlement submissions. While the number of refugees in need of resettlement is growing, available resettlement places are not keeping pace (UNHCR, 2011c).

According to the literature, there are a number of challenges in other countries such as attacks on humanitarian workers, insecurity in the home country that discourages repatriations programmes, and protracted refugee situations which thwart all efforts to carry out meaningful durable solution programmes as well as high expectation on the side of refugees especially concerning resettlement. These problems continue to exist and have created a long time

suffering for refugees and major difficulties for those who have tried to assist refugees to implement durable solutions. Even though Ghana has had many years of refugee hosting experience, it appears not much scholarly work has been done to highlight the challenges associated with the implementation of durable solutions. This study is therefore expected to bridge that knowledge gap.

Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study was to examine the challenges that various refugee institutions, organizations, and allied bodies or agencies (based in Ghana) face in the implementation of durable solutions for refugees in the country.

The specific objectives of the study were to:

1. Outline the roles the various institutions play in carrying out durable solutions,
2. Investigate the factors that hinder successful repatriation of refugees in Ghana,
3. Discuss the problems of integrating refugees into Ghana,
4. Investigate the challenges of successful resettlement of refugees in Ghana and,
5. Make recommendations on how best to embark on effective implementation of durable solutions.

Research questions

1. What roles do refugee institutions play in implementing durable solutions?
2. What factors prevent successful repatriation of refugees from Ghana?
3. What challenges do these institutions face in carrying out local integration?
4. What factors prevent resettlement of refugees from Ghana?

Significance of the study

This study is undertaken for the purpose of seeking additional information to augment the data from Ghana Refugees Board (GRB) and United Nations High Commission for Refugee (UNCHR) to serve as a strategic plan or working tool for other African countries hosting refugees. The finding of the study will serve as a guide for future research in the same field especially research meant to promote better quality of life and self reliance for refugees pending different durable solutions. It will also serve as a guide to finding better quality of life for host communities and improve burden sharing for countries hosting large numbers of refugees.

The finding will also serve as a guide for refugee hosting communities, citizens, nongovernmental organizations, Ministry of Interior among others to consider refugees as assets that can bring economic and social changes and benefits to host communities and not liabilities as others think.

Scope of the study

The area under the study covers the various institutions and organizations that deal directly with refugees in implementing durable solutions in the country. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) as an international body that deals directly with refugees in Ghana is also covered. Majority of these institutions and organization have their offices in Accra.

Organization of the study

The study is organized into five Chapters. The introductory chapter explains the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the research objectives, the research questions, significant of the study and the organization of the study.

Chapter Two focuses on a review of a related literature. This includes the concept of durable solutions, as well as the role United Nations High Commission for Refugees plays in repatriation and reintegration of refugees. The review also provides the theoretical framework on refugee theory that classifies refugees into three distinct groups as well as the conceptual framework.

The Third Chapter presents the methodology of the study which includes data collection techniques and sampling procedures. The empirical results are presented in Chapter Four and finally the summary, conclusion and recommendations are presented in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the review of related literature including the concept of durable solutions, repatriation of refugees, local integration, resettlement of refugees, and theoretical perspectives of refugees in relation to durable solutions as well as conceptual framework.

The concept of durable solutions

Durable solutions is defined as a process through which refugees reintegrate in their own society or integrate into a new one, leading to long-lasting situations whereby they enjoy national protection and access to basic rights, including a recognized legal status and a reasonable degree of physical and socio-economic security, at least at the same level as the local population (Guido, 2011).

One of the principal goals of international protection is the realization of durable solutions for refugees. The search for durable solutions constitutes an important element of UNHCR's efforts to provide international protection to refugees and other persons of concern. UNHCR has a world-wide mandate to protect, assist and find durable solutions for refugee as well as for other people in need of international protection. The organization seeks lasting solution for the problems for refugees through durable solutions: repatriation to the home

countries, integration in first countries of asylum, or resettlement to the third countries. Achieving durable solutions for refugees is a core mandate of UNHCR and through that, displaced persons enjoy their full spectrum of human rights and as a result they are able to rebuild their lives (UNHCR, 2007).

Repatriation

The term repatriation encompasses a wide range of activities. It is defined as the return of nationals by a state either from an overseas part or from another state following hostility or worse. It can thus be voluntary or forced; spontaneous or part of an organized structured effort. The right to return to one's country of origin is also established in international treaty, in the Universal Declaration on Human Right (UDHR) of 1948 (UDHR, Article 13(2)). Repatriation is therefore recognized as a fundamental moral and legal right (Zieck, 1997).

Many refugees return home once the situation in their country of origin stabilizes. The right to live safely in one's country and return is among the most fundamental of all human rights as well as the right to asylum which is a necessary corollary to these basic human rights. Where people are able to reintegrate viably and safely into their countries and communities of origin, repatriation does not only benefit returnees themselves but can also facilitate economic reconstruction, reconciliation in war -torn societies and contribute to regional stability (Warner, 1994).

Voluntary repatriation means that after reviewing all available information about conditions in their country of origin, refugees decide freely to return home.

People usually decide to return when there is no longer any risk of persecution in their country of origin. Others may decide to return for political or family reasons even though the situation in their country of origin has not changed. Where voluntary repatriation is organized or facilitated by UNHCR, the organization ensures that legal framework is set up to protect the returnees' right and interests. UNHCR seeks to play a more role in ensuring that repatriation is truly durable solution by extending assistance to refugees who have returned to their own country and monitoring their welfare.

Essentially, refugees must be able to return in safety and with dignity. Return in safety means that refugees return in condition of legal safety (such as amnesty or public assurance of personal safety, integrity, non-discrimination and freedom from fear of persecution or punishment upon return), physical security (including protection from armed attacks and mine-free routes or at least demarcated settlement sites), and material security, including access of land or means of livelihood. Return with dignity means in practice, that refugees must not be manhandled: that they can return unconditionally and that if they are returning spontaneously, they can do so at their own pace; that they are not arbitrarily separated from family members and that they are treated with respect and full acceptance by their national authorities, including having their rights fully restored.

UNHCR promotes voluntary repatriation when certain essential preconditions are met: there must be an overall general improvement in the situation in the country of origin so that in safety and in dignity become possible

for the large majority of refugees. The basic terms and conditions of return should, if possible, be incorporated in a formal repatriation agreement between UNHCR and the authorities concerned.

There are two kinds of voluntary repatriation: organized and spontaneous. Voluntary repatriation promoted by UNHCR usually results in an organized repatriation. Organized repatriations are characterized by: a resolution of the conflict which prompted refugees to flee; repatriation agreements concluded among the countries of asylum and origin and UNHCR; encouragement of repatriation by UNHCR registration of returnees by UNHCR; transportation for the returnees provided by UNHCR; a UNHCR presence in the regions of return. Spontaneous repatriations often occur, without any formal agreement before the cessation of hostilities without registration procedure; without organized international assistance. It is worthy to note that refugee repatriation is not voluntary when; host country authorities deprive refugees of any real freedom of choice through outright coercion or measures such as, reducing essential services, relocating refugees to hostile areas, encouraging anti-refugee sentiment on the part of the local population. Factions among the refugee population or exiled political organizations influence the refugees' choice either directly by physically pressuring them to return, or indirectly by activities such as disinformation campaigns about the risk of remaining in the country of asylum or dangers related to returning home (Whitaker, 2002) . Certain interest groups in the host country actively discourage voluntary repatriation by disseminating false information

including incorrect promises of assistance, economic opportunities or improvement of the legal status (UNHCR, 1996).

The role of UNHCR in return and reintegration processes

Refugee repatriation processes generally involve negotiations between two governments, with UNHCR playing a more institutionalized role, often set out in a tripartite voluntary repatriation agreement (Sperl, & De Vriese, 2005). The agency assesses the root causes of refugees' flight, institution in the country of origin and the sustainability of the return before promoting voluntary of refugees. When refugees indicate a desire to return voluntary and they have begun to do their own initiative, UNHCR facilitates their return. In countries with strong capacity, such as Colombia, UNHCR played a primarily advisory role to supplement government structures (Entwisle, 2010).

Governments also request that UNHCR share coordination responsibilities, as was recently the case following large-scale displacement in Pakistan, where the Government requested UNHCR to co-chair the Return Working Group. Also UNHCR works in close collaboration with the governments to develop a national operational return strategy. The country of origin provides a formal guarantee or adequate assurance for the safety of repatriation refugees as appropriate. In such situations UNHCR must have free and unhindered access to refugees and returnees.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), UNHCR co-led United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for the Early Recovery Cluster,

UNHCR worked with partners to develop the National Return Strategy. In other countries UNHCR led inter-agency strategy and planning coordination bodies for return based upon the Office's generally perceived expertise in returns acquired in the refugee context. For example, in 2003 UNHCR led the Protection and Return Team in Iraq. The organization's common activities included developing overarching strategic protection principles to guide the return and reintegration process, establishing and maintaining information management systems, facilitating 'go and see' visits, undertaking mass information campaigns, carrying out protection, monitoring, and providing legal assistance for returnees.

In these circumstances, UNHCR must be satisfied that the refugees wish to return is voluntary and not coerced. The agency's decision to facilitate this kind of return is based on its intent to ensure the safety of the refugees or returnees and provide assistance for the return movement. For example, in Rwanda the Office actively participated in a number of high level meetings and conferences organized in Arusha, Tanzania, to find a durable solution to the refugee problem by addressing its underlying cause. Also, in Liberia, UNHCR has been working with the "Institution of Community Elders," a body which has been useful and instrumental in resolving local disputes and putting in place practical arrangements to enhance the security of the community (Franco, 1994).

In countries such as Liberia, Sudan, and Pakistan, UNHCR supported the transportation of refugees to return home. For instance, in Pakistan whilst most refugees returned spontaneously, UNHCR provided the government with financial assistance to hire buses to transport some of them home. The agency

was also actively engaged in the work of peace building commissions in countries such as Liberia, Rwanda, and Cote d'Ivoire to ensure security of refugees for smooth reintegration (Dian Balde, Crisp, Macleod, & Tennant, 2011).

Finally, in order to facilitate safe movements, particularly where national development programmes are yet to reach remote communities, in some countries such as Uganda and Liberia, UNHCR supported community efforts to re-open access roads, reconstructed roads and repaired bridges leading to return areas. Clearly, refugee repatriation spontaneously could face grave problems if they are returning to an area which fighting is still raging. In some cases, UNHCR declines to participate in such returns. They also promote a dialogue between the conflict parties as a way of helping to minimize the security risks for the returnees.

While in the period from 1985 to 1990 an estimated 1, 2 million refugees repatriated to their home countries, the following five years saw the number increased to 9 million. Between 1991 and 1996, nine million refugees repatriated globally (Loescher, 2001). During 2000, UNHCR helped 800,000 persons to return voluntarily to their homes. In 1999, a little more than 1, 3 million persons repatriated, out of these 760,000 went to former Yugoslavia. Some major voluntary repatriation movements are to the former Yugoslavia, and also to Afghanistan (before September 2001), Eritrea, Somalia and East Timor. Based on consolidated reports from countries of asylum (departure) and origin (arrival), it is estimated that close to 731,000 refugees were repatriated voluntarily during 2007, virtually the same number in 2006 (734,000). The main countries of return included Afghanistan: 374,000, Sudan: 130,700, Democratic Republic of Congo:

60,000, Iraq: 45,400 and Liberia: 44,400 the home countries of the said refugees. The largest was reported by Pakistan: 365,700, Uganda: 76,700, United Republic of Tanzania: 67,900 and Syrian Arab Republic: 45,000 (UNHCR, 2007).

The organization's primary responsibility is to provide international protection to refugees and find durable solutions to their problem. Refugees need both protection and solution. In many situations refugee's protection is being eroded for lack of durable solutions. For the refugees the ultimate protection lies in the durable solutions.

Difficulties of repatriations

While there is no hierarchy among the durable solutions, voluntary repatriation is the solution that is sought and attained by most refugees. It may be the best and most appropriate solution; however the political and civil conditions in countries of origin do not make it conducive for refugees to return in safety and in dignity (Long, 2009).

In most cases, the economy and infrastructure of the homelands are devastated to a very large extent defeating the principle of voluntary repatriation. Besides, the infrastructure in countries of origin is often destroyed through war making livelihood very difficult (Nazneen, Uma, & Mayadas, 2000). An absence of state capacity to absorb refugee flows may often result in serious obstacles to the securing of viable and dignified socio-economic livelihoods (Turton & Marsden, 2002) For example, one of the major challenges for Afghan refugees returning to Afghanistan is the limited infrastructure in cities and towns all over the country to support the increasing population (Parker, 2008).

Most returns involve hundreds of thousands, even million of refugees returning swiftly and irregularly to ravaged homelands. Of the 14 million refugees who have returned home in the 1990's almost 90 percent are spontaneous returns, refugees making their own decision to go home without waiting for significant international assistance. In addition, they are not returning to post-conflict societies, they are returning during conflict to societies where there is no peace to keep or it is a fragile peace at best. Many refugees return to regions controlled by parties to the conflict other than their national government, without permission from the authorities in either the country of asylum or of origin, without international knowledge or assistance, and without an end to the conflict that caused the exodus (Long, 2010).

Indeed, conflicts in many parts of the world continue to frustrate efforts to promote conditions for any meaningful durable solutions especially voluntary repatriation. Most recent mass repatriation operations such as those to Afghanistan, South Sudan, Burundi and Sierra Leone, have involved return to fragile post-conflict states and communities emerging from serious intra-state conflict, with weak public institutions and civil society and damaged socio-economic capacities. For instance, the primary reason that Liberians in Ghana give for not wanting to go home is that they do not consider it safe to repatriate because of insecurity (Agblorti, 2011).

In fact, refugee repatriation to fragile post-conflict states and communities is often likely to occur as soon as is possible, under significant pressure from host countries interested in solving their refugee problem and in the

interest of donor states keen to equate mass return with visible progress on post-conflict reconstruction. Continuing insecurity, violence targeted at returnees or humanitarian workers all contribute to the non-sustainability of repatriation to fragile states (Omata, 2011b).

In addition, transitions of political stability and peace building are often fluid and impact negatively on the timing of repatriation and how it is applied, the degree to which returnees can be successfully reintegrated and how well security, governance, human rights, protection, economic rehabilitation and revitalization and reconciliation are re-established. In addition, development agencies often have inadequate capacity (staff, financial resources, etc.) in areas where returnees are repatriating. These factors make planning of repatriation, coordination between and among the various humanitarian institutions very cumbersome, complex and difficult (Kaiser, 2000).

Premature repatriation has also reared its head into the expected peaceful voluntary repatriation. Premature repatriation comes when both the country of origin and the refugees are not ready for it. Conditions at home have not changed sufficiently to pull the refugees home. Neither the refugees nor their homelands are reconciled or ready for the return. Premature returnees are pushed out by threats, attacks, and expulsions rather than pulled by peace and safety at home. Compelling refugees to repatriate too early gives relief to asylum countries through a dangerous shifting of the burden back to the country of origin. This form of premature return places fragile institutions in the country of origin under significant strain and further undermines peace-building efforts (Milner, 2009).

Similarly, for many refugees, the major obstacle to their repatriation once their state of origin begins to emerge from conflict is not lack of desire to return, but lack of confidence in the ability of the state and its institutions to guarantee basic security and dignity. Indeed more countries violate Article 33 of the refugee Convention, which talks about *refoulement* which refers to the expulsion or return of a refugee to a place where his life or freedom would be threatened. Premature repatriation puts refugees at risk and may jeopardize transition from war to peace. This is because majority of these refugees return to areas where their safety cannot be guaranteed by their home country as the result of institutional breakdown. (Sadago, 2005).

In recent years repatriation of refugees and asylum seekers have also increasingly taken place in volatile or unstable situations, where returnees have been exposed to pressure or duress, ranging from forcible returns to evacuations from situation of insecurity in countries of asylum. For instance, Rwanda refugees who were been denied a durable solution in exile formed an army in order to fight their way home. Rwanda refugees in Zaire and Tanzania militarized their camps and violently prevent voluntary repatriation of those they held hostage (Moumtzis, 2000). Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees forced their way home with political repatriation accompanied by international witness and the media in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia groups have marshaled militias and thugs to prevent the repatriation of minorities to their area (Stein, 2008).

Local integration

When voluntary repatriation is unlikely to take place in the foreseeable future, a solution must be found for the refugee in the country of asylum. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) defines integration as the process by which the refugees are assimilated into the social and economic life of the community (UNHCR, 2002). Harrell-Bond defines it as a situation in which host and refugee communities are able to co-exist, sharing the same resources, both economic and social with no greater mutual conflict than which exist within the host community (Harrell-Bond, 1986). The international refugee conventions, also explain local integration as granting of full and permanent asylum, membership and residency status, by the host government. It takes places through a process of legal, economic, social and cultural incorporation of refugees, culminating in the offer of citizenship (Kibreab, 1989).

Refugees when integrated, enjoy a range of human and civil rights, often referred to as refugee rights which are set out in the 1951 Convention and other international instruments, and include the right to marry, to practice one's own religion, to own property, to work and seek employment, to have access to education and to housing. Under these circumstances refugees have once again acquired the protection of a state, and are no longer refugees.

Local integration in the refugee context is the end product of a multifaceted and ongoing process, of which self-reliance is only one part. Integration requires preparedness on the part of the refugees to adapt to the host society, without having to forego their own cultural identity. From the host

society, it requires communities that are welcoming and responsive to refugees, and public institutions that are able to meet the needs of a diverse population. As a process leading to a durable solution for refugees in the country of asylum, local integration has three inter-related dimensions (Da Costa, 2006).

First, it is a legal process, whereby refugees are granted a wider range of rights and entitlements by the host state. Under the terms of the 1951 refugee Convention, these include the right to seek employment, to engage in other income-generating activities to own and dispose of property to enjoy freedom of movement and to have access to public service services such as education. The process whereby refugees gain and accumulate rights may lead to the acquisition of permanent residence rights and ultimately to the acquisition of citizenship in the country of asylum (Agblorti, 2011).

Secondly, local integration is a social, cultural and political process of adaptation by the refugees and accommodation by the local communities, that enables refugees to live among or alongside the host population and contribute actively to the social life of their country of asylum. The result should be a society that is both diverse and open, where people can form a community, regardless of their differences (Fielden, 2008).

The concept of local integration does not imply the assimilation of refugees into the society where they have found asylum. While the concept of assimilation is found in the 1951 UN refugee Convention, the international community has always rejected the notion that refugees should be required or expected to abandon their own culture. This imply that refugees become

indistinguishable from members of the assimilation, suggesting that refugees maintain their own identity, yet become part of the host society to the extent that host population and refugees can live together in an acceptable way (Crisp, & Amy, 2009).

Thus, an opportunity is provided for gradual integration of refugees with the aim of attaining durable solutions. According to UNHCR, records show that during the past decade more than 1.1 million refugees were granted citizenship by their asylum country. The United States of America alone accounted for two thirds of that number before 2008. Azerbaijan and Armenia also granted citizenship to a significant number of refugees totaling 65, 800 during the same period.

There are different forms of integration that have been identified. Once refugees have fled across a border, refugees must find accommodation and become settled, either with official assistance, or by relying on the hospitality of the host community. In some cases, full refugee status is granted by the host governments and refugees are allowed and encouraged to become integrated into the host society. More commonly, host governments prefer to manage refugees by locating them in camps or organized settlements. However, this is not always the case; most refugees bypass official assistance, and find ways to settle themselves among the local population, in a pattern known as self-settlement or dispersed settlement (Karen, 2001). In other words, refugees settle among the local community without direct official government or international assistance. In West Africa, self-settled Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees also adapted to fit

into well-established intra-regional West African migration patterns during their displacement (Adepoju, Boulton, & Levin, 2007). They share local households or set up temporary accommodation nearby, and are helped with shelter and food by local families or community organizations. This type of integration is also known as spontaneous settlement, self-directed settlement, or self-settlement. According to Ashraf & Majid (1988), a number of self-settled refugees have stimulated some sectors of the local economy in the host country including Pakistan, Malawi and Sudan.

Another form of integration is assisted settlement. Assisted settlement for refugees takes various forms, but all are intended to house refugees on a temporary basis. In rural areas, camps and local settlements are typical while refugees are often housed in mass shelters in public building or community facilities. This type of accommodation is often intended to be temporary or transit only, because the host population needs the buildings. However what is intended to be temporary often becomes permanent as the refugees' situation becomes protracted. In the cities and towns of countries like Georgia and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union, hotels and other public buildings have become permanent housing for refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs). Camps are purpose-built sites, usually close to the border, and thus usually in rural areas. For security reasons, UNHCR encourages camps to be built at least 50km from the border. Since camps are intended to be temporary structures, they are seldom planned for long duration or population growth. Dwelling structures are tents or flimsy huts, and water and sanitation infrastructure is problematic, especially over the long

term. Camps are administered by UNHCR and the host government. The latter is technically responsible for the physical security of refugees but this responsibility is increasingly being assumed by UNHCR. NGOs, subcontracted by UNHCR, provide food distribution (food aid itself is provided by the World Food Program (WFP), and services such as schooling, health, water and sanitation. Camp refugees are not expected to be self-sufficient. One reason host governments and many relief agencies prefer camps is that in addition to making the management of assistance easier, camps are seen as facilitating repatriation – not least because the austere conditions discourage people from staying in them long (Karen, 2001).

Local settlement is another form of integration. It is also referred to as organized settlements. They are planned, segregated agricultural enclaves or villages created specifically for refugees, where they are expected to become self-sufficient pending their repatriation. Local settlements have been widely used in Africa, especially in Uganda, Tanzania and Sudan, as a response to protracted refugee situations and as an alternative to keeping refugees in camps (Kibreab, 1989). There is limited freedom of movement; refugees are usually not permitted to leave the areas of residence defined for them by the authorities (Zetter, 1995).

Organized settlements are also used to move refugees away from areas where they pose too much of a socio-economic burden or security threat, or to improve the government's control of refugees. Settlements were set up and administered by UNHCR and its implementing NGO partners for a number of years, or, ideally, until they become self-sufficient and international assistance could be phased out, and the settlement handed over to the host government to be

integrated into the local district (Stein, 2008). In many cases, refugees in local settlements are encouraged to become self-sufficient, but no further effort is made to enable them to form a community with the local population (Kibreab, 1989).

The next form of integration is *de facto* integration. The coming of refugees and locals means that some degree of absorption of refugees into the community inevitably takes place (Long, 2011). Over time, many self-settled refugees become unofficially integrated after they have lived in and been accepted by the community, and have attained self-sufficiency. This is often referred to as *De facto* integration, where they live and everyday experience of refugees is that of being part of the local community.

Refugees who are *de facto* integrated are not in physical danger; do not live under the threat of refoulement or are not confined to camps or settlements, and have the right of return to their home country. Also are able to sustain livelihoods, through access to land or employment, and can support themselves and their families and have access to education or vocational training, health facilities, and housing. They are socially networked into the host community, so that intermarriage is common, ceremonies like weddings and funerals are attended by everyone, and there is little distinction between refugees' and hosts' standard of living. This is clearly a process that takes place over time. Recent arrivals are unlikely to be integrated in this way. The success of this process of integration depends to a significant extent the active involvement of local community, the host government, relief agencies; and a range of other factors (Karen, 2001).

Obstacles to local integration

Two main reasons for host governments' resistance to refugees' integration among the host community are: (a) security problems; and (b) resource burdens. A frequent argument made by host governments since the 1990s, is that refugees bring along security problems and therefore it is better to restrict them to camps where these problems can be controlled. Indeed, there is widespread evidence that refugees import with them the security problems of the regions they flee, and create new dynamics in their new environment that lead to other security problems like crime (NGO-UNHCR, 1999). In recent years, the governments of Kenya, Tanzania and Thailand among others have acted on this belief and insist that all refugees live in camps (Fielden, 2008). In addition to the military problems like raids or direct attacks experienced by camps, conditions at the camps often lead to high rates of conflict and violence against women and children. Crimes go unpunished because there is no adequate force to back up what rule of law does exist (Karen, 2001).

Further, when camps are targeted for military attacks or raids by rebel forces, the local people living near camps are affected as well. Organized crime may be orchestrated in camps, but it is not restricted to them. These problems suggest that placing refugees in camps worsens rather than addresses the security problems, both for the host country and the refugees themselves. Outside the camps, it is more difficult for international or local organizations to monitor human rights violations, or to assist refugees when they are subjected to danger (Hamm, 2000).

One security problem that particularly affects self-settled refugees is clashes between refugees and local people. These clashes occur when there is resentment by locals towards refugees for perceived wrongdoings, such as theft or immoral acts, or for inequities resulting from refugees' access to relief resources, or because refugees are blamed for other problems (including security ones) and locals want to pressure refugees to leave.

The political situation of the host country also complicates the response to refugees and to self-settled refugees in particular. Countries that are in a period of transition are often struggling with issues of national security as well as problems of national identity and the rights of natives versus immigrants. For example, in Belize, the influx of Salvadoran refugees in the early 1980s occurred soon after the country became independent from Great Britain. The complex ethnic mix in Belize meant the government was concerned with the refugees' impact on ethnic balance and integration into society. According to McCommon (1989), the government and public response to the refugee plight reflected the country's dilemma in reconciling its roots as an immigrant nation along with concern for the prior rights of native Belizeans and national security.

In countries experiencing these kinds of difficulties, refugees are more vulnerable and more likely to lack protection of their rights. This is also illustrated in case of South Africa currently struggling with massive inflows of migrants from other African countries during a period of transition and stress as it recovers from the apartheid years. High levels of unemployment and a struggling economy, high crime rates and widespread insecurity (xenophobic attacks) have

led to harassment of migrants, among whom there are many urban self-settled refugees from other parts of Africa (Crisp, 2002).

The burden on scarce resources is obviously another obstacle to local integration. During the 1980s, many host governments, particularly in Africa, cited the limited capacity of their national economies to absorb refugees as the primary reason for their opposition to local integration. Many host countries today are experiencing a range of rapid and disorienting economic, social, and political changes that have resulted in rises in crime and insecurity or declining standards of living. Such changes include, for example, the imposition of structural adjustment programs with its attendant challenges such as over liberalization of economies, proximity to conflict zones and involvement in the conflict, and public health crises like HIV/AIDS (Karen, 2001).

Given the severity of the economic crises and the environmental degradation facing many of the major African refugee hosting countries, it is obvious that many of these countries hesitate to establish policies, legal frameworks and institutions which could allow the absorption of hundreds of thousands of refugees living within their territories into their societies permanently (Bakewell, 2000). Also, the absence of burden-sharing, the economic problems, the inability of governments to provide essential goods and services to their own citizens, and the high population growth rates, the most realistic approach for African host countries is the local settlement option. It is based on this challenges that Kibreab (1989) suggested that refugees should be kept in

spatially segregated sites where the cost of their subsistence could be met by international refugee support systems (Kibreab, 1989).

Difficulty in getting access to arable land and agriculture is another factor that inhibits smooth integration of refugees into their host communities. Access to arable land is a key component of successful integration and refugees' economic productivity. In many countries, access to land depends on traditional land entitlements. This tradition facilitates the transfer of farmland from locals to refugees. However many refugee hosting countries are characterized by longstanding struggles over land and locals resent and resist refugees having access to it. Self-settled refugees further reduce the availability of arable land when farmers abandon their fields as a result of insecurity associated with the refugees, or when agricultural land is used to build housing for refugees (Bakewell, 2000).

Also, pressure on social goods and services in the host country creates difficulty for implementation local integration policies. Poorer sections of the local community suffer heavily from the presence of refugees in some sectors of the economy. For example, as the demand for housing stock is increased by self-settled refugees and prices increase, poorer local people may be forced out. In Peshawar, Pakistan, shortage of housing led to escalating rents and inequitable leasing conditions. The labour market is also not spared either. Refugees who have freedom of movement and are permitted to work are able to compete with potentially displaced local workers. This occurs when refugees' skills are greater or when they are prepared to accept inferior wages and work conditions. Whereas

the consequences for the overall economy and productivity of the host country will probably be positive, the consequences for different sectors of the labor market will be mixed. As Chambers noted, the impact on host communities is most negative for those in the lower economic echelons who suffer from increased competition in the unskilled labor market (Chambers, 1986).

The pressure on the environment and the subsequent degradation of the vegetation cover is also one of the factors that discourage integration of refugees into the host community. In the initial stages of refugee arrival, self-settled refugees have to rely more heavily on free natural resources either to support themselves to construct housing or collect food and firewood to make a living. Economic activities like charcoal making, fishing, firewood and thatch grass selling, and the cultivation of hillsides all take a toll on the environment. At the end refugees destroy large tract of fields and orchards. For example, in the forest region of Guinea, wild palm groves were destroyed and exploited which led to decline in the production of palm oil and an increase in the retail price. Also when refugees clear the forest for farming, and obtain wood for construction or for charcoal making, the end result is deforestation and destruction of plant cover. Water pollution, loss of watercourses and overburdening of water supplies; and uncontrolled fishing; are all associated with such settlements (Kibreab, 1989).

Resettlement

Refugees are not always able to return home safely or to remain in the country where they receive asylum. There are situations in which resettlement to a

third country is the only safe and viable durable solution for refugees. Resettlement involves the selection and transfer of refugees from a State in which they have sought protection to a third State which has agreed to admit them as refugees with permanent residence status. The status provided should ensure protection against refoulement and provide 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. It should also carry with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country (UNHCR, 2006). Resettlement is about refugees moving from a transit, or country of first asylum to another or third state (Goodwin-Gill, 1996). Resettlement is geared to the special needs of an individual whose life, liberty, health or fundamental human rights are in jeopardy in the countries of refugees who have sought refugees in a country where they continue to face risk to their life, liberty, safety, health or fundamental human rights.

UNHCR also encourages additional governments to extend opportunities to those refugees in need. Surprisingly UNHCR has traditionally seen resettlement as the least preferable of the durable solutions to refugee situation. The UNHCR referred more than 121,000 refugees for consideration for resettlement in other countries in 2008. This was his highest number in 15 years (UNHCR). Resettlement is used as a vital protection tool, a durable solution and an international responsibility sharing mechanism. In such cases they may be offered permanent admission in a third safe country to rebuild their lives there. Resettlement is an important tool for refugee protection and for burden-sharing

among state as it allows helping protect refugee rather than just neighboring countries which the refugees can easily access (UNHCR, 2006).

There are different stages of resettlement process. The first stage is the identification of refugees in need of resettlement consideration. The process begins with identification and assessment of refugees requiring protection. Identification is arguably the most crucial and challenging aspect of the resettlement process. Failure to identify a refugee in need of resettlement in a correct and timely manner will result in an unnecessary continuation of insecurity for that refugee. The second stage is the assessment of individual resettlement need. All refugees identified as being in need of resettlement consideration must pass through two stages before a resettlement submission may be prepared:

(a) Resettlement-Needs Assessment. (b) Verification of registration details and refugee status. These stages are designed to ensure the credibility and the needs of the individual case, and to ensure consistency in the Field Office's resettlement activities.

The third stage is the preparation of a resettlement submission. On the basis of a Resettlement Needs Assessment, the officer accountable for resettlement authorizes the preparation of a resettlement submission. Each submission includes a Resettlement Registration Form (RRF), with a special needs assessment and medical reports prepared by a community services officer or a health coordinator if appropriate, drawing on the information and recommendations provided by competent UNHCR staff.

The next stage is the UNHCR submission decision. In the field offices, the decision to resettle an individual is taken in full consultation among professional staffs and cleared by the UNHCR Representative or a delegated responsible officer. It is for this reason that all resettlement submissions must normally pass through the Branch Office for final approval.

Resettlement country decision is the next another important stage in the resettlement process. Resettlement depends on the willingness of the resettlement country to accept a refugee for legal stay in its territory, in accordance with the laws and regulations of the resettlement country. It is the resettlement country, therefore, that makes the decision on whether a refugee will be accepted for resettlement. While UNHCR may recommend cases for resettlement, it cannot guarantee that the recommendation will be accepted.

The final stage is the departure arrangements and monitoring. Departure formalities differ from country to country. The length of time taken to complete these formalities will differ considerably according to where the refugee is located. Cases which have been submitted and accepted under the emergency procedures have travel arrangements expedited (UNHCR, 2011b).

A number of countries have established resettlement programmes with an annual resettlement quota. Such countries include Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sudan, United Kingdom, and the United States (UNHCR, 2008). In 2007, refugees from Myanmar were the largest group of benefit from resettlement, with 20,259 starting a new life outside their

first asylum countries, followed by Burundians 6,142, Somalis 5,891, Iraqis 3,751 and refugees from the Democratic Republic of the Congo 2,426 (UNHCR, 2008).

The United States has a long tradition of offering refuge to those fleeing persecution and war. In 2008 the International Rescue Committee's 26 offices helped resettled over 9,000 newly arrived refugees in the U.S and provided services to 28,000 refugees, asylum seekers and victims of human trafficking. During 2009, a total of 112,400 refugees were admitted by 19 resettlement countries, including the United States of America 79,900, Canada 12,500, Australia 11,100, Germany 2,100, Sweden 1,900, and Norway 1,400. Overall, this was one quarter above the total for 2008 (88,800) and the highest level since 1995 (134,100).

The importance of resettlement as a tool for refugee protection is not farfetched. Resettlement is open to vulnerable refugees such as those whose human rights are not respected or are risk of being violated; refugees who are facing refoulement (forcibly return to territories where they would be persecuted); refugees facing physical violence including sexual abuse, survival of violence and torture, women and children. In other words people facing particular problems or continue threats to their safety in their first asylum countries are foremost among those who can benefit from resettlement. In some cases, resettlement is an essential life-saving option or the way to save particular refugees from having to resort to desperate measures (one common example is the rape victim who has been rejected by her family and society, and has nowhere else to turn). Thus, resettlement under UNHCR is geared primarily to the special needs of refugees

whose life, liberty, safety, health or fundamental human rights are at risk in the country where they sought refuge.

Sometimes the authorities in the country of refuge may be unable or unwilling to provide effective protection or address special needs. In such circumstances, timely relocation through resettlement becomes a principal objective, and an important means of protecting refugees. Resettlement is often the only way to reunite refugee families who, through no fault of their own, find themselves divided by borders or by entire continents (UNHCR, 2006). Furthermore, resettlement is also regarded as a tangible expression of international solidarity and a responsibility sharing mechanism, allowing states to help share each other's burdens, and reduce problems impacting the country of first asylum. In other words, resettlement is used to achieve a more equitable sharing of burdens and responsibilities and to build capacities to receive and protect refugees and to resolve their problems on a durable basis. Where a state undertakes to provide a durable solution through resettlement, it also participates in sharing burdens and responsibilities. Equally, when a state agrees to "burden share" through resettlement, it is expected to provide a durable solution.

Constraints to resettlement

Challenges relating to resettlement of refugees are not farfetched. Resettlement is basically relocating to other countries from their first country of asylum. In this context, receiving countries established criteria for acceptance and have screening procedures in consonance with migration laws. The opportunity

for resettlement far outstripped the number of refugee is a voluntary process and only a small number of countries do so on a regular basis, allocating budget and providing annual resettlement quotas. Expanding the base of resettlement countries is an ongoing challenge. The limited number of resettlement countries worldwide translates into a limited number of resettlement options for those in need of it. Although UNHCR has made concerted efforts to increase the number of resettlement countries, primary responsibility has traditionally tended to fall on a limited number of countries (Grogan, 2008).

Resettlement is for selected few and when large numbers are involved the residual population is left behind. Resettlement is clearly established within the context as a limited option which can only offer a durable solution to a small proportion of the refugee population (Alexander, 2008). Over the long haul the population is left in asylum camps or repatriated consist of old, the disabled, woman, children and the unskilled and preliterate who lack human resources to engage in nation building activities (Nazneen, et al, 2000).

Lack of resolution of the root cause of forced displacement in the country of origin and absence of conditions conducive for sustainable reintegration in areas of return continue to impede the voluntary repatriation of hundreds of thousands of refugees across the continent. This situation creates enormous pressure on the resettlement process. After September, 11 2001, resettlement countries have also increasingly adopted greater restrictions on refugees' admission citing security concerns only one of the many factors influencing resettlement as a durable solution. At the same time, global terrorism and concern

about security have slowed processes of resettlement in traditional resettlement countries and in most cases, the number of refugees who can be resettled has fallen and their countries of origin have been restricted. If resettlement is to be used strategically as one with the desired outcome as advocated in the Agenda for protection and the convention plus Approach a substantial increase would be needed in global resettlement opportunities (UNHCR, 2007).

Canada, one of the world's major refugee receiving countries also enumerated a number of obstacles in resettlement of refugees. That country lamented that today's resettled refugees are achieving lower economic outcome than in the past. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) recognizes that of resettlement programming may not adequately meet the unique and changing needs resettled eligibility for resettlement. Few changes were made to how refugees once selected are supported in their integration process with the refugees and Humanitarian Resettlement program. Historically, Canada among other resettlement countries had always been criticized for selecting the best and the brightest refugees and thereby exacerbating the situation in the refugee camps where these individuals were selected.

The cost related to resettlement is a major concern to UNHCR. It involves arranging international transport, providing income support, helping to integrate refugees in the resettlement country and, in some cases, paying for costly follow-up medical treatment and counseling. Resettlement programmes are also labour-intensive and requires highly trained staff. While these concerns are recognized, it should also be acknowledged that continued assistance to refugees who cannot

find a durable solution, often over long years is also costly both in terms of human and financial terms.

Countries hosting large numbers of refugees for a long period, with no durable solutions in sight, have to contend with resulting economic, social or security problems which can be additional burdens on often fragile domestic structures. These countries are increasingly looking to UNHCR to institute burden-sharing measures as well as to expedite solutions. UNHCR offices are hindered in planning their resettlement work, in terms of making the necessary resources available and submitting candidates in a timely way.

Other constraints include the slow processing of resettlement submissions and greater difficulty in resettling refugees of certain nationalities. As mentioned earlier, another concern is the treatment of the so-called secondary movers who may be subjected to restrictive measures limiting their resettlement prospects or the reunification of their families. A problem arises when a person enjoys prima facie refugee status (with the broader refugee criteria being the underlying basis for this), but is rejected for resettlement on the grounds that he or she does not meet a strict application of the 1951 Convention criteria. This happens most often when displacement is driven by generalized violence or conflict, often compounded by other elements contributing to flight. Addressing the issue of fraud in resettlement programmes remains a major concern to UNHCR.

Theoretical perspectives of refugees in relation to durable solutions

According to Giddens (1989), a theory involves a construction of abstract interpretation which can be used to explain variety of factual situations. Several migration theories such as Push-Pull, Ravestein, and Bright-light theories have been propounded to explain the various factors that contributed to migration of people. One of such important theoretical perspectives was refugee theory which explains Kunz's classification of refugees. This classification illustrates how the various categories of refugees react to the different aspect of durable solutions.

Refugee theory

In order to understand and explain how refugees can be classified Kunz (1981), divided refugees into three distinct groups, derived from refugees' attitudes towards their displacement. Those refugees, whose opposition to political and social events at home is shared by their compatriots, both refugees and those remain in home areas, are called majority identified refugees.

Refugees who have left their home areas because of active or latent discrimination against the group, to which they belong, frequently retain little interest in what occurs in their former homes once they have left. These refugees, feel irreconcilably alienated from their fellow citizens, Kunz called them event related refugees. A third type of refugee includes people who decided to leave their home country for a variety of individual reasons. Kunz referred to them as self-alienated refugees and these refugees feel alienated from their society not by any active policy of that society, but rather by some personal philosophy.

According to Kunz (1981), the majority identified would be the most likely to participate in a repatriation. Refugees who retain a strong attachment to both the feeling of homeland and to people who did not flee as refugees, are the most likely to want to repatriate. In the African context, the majority identified category can be applied to significant proportion of the current refugee population, as well as almost all refugees created in the period of anti-colonial wars.

Kunz (1981) explained that these refugees identified themselves enthusiastically with the nation, though not with its government. Refugees from Namibia in the 1980s from Angola and Zimbabwe in the 1970s and from Algeria war of independence (1954-62) that caused the flight of 110,000 refugees to Morocco and 152,000 to Tunisia all fleeing their countries because of the effects of foreign domination. These refugees however, did not altogether abandon their nations, rather in many cases they actively participate in liberation struggles. Once liberation occurred, they were anxious to return home to resume their former lives. Some more recent refugee migration in Africa tends to fit into Kunz's events related category.

Refugees who have been subjected to discrimination and often outright violence feel that they are unwanted or unsafe in their own homelands. After becoming refugees, the desire to return home can only be aroused when there is substantial change at home. Ethnic conflict often leads to the creation of events related refugees in Africa. Examples of this type of migration are Burundi and Rwandans displaced to each other's country and to Tanzania, Uganda and

Democratic Republic of Congo. The majority of these refugees were displaced by the ethnic conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi. Before the recent upheaval in these two states in 1994, little hope was seen for the thousands of refugees who had fled Burundi and Rwanda. Many refugees in Tanzania had settled for an extended period and had been granted citizenship by the Tanzanian government.

In Africa, self-alienated refugees have played only a minor role in the larger scale refugee picture. There have been some cases, however where individuals or groups of people have been displaced because of philosophical differences between them and governments. For example, thousand of Jehovah witness fled from Malawi to Zambia during the late 1960s and early 1970s. They were self-alienated and were subjected to discrimination and harassment prior to their decision to flee. Elsewhere in South Africa, many of the refugees who fled South Africa to participate in the fight against Apartheid could be classified as self-alienated. Recent political changes in South Africa allowed most of the country's refugees to return home, where they have been able to participate actively in that nation's new democracy. Individual cases of self-alienated refugees abound on the continent. Many Ethiopian intellectuals who fled the tyranny of the Mengistu Haile regime could also be classified as self-alienated refugees, as could white Mozambicans' and Angolans who return to Portugal during the 1970s however, to a great extent, the self-alienated refugee category is more relevant to other areas of the world than it is to Africa.

Conceptual framework

According to Miles and Huberman (1994), a conceptual framework explains either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied namely, the key factors, constructs or variables and the relationship among them. For this thesis my conceptual framework is based on Kunz's theoretical classification of refugees. The conceptual framework looks at the various categories of refugees and their relationship with durable solutions. According to the theory, the majority identified refugees who remain opposed to the political and social events at home would fully participate in repatriation programmes because of the strong nationalistic attachment that they have towards their country. To the framework, majority identified refugees have a positive attitude to durable solutions programmes especially when it comes to repatriation and would tend down the request of local integration and resettlement through negative responses. The event related refugees who are forced out of their country to become refugees as the result of discrimination against the group they belong to have negative attitude towards all efforts to return home. They would resist all attempts to repatriate, for the fact that there is a strong conviction that the forces that motivated their flight or departure from the country still persist. According to the framework, such group of refugees have positive attitude towards resettlement and local integration and would resist any attempt to return to their home country.

The last group of refugees known as self alienated refugees, based on their own self conviction and personal philosophy decided to leave their home country for the reasons best known to them. According to the theory this category of

refugees played a minor role in large a large scale refugee situation; however there are situations where individuals have been displaced due to philosophical differences. The framework explains that refugees who fall into this group in most of the cases show positive attitude towards durable solution programmes especially local integration and resettlement but show little interest in repatriation. Thus, the interest or responds to any aspect of the durable solutions of refugees depends to a very significant extent the cause of the individual refugee's flight from his or her home country.

Though the framework is based on Kunz's refugee theory that clearly stated the various causes of refugees' flight, it was observed in the study that the major cause of the displacement of all the refugees is due to violent conflicts in their home country. Notably among them were the conflict that rocked Liberia, Cote D' Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Somalia in the early 1990s and the political instability that characterized the long rule of the President of Togo Gnassingbe Eyadema, displaced thousands of citizens of those countries into Ghana. Perhaps, the most enduring image of most African countries from the 1990s has been that of a continent of conflict and violent, where in those countries, force and conflicts make the everyday of the people more demeaning and dehumanizing. The study observed that the protracted nature of the conflicts in those countries and the inability of the international community (UNHCR and its allied bodies) to immediately address the root causes of those conflicts have resulted in keeping refugees in camps for long periods thereby frustrating them to take definite decisions and respond to all aspects of durable solutions. This is because all the

refugees found in the two camps are from those war torn countries where violent conflicts remain an obstacle to refugees to return home.

Unlike the period before or during the struggle for independence in most African countries that sent their people to neighbouring countries such as Ghana, the current struggle for political power in those countries (war torn African countries) has exacerbated the economic situations of citizens of those countries to the extent that citizens no longer see the need to return to their home countries because of the fear of lack of adequate economic opportunities to support their livelihood. In other words, the study observed that the complex interplay of socio- economic factors coupled with political repression in those countries have exacerbated and threatened the living conditions of refugees living in Ghana to the point where the decision to take part in any aspect of the durable solutions is determined to a very significant extent by such economic factors not only in their home countries but also other neighbouring and foreign countries as well.

Conclusively, the final decision to take part in any aspect of durable solutions is largely dependent on other factors such as political, economic, and social preparedness on the part of the home government, host government, and the international community to offer assistance to re-integrate, integrate, or resettled refugees. When refugees are not assured of governmental institutional abilities to safeguard their empowerment at home, other external factors to a very significant extent influence such durable solutions to resettled or integrate in the host country.

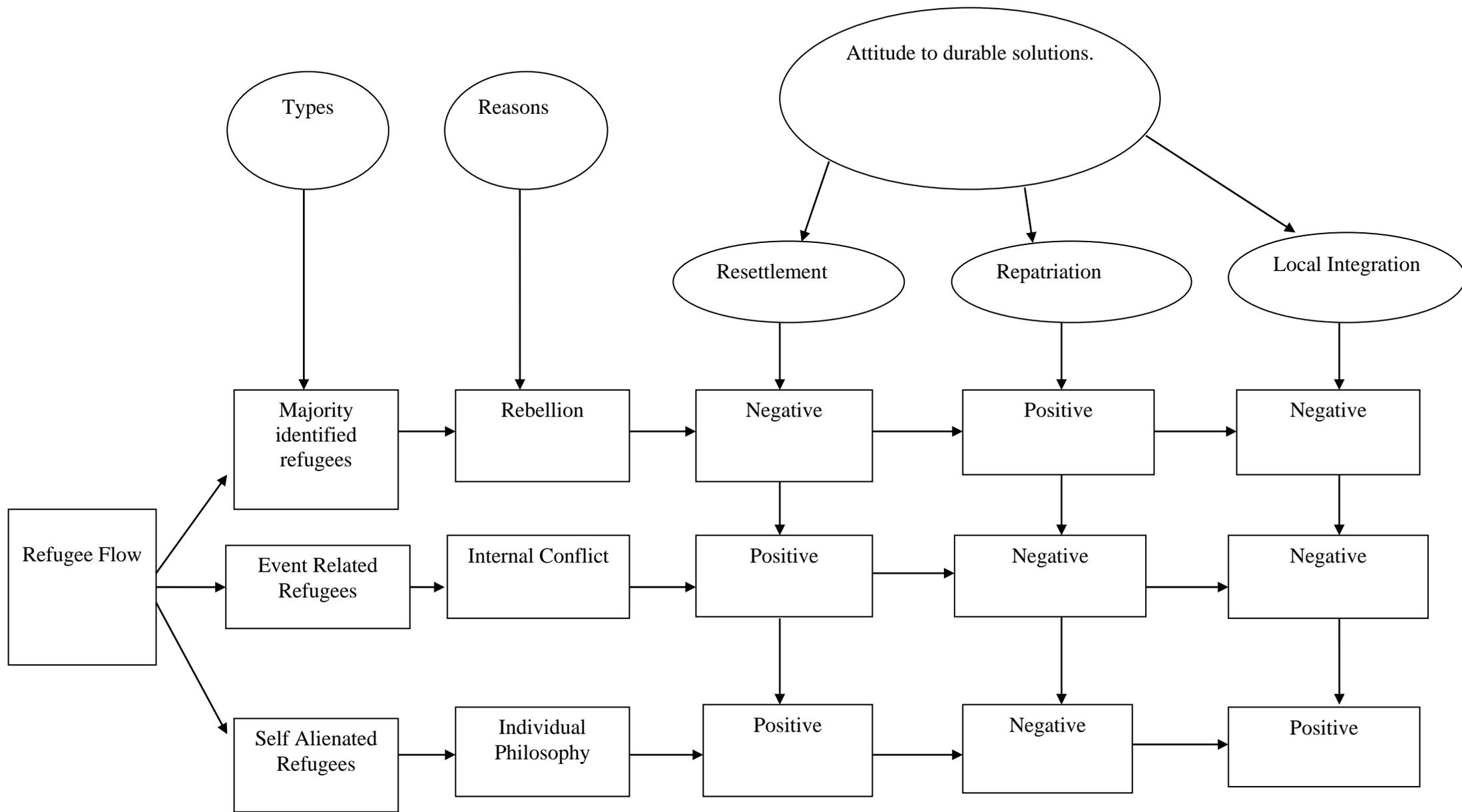


Figure 1: Attitudes of refugees towards durable solutions

Source: Adapted from Kunz (1981)

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter deals with the methodological approach used for the study. It includes study design, target population, data collection techniques, and the procedures used in processing and analyzing the data as well as experience in the field.

Research design

The study was mainly qualitative because the nature of the topic requires description of the challenges that inhibit the smooth implementation of durable solutions of refugees in the country. Qualitative research is used to examine, understand and interpret the challenges that confront the institutions when implementing the durable solutions to make life better for the displaced people. Also, qualitative study is concerned with developing explanations to social phenomenon. Among others, it seeks to find out answers to questions relating to how events, programmes, and interventions affect people (Hancock, 1998)

Study area

Two refugee camps were chosen for the study (figure 2). The Budumburam Refugee camp located in the Gomoa District in the Central Region

of Ghana was established under the command of Vice Admiral Owusu Ansah during the PNDC regime in collaboration with UNHCR in 1990s to host refugees fleeing the Liberian civil wars. The camp is located about 35 miles from the national capital Accra, on the Accra-Winneba trunk road, is the biggest refugee camp in Ghana. Liberians who escaped to Ghana began arriving there around May 1990 on evacuation flights meant for Ghanaian nationals leaving Liberia. Budumburam is different from many other refugee camps because of the urban origin of the majority of its inhabitants. About 70 percent of the 42,000 residents hail originally from Monrovia and its environ. Thus, the sixteen tribes of Liberia are represented on the Liberian Refugee Camp in Ghana.

There are some 5,000 small shelters at the camp with an average occupancy of eight family members. Most dwellings have concrete floors and walls with tin roofs, although a few structures were built using wood. Of the camp's twelve zones, three have spread beyond the camp's traditional boundaries set by the Government of Ghana in 1990. In two of these zones, refugees rent homes from their Ghanaian neighbours; in the third zone, refugees live rent-free with the understanding that the houses they have built will be ceded to the property owners when the refugees depart. People who have their relatives abroad receive monthly help from them. But in general, the bulk of rest of the people depends on themselves for survival. Some have the opportunity to grow small plots of vegetables, sell water, open entertainments centers and even some do hard labors jobs just to survive.

Remittances are the bedrock of the economy at the camp. Budumburam has two Western Union branches where people can transfer money. With its busy market, well-stocked supermarkets, corner shops, jewellery stores, hair salons, video clubs, cinema, churches, temples and mosques, feels more like a small town than a refugee camp. Painters, musicians and internet cafés help enrich life in buzzing Budumburam. There are a number of schools within the camp serving the 14,000 school-age children. Still, about 20 percent of primary school-age children do not attend classes, with an even higher percentage of non-attendance among those of high school age. At least one NGO offers technical training in Budumburam in fields such as carpentry, while the German government offers 70 university scholarships each year. St. Gregory's Clinic provides health needs of the refugees where AIDS awareness programs and immunization campaigns supplement the overall health program in the camp. The Budumburam refugee camp is managed by the Camp Manager who is appointed by the Government of Ghana through the Ghana Refugee Board and the Director of the National Disaster Management Organization (NADMO).

Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe Refugee Camp is another camp located in the Eastern Nzema District of the Western region, located about 20 miles from Elubo, Ghana / Cote D'Ivoire border, and is about 300 kilometres away from Accra, the capital city of Ghana. The camp is well planned in terms of structures. The people even though are from different countries, they live in peace with each other. Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe is a village as compared to Budumburam, but it is far more cosmopolitan in its refugee make-up. The camp is a melting-pot of cultures,

religion, passions, dreams and languages. This is because the camp used to house approximately three thousand refugees from Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Sudan, Congo Brazzaville, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, Burundi, Somalia and Chad. The first refugees to be settled in Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe Camp, erstwhile known as Sanzuley Refugee Camp, were Liberians who arrived on board a ship in early 1996. These Liberians fled from armed conflict in Liberia.

The refugees were originally settled at Sanzule village in tents which were provided by the UNHCR for over one year. Later they were transferred to the present Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe camp after permanent housing structures were completed with the cooperation of the indigenous people. The camp is designed to host 2,000 refugees. In 1997, about 250 Sierra Leonean refugees who had fled their country at the peak of the civil war were also transferred to the camp, and some 500 Togolese refugees who had opted to remain in Ghana. The conflict that struck Côte d'Ivoire in 2002 forced some Liberian refugees living in that country to the camp, whilst others moved to Budumburam Camp to search for relatives and friends. The majority of the population in the camp then was the Sierra Leonean refugees, who were later joined by over 200 Sudanese in 2000. In August 2005 a group of Sudanese refugees who were fleeing violent conflict and the grave humanitarian crisis in the Darfur region, arrived at the camp. Over the years, refugees from other countries of Africa have been settled at the camp, making it very multinational. The population has been very fluid, some leaving for resettlement, repatriation or relocating to other places.

The Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe Refugee camp lacks the business activities seen in Budumburam. The usual business activity that has engulfed the Budumburam is completely absent; one can hardly see any economic activity at the camp. Apart from a dilapidating shop at the entrance of the camp that welcomes visitors where few items including sachet water are sold, one can virtually notice the presence of any brisk economic activities going on at the camp. The women often go out to the nearby villages to plait hair for a token while the men occasionally assist the indigenous at the shore to pull net for fish. There is only one school in the area running from kindergarten to primary. Most children who have completed the primary level of their education cannot make it to senior high school because of lack of funds. The Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe refugee camp is also managed by the Camp Manager who is appointed by the Government of Ghana through the Ghana Refugee Board and the Director of the National Disaster Management Organization (NADMO).

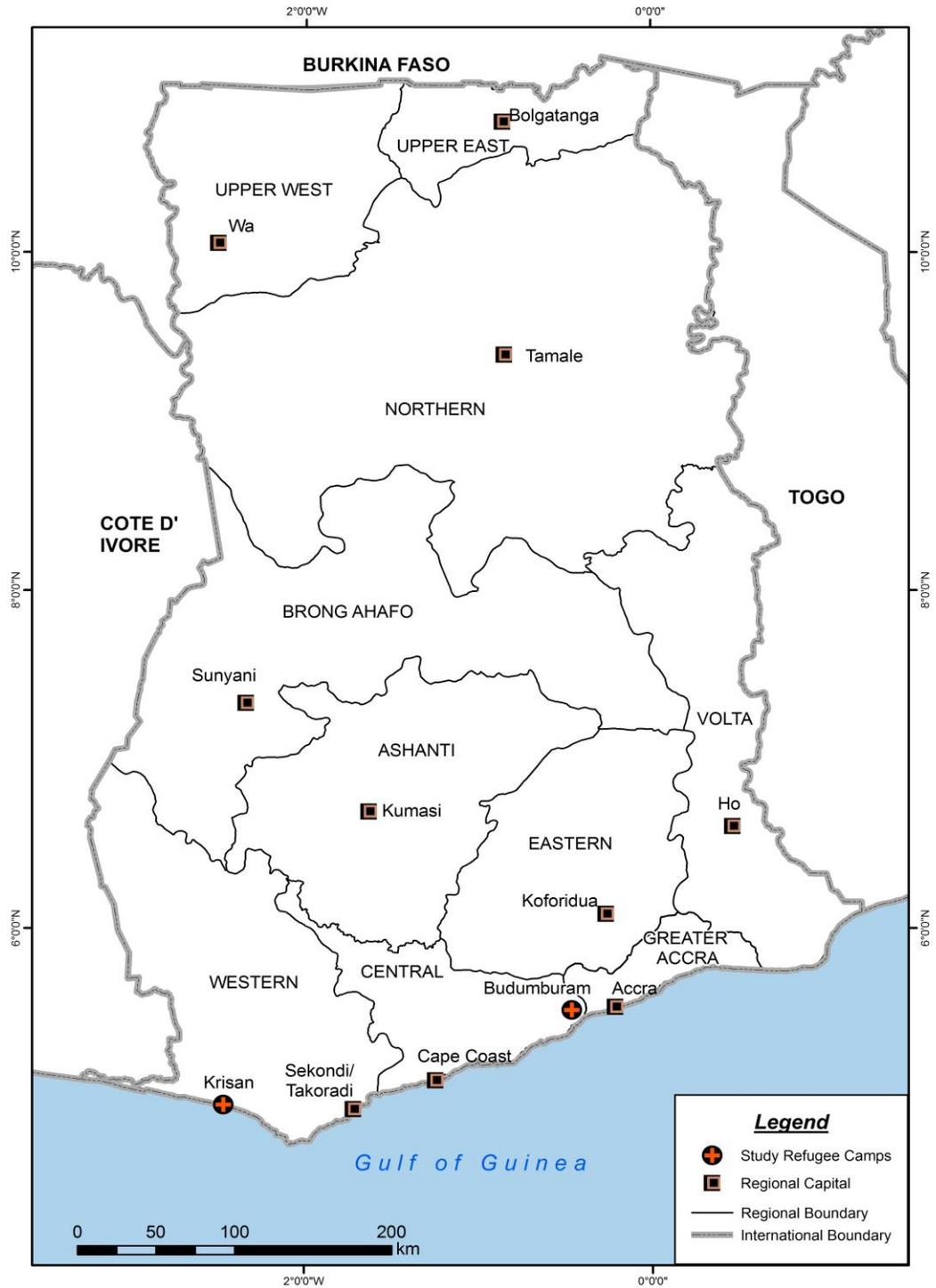


Figure 2: Map of Ghana showing the two refugee camps

Source: Cartographic Unit, U.C.C, 2011

Study population

The population of a study is the collection of all possible individual objects or measurements of interest (Mason, 1999). According to Sanders Lewis, and Thornhill (2007), population of a study is a full set of cases from which a sample is taken. Several population categories were defined for the study. For this study, the population consisted of personnel from government and non governmental agencies, as well as UNHCR in Ghana. The Ghana Refugee Board (GRB), the only institution representing the people and the government of Ghana and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) the international body representing the interest of United Nations (UN) in Ghana are the two major institutions responsible for the welfare of refugees in the country, were chosen for the study because the two institutions are very relevant to the topic under study.

The collaborative agencies such as the Non-Governmental Organizations which seek the welfare of refugees were also studied. These institutions, namely Assembly of God Relief and Development Services, National Catholic Secretariat (NCS), International Organization for Migration (IOM) Ghana Red Cross Society (GRCS), Christian Council of Ghana (CCG), Respect International, Self Help Initiative and Right to Play are in the operation of dealing with refugees for long period of time.

The leaders of the various refugee groups representing the interest of the refugees also form part of the study. The camp managers of both Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe camp in the Western Region and Budumburam refugee

camp in the Central Region form part of the institutions under study. The camp managers play important roles when it comes to the needs and solutions of refugees since they serve as an intermediary between the refugees and the various institutions and the government.

Sources of data

Data for the study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data were collected from the officials of the various institutions namely UNHCR, GRB, IOM, camp managers, refugees and their leaders. Magazines from IOM and UNHCR constitutes secondary source. Focus group discussions were also used to solicit additional information about the challenges that the institutions encounter to implement durable solutions in the country.

Sample and sampling technique

According to Sarantakos (2005), sampling is the process of choosing the units of the target population which are to be included in the study. Generally the purposive sampling procedure was employed. The nature of the research topic demands that the researcher opt for purposive sampling procedure which was the best option for all categories of the target population. The target population is made of different categories of institutions namely international, national, and NGOs which is also made up of religious and non religious organizations. These different institutions with different background and objectives offer one form or

the other assistance to refugees. However, when it comes to implementation of durable solutions, it is not all the institutions that are involved.

The study purposively sampled those that were actually involved in the implementation of durable solutions. These include United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), Ghana Refugee Board (GRB), and International Organization for Migration (IOM). In all, each senior officer was purposively selected from UNHCR (Assistant Durable Solution Officer), Ghana Refugee Board (Co- coordinating Director), International Organization for Migration (Senior Operations Officer) and the Camp Managers of both of Krisan/Zanzule/Eikwei and Budumburam bringing the total to 5. In addition, 2 groups of refugee leaders from Krisan/Zanzule/Eikwei refugee camp and Budumburam refugee camp were also purposively selected and interviewed. The group from Krisan/Zanzule/Eikwei was made up of leaders from Côte d'Ivoire, Togo, Sudan, Somalia, Liberia, and Sierra Leone while the group from Budumburam refugee camp comprised of the Zonal heads forms the Liberian Refugee Welfare Council.

The researcher further employed the accidental sampling method to select more refugee respondents in the two camps to supplement the responses of their leaders. The Budumburam refugee camp contains about 11,000 refugees(at the time of study) and a total of 15 refugees were accidentally selected and interviewed each day for two days bringing the total to 30 respondents. The researcher positioned himself strategically at the entrance of UNHCR office which also shares boundary with the only market in the camp as well as the taxi

station between the hours of 9am and 5 pm. This location enabled the researcher to have access to as much as possible the respondents needed for the study. This process was repeated at the Krisan/Zansule/ Eikwe refugee camp which also contains about 1,300 (at the time of study) refugees. The shade between the UNHCR office and the mosque offered a strategic location for the researcher to come into contact with most of the refugees in the camp. A total of 14 refugees were also accidentally selected and interviewed each day in two days bringing the total at the camp to 28. This brings the total of refugees (apart from the leaders) selected for the study to 58.

Table 1: Composition of the sample

Sample	Number (male)	Number (female)
UNHCR	0	1
GRB	1	0
IOM	1	0
Camp managers	2	0
Refugee leaders	14	4
Refugees	27	15
Total	45	20

Source: Field work, 2010

Data collection instrument

For the collection of primary data the main instrument used for data collection was interview. An interview guide was introduced to solicit information from the officials of Ghana Refugee Board, UNHCR, IOM and the camp managers as well as the refugees who are not leaders from both camps. These interviews were structured so as to direct the researcher to ask questions that were relevant to the study. Specifically all the issues were based on the roles that they play in the implementation of durable solutions as well as challenges that they encounter in an attempt to embark on voluntary repatriation, integration of refugees and finally resettlement programmes. The use of interview guides allowed freedom of expression; feelings and thoughts on the issue under study. This helps the researcher to solicit views from the respondents independently without any influence.

A discussion guide was also used to gather information from the refugee leaders at the two camps namely Budumburam and Krisan/Zanzule/Eikwei to present their views on the difficulty that the implementing authorities go through in their hands in an attempt to implement the various aspects of durable solutions. It presents opportunity for the leaders to discuss the issue under study.

Data collection method

The interview method was used for the collection of primary data. The interviews were conducted with the officials of UNHCR, Ghana Refugee Board and International Organization for Migration using interview guide. The camp

managers of the two refugee camps were also interviewed. The use of interview also allowed the respondents to seek further classifications to questions in order to adequately respond to questions, and further allowed the interviewer to probe for further clearer response to questions.

In addition to the interviews, focus group discussions were also conducted to solicit additional information about the challenges in the implementation of durable solutions. Discussions were based on challenges that they encounter to access all aspect of durable solutions. It was used to confirm the difficulties that the institutions encounter to implement the durable solution programmes.

The following stages were followed to undergo the discussion:

The first stage was the preparation for the discussions of leaders of the various refugee groups. To begin with the researcher informed the Ghana Refugee Board about the visit to the camp and was given a written document to be taken to the camp manager for the preparation of the programme. The second stage involved identification and listing of respondents for the discussion and asking their preference of time and venue for the discussion. The researcher visited the camp for the first time to get the list of the refugee leaders who are to take part in the discussion.

The next stage was getting the venue and materials ready for the exercise. The researcher together with the group identified a suitable venue for the discussion. Earlier on the researcher made an arrangement for a tape-recorder for the discussions to be tape- recorded and transcribed latter. Relaying time and venue to participants and seeking their confirmation was the next stage. The final

stage was conducting the discussion in the home under trees. The researcher together with the refugee leaders met at the agreed venue with the needed materials to conduct the focus group discussion.

The group was made up each member from each refugee community who is a refugee leader in the camp. The group comprised of both young and elderly sexes who were well represented and articulated their views to the understanding of each member of the group. Questions were well distributed so as to avoid biases and to maintain neutrality as much as possible. After the discussions, the researcher summarized the issues and thanked the participants. All the recorded interviews and focus group discussions were transcribed in full, focusing on recording key points from the focus group discussions as indicated by (Cameron 2005). The abridged transcriptions of the focus group discussions and full transcriptions of interviews were read to individual interview participants and statements were later coded and embodied in the primary data to support the study.

Field experience

The researcher had a challenging yet nice experience in the course of the study. It was very difficulty meeting the respondents from the various offices to grant the interview. It was also expensive travelling to Accra on so many occasions only to meet the absence of the respondents in their offices even though it had been scheduled earlier to meet at that time. The visit to the camps namely Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe and Budumburam was another interesting event. The

encounter with the refugees from Islamic and French speaking countries who were struggling to speak English was just fascinating enough to hear.

Interestingly, until one shows documentary evidence from Ghana Refugee Board to the camp manager, clearly stating the purpose of the visit, one is not allowed to officially engage any refugee in any official conversation. That is just not enough; the camp manager guides one to carry out all conversations within the purpose of the study in order to avoid given false impression to refugees because they may become emotional and misconstrued the researcher.

Data analysis

According to Sarantakos (2005), analysis is the ordering and breaking down of data into constituent parts and the performing of statistical calculations with the raw data to provide answers to questions initiating the research. The data obtained from the study was transcribed, edited, and the analysis involved narrating; summarizing and interpreting. Narratives were mainly used to describe the phenomena under study. To enrich the quality of analysis, the researcher at certain points quoted verbatim (word for word) the responses from some of the respondents. This is because qualitative data analysis is well grounded in an inductive approach that builds a theory from an empirical data collected during the research process. These data are not abstracted into a numerical representation; they maintain congruence with the form in which they were collected (Gayle, 2001).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of the results. The main issues discussed include: roles institutions play in the implementations of durable solutions, factors that hinder successful repatriation of refugees in Ghana. The chapter also discusses the problems of integrating refugees in Ghana and finally challenges confronting successful resettlement of refugees in Ghana.

Background characteristics of respondents

The respondents selected for the study comprised of both males and females. The total number of female respondents under study was twenty three. Out of this number only three were between the ages of 10 and 19, while five were also between the ages of 20 and 29. Nine of the females who took part in the study were between the ages of 30 and 39 and the remaining six were above forty years and above. The data also revealed that the total number of males who also took part in the study was forty two (this figure includes the four officials from the institutions); out of this number seven were between the ages of 10 and 19 while eight were also between the ages of 20 and 29. The highest number of males who participated in the study was fourteen and was above forty years while thirteen were between the ages of 30 and 39.

Table 2: Age and sex distribution of the respondents

Age group	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
10- 19	7	3	10
20- 29	8	5	13
30- 39	13	9	22
40- above	14	6	20
	42	23	65

Source: Field work, 2010

Looking at total number of 42 refugee male who participated in the study (excluding 4 officials from the institutions), it is very important to note that contrary to the perception that females are the major victims of conflicts and therefore making them refugees, this study shows that male are equally victims of violent conflicts and suffer the fate as refugees as Table 2 shows.

The religious and marital status of refugees

The responses revealed that as much as 28 of the refugees at the camps were Christians and also widows. This could explain the fact that the violent conflicts that broke out in their various countries might be the cause of the death of their spouses. The data again showed that as many as 16 respondents were divorced. This was made up of 14 Christians and 2 traditionalists. Again from the information gathered, 11 people were married, out of this 7 were Christians and 4

were Muslims. Finally the study revealed that, ten Christians who took part in the study were single.

Table 3: Religious and marital status of respondents

Marital status	Religion			Total
	Christian	Islamic	Traditional religion	
Single	10	0	0	10
Married	7	4	0	11
Divorced	14	0	2	16
Widowed	25	3	0	28
Total	56	7	2	65

Source: Field work, 2010

The purpose of finding out the religious background and the marital status of the respondents were to determine whether religion and marital status have any influence on the perception of refugees concerning durable solutions. It was discovered that both religion and marital status of the refugees did not have any significant influence on the durable solution programmes.

Roles the institutions play in the implementation of durable solutions

It is an undeniable fact that the challenges and the difficulties of the humanitarian agencies mandated to offer protection to refugees all over the world are huge and numerous (UNHCR, 2009). As the result, UNHCR and Ghana Refugee Board are not the only official institutions mandated to seek the welfare of refugees in Ghana. The various institutions both governmental and

nongovernmental are seen playing one role or the other to make life better for refugees. Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) also play a significant role. They may be religious, secular, and national in character and respond to social, economic, political, and environmental needs of the people particularly the vulnerable and the disadvantaged (Oquaye, & Katsriku, 1996). What is however not clear to many is whether UNHCR is the only institution that implements the durable solutions or other nongovernmental institutions also play a part.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) internationally recognized humanitarian institution is one of such organizations which play important roles in the affairs of refugees in Ghana. IOM is a leading international agency in the field of migration, active in Ghana since 1987 and has contributed significantly to addressing migration challenges. Generally IOM Ghana facilitates voluntary repatriation and reintegration of migrant in irregular situations or asylum seekers to return to Ghana or out of Ghana. The institution explained that since 2002 it has assisted 33,000 refugees to resettle in the United States, Canada, Australia and other European countries. IOM Ghana further explained:

The office has a robust migration Health Unit to provide intensive and a wide range of health assistance to refugees and other migrants that they deal with. Such health services include detection of health conditions, support for treatment prior to travel, pre-departure health checks and DNA testing for family re-unification for refugees who lost contact with family members after conflicts.

Other assistance that they provide includes flights to transport refugees to their home country, providing post arrival information and counseling, as well as reintegration of refugees to establish a small business or engage in further education and training.

The Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) is the only mandated institution to deal with refugee issues and regulate the activities of refugees in the country. Among the roles the Board plays includes; receiving and considering applications for refugee status, recognizing any persons or group of persons as refugee, registering and keeping a register of persons recognized as refugees under refugee law, seeking co-operation with nongovernmental organizations on matters relating to refugees, and seeking employment or education for refugees and members of their families. On the issue of whether it is the responsibility of the Board to provide facilities for refugees at the camp, the Board explained:

The Board is expected to ensure the provision of adequate facilities, advice and services for reception and care of refugee in Ghana, administer and manage the refugee fund under the law, advice the minister on matters relating to refugees, performs any function conferred under this law, and finally perform any other function that may be assigned to it by the government.

The Board vehemently concluded that they are concerned with the responsibility for the management of activities relating to refugees in the country. It interviews and grants refugee status to asylum seekers from areas of civil conflict or places where they face political persecution. For instance the office admitted that when

it comes to resettlement all that the office does is to provide evidence that the person has a refugee status in the country. Also during the recent leadership crisis that rocked Budumburam Camp, the Board recommended a committee to be set up to map up strategies to solve its leadership challenges at the Camp.

The UNHCR Ghana confirmed the fact that UNHCR has an interest in the protection and welfare of persons who have been displaced by persecution, situations of general violence, conflict or massive violations of human rights. In other words, all who crossed international frontier would have a claim to international protection. UNHCR has an interest in the protection and welfare of all persons who have been displaced by persecution, situations of general violence, conflict or massive violations of human rights not only in Ghana but all over the world. In its engagement to protect refugees and promote their welfare, safety with dignity, UNHCR employs durable solutions as one comprehensive approach in order to find the most appropriate solution for the individual or groups of refugees. The office explained further:

The organization does not only seek the concern of refugees who are willing to repatriate and assist them to return home but also assist refugees to resettle in the third country, promotes better livelihood through durable solutions in particular local integration. Between 2004 and 2006, the UNHCR along with its implementing partners facilitated the voluntary repatriation of about 4,000 Liberian refugees from Ghana to various locations in Liberia.

Further checks revealed that these returned refugees were provided supplementary humanitarian packages that contained items to be used to initiate the process of reintegration in post-war Liberia even though they complained that it is insufficient. The office added:

As part of its mandate UNHCR carried out a series of repatriation programmes and assisted more than 8800 Liberia refugees by providing flights back to Liberia in 2008 alone. In the same year more than 200 Togolese refugees were also assisted to repatriate.

Thus, UNHCR works with the country of origin, and host countries to help refugees return home. The office explained further that as part of its programmes, the year 2011 UNHCR aims at building national protection capacity and promoting livelihood activities to empower more than 13,600 refugees remaining in the country mostly in semi-rural areas. As part of its exit strategy, the Office will also seek to ensure that refugees are included in development programmes.

Factors that hinder successful repatriation of refugees from Ghana

People compelled to flee their country of origin principally to escape threats to their life, liberty, freedom or physical integrity must be able to call upon, and to receive, the protection and assistance of the international community. It is the responsibility of international community to ensure that individuals renew membership of a community and the restoration of national protection, either in the homeland or through integration or resettled elsewhere. Voluntary repatriation is usually viewed as the most desirable long-term solution by the refugees

themselves as well as by the international community. UNHCR's humanitarian action in pursuit of lasting solutions to refugee problems is therefore oriented, first and foremost, in favour of enabling a refugee to exercise the right to return home in safety and with dignity. It is based on this assumption that the study wanted to know the challenges that the institutions encounter in an effort to repatriate refugee to their home country. UNHCR explained in the following words:

Refugees remain adamant to repatriation because of the possibility of resettlement; the major difficulty we face currently is the unrealistic expectation among refugees regarding the possibility of resettlement in the third country making it difficult to promote other durable solutions such as voluntary repatriation or local integration. In fact majority of refugees are just not interested in returning home and they give all sorts of excuses ranging from job insecurity to lack of facilities to accommodate them.

This was confirmed by a 41 year old Liberian refugee at Budumburam camp who remarked:

Most of us, I mean Liberian refugees do not want to stay here in Ghana, even if UNHCR and Ghana Refugee Board close the gate of this camp. Many refugees want to migrate to Europe where we think we can get job to make money before returning to Liberia permanently. We know we will go home one day but not now.

The Liberian refugees who formed the majority in the country showed little interest in returning home confirming what is stated in the literature that most

Liberians in Ghana do not consider it safe to return home (UNHCR, 2009). Further checks revealed that despite considerable efforts by the institutions especially UNHCR to convey the fact that large-scale resettlement had finished, many refugees continue to hold on to hope for resettlement. The perception among some refugees that resettlement and other durable solutions cannot run concurrently resulted in the disruption of humanitarian assistance and threats to implementing partners.

In a focus group discussion involving refugees leaders it was confirmed that refugees find it difficult to come to terms with the fact that resettlement is no longer a realistic possibility and that most countries have closed off the possibility of resettlement. This is because refugees lived in the same camp with some of their colleagues who were resettled in the West (US, Canada, or Australia) by UNHCR and therefore find it incomprehensible to believe the various authorities that they cannot be resettled. To make matters worse, these resettled refugees continue to communicate with their colleagues at the camp about the comfort outside thereby raising the hope for those at the camp that they would also be resettled.

Moreover, there is a general perception about Ghana that once you are found in that geographical location as a refugee, there is likelihood that one will definitely be resettled in any of the countries mentioned above. This is one reason why the Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe refugee Camp in the Western Region is full of many nationals from all over Africa including Somalia, Sudan, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Dr Congo, Congo Brazzaville, and Eritrea. According to UNHCR Global report

2009, Ghana has a favourable protection environment in which asylum-seekers of all nationalities are able to remain in the country until all procedures, including rebuttal, are fully exhausted. According to Dick (2002) refugees believed that being granted refugee status in Ghana could potentially enhance their opportunities for getting scholarships abroad and could make them more eligible for resettlement. Thus many refugees continue to focus their attention exclusively on resettlement. Stimulating their interest in other durable solutions, namely local integration and voluntary repatriation, remains a challenge as the result of that perception. This poses an additional problem in terms of protection and self-reliance for the most vulnerable, since many of these resettlement-seeking refugees aims to discourage others from pursuing self-reliance programmes or even repatriation.

The researcher wanted to know from refugees the genuine challenges that they are aware the institutions assisting them to benefit from repatriation encounter. In respond to this, a 51 year old Christian from Côte d'Ivoire replied that:

We know that sometimes because of the problems associated with hosting refugees, host governments pose a lot of impediments to the institutions. They may not be accommodating enough to co-operate with UN officials to help refugees. That alone could be a great challenge to them.

This position was strongly supported by an official of Ghana Refugee Board, the official mouthpiece of the government that they (Government of Ghana) is not involved in some aspects of durable solutions and declared:

Ghana government is not involved in resettlement of refugees to third country and therefore when it comes to that the office cannot tell the challenges that are involved. Apart from the necessary documents that the office provides to prove for the refugee status of the individual refugee, the rest of the task is left in the hands of UNHCR and IOM.

Countries that once generously opened their doors to refugees have been tempted to shut those doors for fear of assuming open-ended responsibilities, and jeopardizing national security. Refugees legal status in the host country that should be determined by the host government is uncertain, refugees are not granted full asylum, and are given little or no assistance to be resettled in a third country, the legal aspects of local integration, which requires that refugees be granted full refugee status are always paid little attention.

In both developed and developing countries, the preference is for temporary protection and restrictions on refugees, including encampment, and governments give flimsy excuses to cooperate with the humanitarian authorities to seek the welfare of refugees. In some other cases the host governments mount unnecessary pressure on refugees and forcing them to return to their home country against their will. On the question of whether refugees are constantly consulted and informed or co-operated with the authorities on repatriation, the office of the Ghana Refugee Board stated:

Such decisions are not taken without the concern of refugees; however the challenge is that they (refugees) keep on changing their mind when it comes to final decision to return home. Refugees lack the necessary capacity to take concrete and definite decisions about their repatriation programmes and this attitude and behavior make it difficult for the offices to efficiently plan repatriation programmes.

The office of IOM did indicate that the cause of such problem is lack of proper and accurate information about the country hence the office goes further to support repatriation programmes by providing pictures of the present social economic, as well as security situations in the home country all in attempt to encourage refugees to patronize voluntary repatriation programme and this has escalated the cost of repatriation. The office further pointed out:

It becomes very difficult to work within the stipulated time to achieve the expected result. In fact there is insufficient access to media channels and distribution networks and limited opportunities to organize direct inter-face communication with refugees to provide regular, accurate information about the situation in their country to prospective returnees.

The camp managers further painted a very gloomy picture to show the difficulty they go through to convince refugees to give up their documents when they are about to repatriate. According to them refugees would not like to lose their status as refugees which make them legible to benefit from resettlement packages. They lamented in the following remarks:

Majority of refugees refuse to give up their refugee documents even when due for repatriation making it complex to keep current accurate data on refugee status not only in the camp but denying the various institutions of reliable information on refugees in the country.

According to Crisp (2002), such reliable information is very vital to UNHCR because the press and the media, NGOs and research bodies make constant demands on UNHCR for facts and figures, especially when major refugee movements or repatriation operations are taking place. All too often, however, UNHCR finds it difficult to answer such queries with any real degree of accuracy. The camp manager of Budumburam also lamented about the situation and stated:

Another challenge confronting them is that some refugees on repatriation programs came back thereby losing their refugee status but remain in the camp. Look, most of the refugees at the camp were once repatriated but came back and what makes it more challenging is that they same refugees expect the authorities to treat them as refugees again.

This assertion was supported by the leaders of the various refugees communities, that majority of them were once repatriated but came back due to security situations in their home country.

The researcher wanted to know from the refugees why they kept on changing their mind on repatriation thereby making it difficult for the authorities to plan within the stipulated time. In a focus group discussion involving refugee leaders at the camp, the 55 year old man leader of the Liberian group at the Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe camp who also went to Liberia but came back explained:

We are not given the real and correct information about the situation in Liberia, these people say the place is safe for you to go and you are prepared to go and before you say Jack your friends who went are coming back, why won't you change your mind?

This was supported by Dick (2002) who stated that a sizeable number of Liberians who received repatriation packages went home but later returned to Ghana. Majority of refugees cited security considerations and lack of economic opportunities back in Liberia as the main reasons why they were reluctant to remain in Liberia. Further, the researcher specifically wanted to know how security in the home country poses a threat to their repatriation programmes. The respondents confirmed the fear of the researcher and explained that some refugees refuse to go back home citing security reasons. In the focus group discussions a young Sierra Leonean Muslim lady at Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe camp who was almost in tears said that:

I was only ten years when the war broke out, I lost my parents, and all my brothers, I can't even remember the route or the direction to my home town, the question is where am I going and what am I going to do? It is even not safe, people are still been killed in some parts of that country and they want me to go back and get killed like my parents?

This was the fear of most of the refugees in the camp that their home country is not safe enough for them to return. The leaders of Togo and Côte d'Ivoire in a focus group discussion lamented that even though there were changes of government in those two countries the people pursuing them are still around and it

would be unwise on their part to return. Majority of the refugees in the camp fear for their life back home and think that staying in Ghana as refugee and remain as such until resettle in the West is far better than returning home where their safety cannot be guaranteed by the state.

As noted by Agblorti (2011) security considerations and the lack of economic opportunities back in Liberia have been cited as the main reasons why refugees were reluctant to return to Liberia. On one occasion, a ship carrying Liberian refugees from Ghana and Nigeria had engine failure on the high sea and the refugees had to be rescued. On another occasion, Liberian refugees returning from Ghana were stranded on the Guinea/Mali border for approximately two weeks, as the Guinean authorities refused them entry. Through a group discussion with the refugee leaders they confirmed the assertion that it is unsafe for them to go back home due to security challenges. Interestingly, the leader of Liberians in the Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe camp in a focus group discussion aggressively retorted:

The entire country is in the state of insecurity because foreign troops as still guiding the capital of which ex-combatants, ex-warlords, and foreign peace-keepers are in charge of security. At least, I have a little peace here in Ghana; I don't want to return to a place where my security cannot be guaranteed.

He bitterly blamed the foreign media for falsehood saying that they think there is peace but that is not totally true. Further investigations revealed that this man was once repatriated but came back and this might confirm his story. Repatriation is often strongly hindered by insecurity in the country of origin, even in the absence

of economic integration or livelihood opportunities in the country of asylum. Refugees from war-torn societies are unwilling to repatriate in spite of limited prospects in countries of asylum (Crisp, Jane, Jose, & Shahira, 2009).

According to Dick (2002) the international observers also alluded to the fact that, extortion is widespread in all levels of society, and the government's human rights record remains poor. Officials have little or no accountability or transparency, further exacerbating the divisions and resentments fuelled by the war. Security forces act without government authority and harass civilians at will. For instance, the Krahn and Mandingo ethnic groups that opposed Taylor during the war are particularly susceptible to harassment at the hands of the state security apparatus. In addition, violence persists in Lofa County, where residents are susceptible to attacks made by Liberian rebel forces operating from Guinea and Sierra Leone (Dick, 2002a).

Another area of interest was to find out whether the economic situation in the entire sub region is of any concern to them in terms of hindering smooth repatriation. All the respondents answered that the economic situations in the region coupled with political turmoil in the whole of West African sub region is of major concern only to them as refugees but also the youth in the region. A 26 year old Togolese who has been living in the camp for years with his two children and wife remarked:

The economic conditions in the whole of the West Africa sub region is the major driving force for refugees hiding behind resettlement to seek greener pasture in the West. The absence of job opportunities in Ghana is

the same situation in other sister countries. The little one talk about it the better, you see, it is better to remain in the camp to be resettled in the West than to be integrated into Ghanaian society or go back home where nothing virtually exist.

Lack of job opportunities, chronic poverty, inadequate social amenities, and political discrimination are just few of the problems in the region refugees always complain about. This has given credence to Nazneen et al in the literature that the economy and the social infrastructure in those war torn areas are destroyed to a significant extent that discourages voluntary repatriation.

According to UNHCR (2011a), the main challenges faced by UNHCR in West Africa are linked to the difficult socio-economic conditions and fragile political and security contexts in several countries, which reduce the prospects of local integration for refugees. The continued political instability has exacerbated the already unfavourable economic environment. Majority of refugees especially from Liberia would not like to be repatriated because they believe that the war had destroyed the few economic opportunities that ever existed there before. Others also complained that the economic situation in the country (Ghana) or any other West African country is not better off, looking at the unemployed youths roaming in the streets. The only option they think that could alleviate their plight is resettlement. A 43 year old man at the Budumburam camp who sells both local and foreign movies confirmed this in the following remarks:

Even though am not gainfully employed in the government sector here in Ghana, the small business am doing here is far far better than to

go back to Liberia and remain jobless. Heh, come to think of it, UNHCR want me to leave Ghana and miss all the opportunities here including the possibility of resettlement and settle in another refugee camp in my own country? Not now.

One major reason why refugees may wish to remain refugees and resist repatriation is the difficulties associated with securing a livelihood and resuming daily life at home. If refugees stay on in exile at least they can maintain the status quo, but returning home requires amassing working-capital to re-establish their households and their businesses, a task that is beyond the reach of many refugees who struggle to provide their daily needs. As a result the process of returning home is often gradual as refugees consider the costs and benefits of shifting from the camp to home (Green, 2000).

This assertion was further reiterated by Dick (2002b) who argued that those refugees who had established businesses at the camp or had access to wage labour wanted to remain in Ghana. In addition those attending school or with children enrolled were reluctant to interrupt the school year. Thus it is argued that these successful entrepreneurs will not voluntarily abandon their investments to return to their home countries just for the sake of it. And finally, the possibility of resettling to the United States has kept many Liberians waiting hopefully in Ghana (Campbell, & Elizabeth, 2006).

Regarding the challenge that the institutions encounter from the home country to expedite action on repatriation and reintegration programmes, the

office of UNHCR expressed the frustration of the institution in the following remarks:

It is a major drawback to most of their repatriation plans. You know Liberia for instance was involved in a long running conflict, which has destroyed the infrastructural base of that country. In fact we expect them to do more than they are doing, and you know the institutions are there to assist them..... but not to provide employment for them. This is a major challenge to UNHCR in many countries not in Ghana alone.

According to Omata (2011) in addition to the declining levels of assistance from UNHCR for returning Liberians and the suffering which they experienced, the Liberian government was also unable to provide any meaningful integration support for their own countrymen. According to Liberian Refugee Repatriation Reintegration Committee (LRRRC) programme officer, as at 2009, their ongoing support for returnees was limited to employment referral services, provision of advisory services for retrieval of property, and scholarship programmes for returnee students. Omata (2011) concluded that reintegration support scaled down after 2007 when the three-year sub regional repatriation programme for Liberian returnees ended.

Further checks revealed that there was a big influx of returnees from Ghana after refugee demonstrations in 2008 of which UNHCR Liberia was not really prepared for such a large-scale return. According to refugee leaders in a focus group discussion, the country was not ready to accept returnees because of high unemployment. One participant concluded:

Liberia doesn't have financial resources for now. UNHCR is pulling out from reintegration support for returnees. Where can they accommodate them? How?"

The leader of the Liberian group at the Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe camp further explained:

Yes, the government is not yet ready to absorb or integrate all these people returning to Liberia. But to some extent, I think the Liberian government is under pressure from the international community as well as the countries hosting Liberian refugees to take us back.

According to Long (2010), repatriation is not just a return; it is a political process involving the remaking of political community in other that refugees' political, social, economic and cultural rights are restored in an effective and meaningful manner. After years of conflict, political crisis, and under-investment, public institutional capacities are still insufficiently prepared and resourced for the management of reconstruction programmes in such countries. Ensuring respect for human rights, rebuilding the infrastructure, restoring normal economic, social and political life, rehabilitating the judicial system and bringing long-term stability are just few of the daunting tasks militating against welcoming returnees to their own country.

Sustainability in return clearly requires a significant institutional commitment to social and political capacity building at a state level; refugee return could be particularly valuable in terms of promoting sustainability by opening up economic, social or cultural linkages with former countries of asylum

that could help the home country to withstand shocks (Black, & Gent, 2004). However, despite the perceived hardships and security challenges that may exist, the institutions remarked:

There is a challenge of refugees sometimes going to their country against the will of UN mandate whereas it not safe for them to go back. Ironically, some refugees want to take advantage of few economic opportunities that they think may exist at the detriment of their security even though the conditions on the ground may not be ready to support them. As the result of that the offices come under intense pressure from refugees to assist them to return to unsafe country.

Another area of concern was to find out how the activities of each member of the institutions involve in humanitarian assistance pose a challenge to the total operations of durable solutions programmes. According to them when other implementing partners fail to perform their responsibilities it affects the entire programme from the planning stage to the final stage of implementation. The office UNHCR complained bitterly that they are not satisfied with the operations of Ghana Refugee Board (GRB) not only because structures have not been put in place, but also the government does not own the total refugees operations. The office further bemoaned that it is not UN that has the primary responsibility to own refugee operations but it looks as if in Ghana the UN has taken the responsibility. The officer in charge of operations of IOM confirmed this assertion and added:

We are all working in the interest of the refugees with a common purpose of solving humanitarian crisis hence an obstacle of any partner definitely affect their smooth operations.

The Camp manager of Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe camp further collaborated the fear of the institutions and explained his feelings as follows:

Some of the humanitarian agencies or partners lack not only in-depth knowledge in refugee management or refugee operations but also the necessary capabilities in terms of logistics and finance to be able to do what they pledged to do. Refugee management is a crucial humanitarian operation that needs strategic thinking and psychological preparedness on the part of such partners to be able to allay their frustrations.

Causes of the problems of refugee integration in Ghana

“There is a tradition and practice of hospitality in the continent, so that an African is always an African. If he leaves one society he will be accepted in another” (Hatch, 1970). This was how Hatch (1970) described the level of hospitality and benevolence in a statement about Africa in 1970s. Africans are noted for their kind gesture and this has been the tradition of the people for all these years. The assistance that the various counties have given to each other since the 1970s from the Great Lakes Region to the West Africa Region in the 1990 demonstrates the strong bond that naturally exist among the countries (Crisp & Amy, 2009). For example, of a UN General Assembly Meeting held in August 2005 documented that over 35,000 Eritrean refugees, living in camps in Eastern

Sudan, and Uganda, hosts nearly 240,000 refugees, coming from the neighbouring Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda since January 2004.

To test the level of commitment to this rather self imposed principle by Africans, the researcher wanted to investigate how Ghanaians opened their doors for refugees living in the country for close to two decades in terms of local integration. In an attempt to investigate how refugees receive the idea of local integration into Ghanaian society, the office of UNHCR responded:

Even though Ghana has no legal document backing local integration policy, refugees are only interested in resettlement and even do not want to hear about local integration into Ghanaian society. He stressed “not only does the mentality of resettlement take away the chances of voluntary repatriation but also robbed the attention that needed to be given to local integration as well.

The office reminded the researcher of the 2008 demonstration of several hundred Liberian women who convened on the football field in Budumburam Camp holding banners with slogans such as: Integration? NO, Repatriation plus \$1000? Yes! Yes! Resettlement? Why not? Liberian refugee population in Buduburam adamantly refused local integration when they heard of the intention of UNHCR (Geraldine, 2008). The women who were supported by refugee men of the camp stated that repatriation to Liberia and integration in the Ghanaian society was not doable durable solutions for the crisis, because in Liberia there is still political instability, ethnic tension, and undercover killings. A 30 year old

lady at Budumburam camp who also claimed she lost all her parents in the war retorted amid the question:

Yes, refugees prefer resettlement to the other two durable solutions because..... you see, there you can get a better job to do and earn some dollars and send some to your friends and relatives who could not join you there.

Also refugees mentioned that integration into the Ghanaian society was not possible, because the Ghanaian government has long abandoned refugees into isolated camps and suppress local integration through the process. Among other reasons why it appears refugees opposed or remained hostile to the idea of local integration was the fear of discrimination not only in the provision of basic amenities but also in the area of job opportunities. The refugee leaders strongly confirmed that refugees in Ghana are discriminated and that even though some of them are actually interested in the idea of local integration their worry is how to deal with the problem of discrimination. Specifically, the refugee leaders in a focus group discussion expressed this predicament as follows:

To some extent Ghanaians are discriminatory, which is a major hindrance to integrate. I think this is seen through the inability of both the present and the past governments to formulate an integration policy. We cannot all benefit from resettlement; some will surely like to integrate.

This position was strongly supported by Dick (2000 b) that refugees often experience various forms of discrimination when looking for employment, educational opportunities and the acquisition of lands for agricultural purposes.

The issue of discrimination against refugees is a common phenomenon as Alexander (2008) documented that in cases where refugees are seen to be doing economically better than locals, xenophobia and discrimination are common attacks visited on them (Alexander, 2008). Landlords and employers know that refugees receive assistance and exploit them into paying higher rent or accepting lower wages. Discrimination of this sort often continues after aid has been discontinued (Campbell, & Elizabeth, 2005).

The respondents further elucidated that it is not only in Ghana that refugees face discrimination hence what they do is to make the hosting community part of the system by providing water, police and fire stations, toilet , and other basic amenities which are all enjoyed by the hosting community as well. In fact further checks revealed that thirty percent of all those amenities provided should benefit the local people and this naturally results incurring extra cost on the part of UNHCR.

One other factor that prevents the integration of refugees into Ghanaian society is the economy. According to Otunnu (1992), the economic situation in host countries is often poor, with little opportunities for refugees to have a job and be self-sufficient. Often host countries are dealing with several economic constraints, which are intensified by natural disasters, civil wars, widespread famine and unemployment, poverty, and the collapse of social services. Again, this argument was supported by Dick (2002b) who documented that lack of employment for the educated Liberians and that Ghanaian society and the job market are closed to outsiders. In the case of Ghana, refugees see Ghanaians

struggling to make ends meet and do not view integration into such an environment as a durable solution. This is the collaboration of the assertion in the literature that majority of the African countries hosting refugees themselves are poor, and struggling to fend for their own citizens and such economies could hardly afford to integrate refugees.

In addition, the issue of resettlement to third country has also compromised the policy of local integrating especially in Africa. This is because refugees understand that integration into the host system would mean losing the refugee label and the opportunities that it affords them and in order not to miss that opportunity of resettlement, refugees prefer to remain in the camps and hope for resettlement (Grabska, 2006).

To explore further, the study wanted to know the position of the government on the policy of local integration and what policy framework has being put in place to locally integrate refugees. To the surprise of the researcher, Ghana as a nation has no policy on local integration. For all these years that refugees from almost every corner of African living in the country from the days of the first president Dr Nkrumah, Ghana has not made any meaningful preparation to integrate refugees into Ghanaian society. According to Agblorti (2011) key to the implementation of local integration as a durable solution is the legal framework of the host country that would allow for such a process to take place. It is this framework that legitimizes the integration process and is therefore regarded as the starting point for any debate on local integration. Where this framework is lacking not only do refugees have inadequate access to social and

environmental resources but, more importantly, such access, if any at all, lacks legitimacy. The office of the UNHCR expressed utmost frustration and disgust as to how the absence of integration policy has hampered all efforts to implement that aspect of durable solution. The officer in charge of durable solutions remarked:

The major challenge to local integration in Ghana is lack of government support, local integration is a government led durable solution and even though we don't enjoy government support for the other two (repatriation and resettlement) but when it comes to local integration the government should accept the fact that they are willing to accept and accommodate these people.

It is a major setback for Ghana not to have integration policy because there are a lot of refugees in Ghana all these years and the country should encouraged them to integrate locally. This is because refugees who are not willing to repatriate and also cannot benefit from resettlement, the nation as a member of the international community and a signatory to the 1951 Convention has no option but locally integrate them and if there is no policy backing and directing such a policy, then you can imagine how that become a major challenge. Landau (2006) argued that host governments are openly opposed to local integration. The office of UNHCR further complained bitterly in the following remarks:

UNHCR, Ghana is not satisfy with the operations of Ghana Refugee Board, not because structures have not being put in place, and reach the point where the government owned the refugees operations because it not

UN that has the primary responsibility but it looks as if in Ghana the UN has taken over that responsibility.

The office of IOM confirmed this assertion and added that they are all working in the interest of the refugees with the common purpose of solving humanitarian crisis hence any institution that fails to perform its roles definitely affect their smooth operations. The camp manager at Krian/Sanzule/Eikwe lamented about this situation and stated:

Most of the refugees who cannot access the other two durable solutions remain in isolated camp to rot due to frustration and hopelessness. There is no or little active support from the government who continue to show considerable lackadaisical attitude to the whole idea of local integration.

Further checks with the refugees indicated that some of them if given the chance would like to integrate into Ghanaian society as they expressed readiness to start a new life in Ghana. It is based on this assumption that the study wanted to know whether some of them are ready to integrate. Through a group discussion with the refugee leaders they confirmed this assertion in the following remarks:

That is exactly what we talking about; some of our people are willing to stay especially those of them who have children with Ghanaians and refugees who are employed or doing some business. Those people are ready to stay they want to integrate and protect their children and their employment.

Undeniably, a number of refugees have no doubt been integrated already through marriage or through 'self-settling' in Ghana. However as the result government's lackadaisical attitude towards the policy of local integration majority of them are left in the isolated camps at the detriment of their capabilities. It is noted that successive governments have been reluctant to promote the idea of local integration for refugees. As it is often said in other refugee hosting countries in the global south, security implications and the resource burden of hosting refugees are the main reasons advanced for this posture.

In other words countries hosting large refugee populations are usually themselves not just developing but poor and most refugee hosting communities are in remote areas where high level of poverty prevails. The leaders who appeared to understand the limit and challenge of UNHCR regarding integration unanimously described it as follows:

You know, UNHCR cannot integrate any refugee into Ghanaian society without an active involvement of Ghana Refugee Board for that matter government of Ghana. Lack of such legal framework is an obstacle for UN to help us to integrate.

This posture by the various governments of Ghana was once again demonstrated by inability of this government to form Ghana Refugee Board in the first two years of his administration to advice the government on matters concerning refugees. Government dissolved the Ghana Refugee Board, (at the time of the study) which was primarily responsible for providing international protection to refugees and asylum-seekers. In 2009, UNHCR's main objective was to help the

Government maintain a favourable protection environment for refugees and asylum-seekers however as the result of the absence of the Board the office could not carry out its programmes.

Challenges confronting successful resettlement of refugees in Ghana

This is one aspect of the durable solutions which is critical to many refugees not only in Ghana but in many parts of the globe. It has served as a tangible demonstration of international burden sharing. Resettlement helps to reassure governments hosting large numbers of refugees of international solidarity, enhanced protection space and increased receptivity to other solutions for refugees. UNHCR referred approximately 19,000 refugees comprising 28 nationalities for resettlement in 2007. It is in this light that the study wanted to know the challenges that face the institutions regarding resettlement programmes in the country. In response, the office of UNHCR explained that the third country has its own laws, policies, rules and regulations guiding resettlement programmes and therefore the office is forced to comply with such rules even though sometimes not comfortable with it. The office explained further:

People with medical conditions are not entertained, all because in most cases these refugees are needed for their cheap labour. Also refugees from certain countries are also not entertained at all for the reason best known to them. Sometimes they don't want people with military background.

In recent years, some resettlement countries are increasingly turning to selection criteria that are based on the notion of 'integration potential' rather than protection or durable solutions needs. An approach that emphasizes immigration criteria, such as integration potential or other domestic considerations (e.g. level of education, medical status or nationality) without flexibility to consider protection needs may result in putting the lives of vulnerable refugees at risk when no other solutions are available. For instance Canada, one of the countries, among other resettlement countries, had been criticized for selecting the "best and the brightest" refugees and thereby exacerbating the situation in the refugee camps where these individuals were selected. The office further reiterated:

UNHCR has absolutely no control over the resettlement country as to how many refugees they need and this makes the office incapacitated in the total management of the resettlement process.

This was admitted at UN tripartite consultative meeting on resettlement in 2006 that UNHCR's capacity to address global resettlement needs is challenged by the particular priorities and criteria set by resettlement countries. Resettlement countries often determine the use and allocation of their resettlement capacity based on domestic considerations and constraints. Thus, which refugees are selected for resettlement, the size of targets and programmes, or the priority accorded to certain populations may be more influenced by domestic influences than by UNHCR or international standards. This is in support of the literature, that refugees may be subjected to restrictive measures including slow processing

of resettlement submissions and difficulties in settling refugees from certain nationalities thereby limiting their prospects of resettlement.

It added that UNHCR faces difficulties as a result of some resettlement countries practice to request a number of submissions from UNHCR that exceed targets so that they can ‘pre-screen’ the cases and select the most suitable for their national programs. On a number of occasions, resettlement countries have requested submissions that exceed their target indication by more than 30%. Similarly, resettlement countries sometimes return case submissions to UNHCR without explanation. This approach to resettlement is of serious concern to UNHCR as it prejudices refugee’ access to resettlement, raises expectations and undermines equitable and efficient resettlement delivery.

On the same subject matter, refugees hold divergent views on the issue. While few of the refugees hold on the view that UNHCR might really have genuine challenges concerning resettlement because of the growing number of refugees as well as terrorism and its attendant problems in the recent times, majority of the refugees are skeptic about the real intention of UNHCR. The leader of the Togolese group in a focus group discussion appeared irritated and retorted:

As for me, I don’t agree with the flimsy excuses that they (UNHCR) always give. If resettlement is actually part of the durable solutions to solve refugee crises, then all refugees are entitled to it.

The lady from Sierra Leone at the Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe camp appeared sympathetic to UNHCR and remarked:

The UNHCR always complain that the group resettlement is over and also the number of refugee wanting to be resettled is large. I think the number may be a problem to them, because majority of refugees want to be repatriated.

Further, refugees also expressed frustrations about the “case by case” method of selection of some refugee for resettlement. They hold on the perception that the method is not fair and amount to nothing but a discriminatory strategy by the official of UNHCR to discourage refugees from benefiting from resettlement packages. The middle aged Muslim Sudanese leader who has also been living in Ghana hoping to be resettled in the West also expressed frustrations and misgiving about the case by case means of selecting refugees in the country for resettlement. He argued:

I don't agree with UNHCR at all, we are all refugees in Ghana, why should they think that other refugees are more important than others? We are all refugees in Ghana and therefore we should all be resettled.

The leader of the Somalia refugees at the Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe camp in a focus group discussion could not agree better than Sudanese leader and also expressed his frustrations in the following remarks:

It's sad that, in Ghana, UNHCR together with their counterparts are so discriminatory when it comes to resettlement of refugees. We are all in Ghana because of the conflict in our countries and needed assistance from them. They should help us all.

This appears to confirm the perception that refugees all over Africa have about Ghana that once you are found in Ghana with the refugee status, one is likely to be resettled in the West. Agblorti (2011) documented that the diversity of countries from which refugees had fled was striking: Krisan refugee camp alone hosted refugees from eleven African countries (Sudan, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Togo, Eritrea, Congo DR, Rwanda, Congo Brazzaville, Cote d'Ivoire, Chad and Somalia) totaling about 1,321 in 2005. Another area of interest was how the large number of refugees wanting to be resettled poses a challenge to the smooth operation of durable solution programmes. In response, the institutions replied:

It is almost herculean task convincing this large number of refugees that, it is not within the authority of the institution to resettle them in another country but rather within the domain of the resettled country. It is as the result of this predicament, that the office is forced to look for other countries in addition to Canada, United States, and Australia that we deal with in refugee resettlement.

According to UNHCR (2007) with more than 35,000 refugees and asylum seekers on its territory, Ghana hosts the largest refugee population in West Africa. The main groups were Liberian refugees in the Budumburam settlement (76 per cent), refugees of various nationalities in Krisan settlement (4 per cent), Togolese refugees with host communities in the Volta region (16 per cent), and urban refugees and asylum-seekers in and around Accra (4 per cent) (UNHCR, 2007).

Further checks, also revealed that Ghana is the host of the largest number of Liberian refugees in the world and as at 2007; there were about 27,000

Liberian refugees alone in Ghana (Omata, 2011). It is obviously clear that, looking at the challenges (explained above) that the humanitarian agencies especially the UNHCR Ghana is facing in the hands of the countries interested in resettling refugees, the offices may not meet the demand of the large number of agitating refugees. The office further expressed frustrations they are going through especially in the hands of Liberia refugees in the following expressions:

This difficulty is mostly common with some Liberia refugees in Budumburam Camp as they continue to insist that resettlement is the only durable solution for them. Majority of the refugees consider resettlement to be the only solution to their plight and sometimes become very violent and destructive when their aspirations are not immediately met.

In fact, Horst (2002) documents that many refugees are extremely preoccupied by, and overestimate their prospects for, resettlement simply as a result of living in an urban environment from which people they know have been resettled. The researcher was once again reminded that it was one of such agitations that led to a group of refugees demanding resettlement to a third country responsible for violent incidents in Krisan/Sanzule/Eikwe camp in November, 2005 including the destruction of UNHCR assets and property valued at over US\$100,000. This represented a serious setback in the search for durable solutions for the 1,700 residents of the camp. The office explained that despite the predicament associated with resettlement of refugees the office was able to resettle a good number of them the third countries. Further checks revealed that a total of 264 refugees in Ghana were resettled in 2008. The majority of those resettled were

from Togo (157) and Sudan (63).The rest were from Liberia (29), Republic of the Congo (13), Sierra Leone (1) and Burundi (1) (UNHCR, 2009).

In one of its global consultative meetings in 2002, the UNHCR acknowledged that currently, there are a small number of countries with regular annual resettlement programmes that provide what is admittedly a limited global resettlement capacity. Over time, many countries have offered resettlement on an *ad hoc* basis, some of whom continue to do so periodically. A number of states, facing the challenges of mixed flows of migrants and refugees have either reduced their resettlement quotas or stopped participating in resettlement. Meeting the needs of those requiring individual protection is a primary aim of much of the currently available resettlement capacity.

According to UNHCR (2006) the number of countries accepting refugees through resettlement programmes and the places offered remains limited. Following the examination and scrutiny that the entire system of resettlement is normally subjected to, the researcher wanted to ascertain the trauma that they go through in the hands of immigration officials. The respondents stated that as the result of transparency and accountability that characterized the system of doing things, in such countries the process is delayed a bit. When this happens, such refugees on the programme mount an intense pressure on the organization to quicken the process which is not within capability of the institution.

This was confirmed by the UNHCR (2006) that the resettlement process is both challenging and resource intensive. It involves the identification of refugees in greatest need of protection, interviewing refugees and assessing the

grounds upon which resettlement will be taken, preparing resettlement submissions for consideration by resettlement States, organising the selection interviews by States and travel arrangements from the host country and on-arrival arrangements in the country of resettlement. The other agencies, governmental and non-governmental, that are engaged in facilitating refugee resettlement, require close and effective coordination of the system (UNHCR, 2006).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the study and conclusions. It further gives recommendations to both international and national policy makers on refugee issues especially on how best to embark on effective implementation of durable solutions especially in Ghana.

Summary

The main objective of the study was to examine the challenges that the various refugee institutions, organizations, and allied bodies or agencies (based in Ghana) face in the implementation of durable solutions for refugees in the country. Purposive sampling method was used to select the units for the study. While in-depth interview was used to collect data from the institutions, focuses group discussion was used to gather data from the refugee leaders.

Analysis of the field data involved narrating, summarizing and interpreting data obtained from the study units. Narratives were mainly used to describe the phenomena under study. Appropriate verbal accounts were also reproduced to enrich the discussion. The key findings include the following:

It was found out that International Organization for Migration (IOM), an inter governmental organization is involved in repatriation programmes of refugees in the form of providing flights or transportation facilities for refugees back to their country and also involve in reintegration of refugees in their respective countries as part of the implementation of durable solution.

Secondly, it was established that the Ghana Refugee Board receives and considers applications for refugee status and recognizes persons as refugees. The Board provides adequate facilities and services for the care of refugees in Ghana and assumes an advisory role by advising the government on all matters relating to refugees in Ghana. However when it comes to the implementation of durable solutions, the Ghana Refugee Board does not play an active or leading role in its implementation.

Thirdly, UNHCR Ghana provides protection and seeks the welfare of refugees who are displaced by persecution and general violence, promote better livelihood for refugees by preparing them for a possible durable solution. Further, the greatest challenge facing the UNHCR and its partners is the high expectations among refugees regarding the possibility of resettlement to the third country. This has greatly inhibited the majority of refugees to repatriate. Such expectations lead to increased desperation on the part of refugees and excessive pressures on resettlement offices. Security challenges back at the country of origin are also among the factors preventing refugees from embarking on voluntary repatriation programmes. This poses a great challenge to the humanitarian organizations since most of the refugees are not willing to return for this particular reason.

Also the general economic and political conditions in the West Africa sub-region compound the problem of repatriation. Refugees are not willing to return to their home country where they are not sure of job opportunities and political stability. Lack of positive response from the home of origin concerning repatriation programmes hinder repatriation of refugees. Some countries do not express the desire or expected interest in the repatriation of their citizen back home.

In addition, resettlement which allows refugees to be resettled into the third country prevents refugees to patronize local integration programmes to a point where majority of the refugees have made up their minds that resettlement to the third country is the only durable solution to their refugee situation. Moreover, lack of local integration policy in Ghana is a major hindrance to local integration programmes. The absence of clear policy guidelines and integration mechanisms to serve as a framework to direct the implementation of local integration of refugees in Ghana is a major challenge. The office of UNHCR Ghana has no control over resettlement programmes. The country of resettlement takes charge of the resettlement programmes at the expense of the UNHCR making it very difficult for the office to convince the agitating refugees that it is not within their capability to do so.

Lastly, the huge number of refugees wanting to be resettlement in the third country is another major challenge to the UNHCR. The limited number of countries involved in resettling refugees from Ghana, is just few and cannot resettle the large number of refugees from Ghana. The processes involved in

resettlement programmes are highly bureaucratic and this tends out to delay its final implementation to the chagrin of the refugees involved.

Conclusions

- 1 The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is involved in the implementation of some aspect of durable solutions. They work hand in hand with UNHCR for flight arrangement and re integration of refugees in their home country.
- 2 Majority of refugees in the country are only interested in resettlement to the third country and pay little or no attention to the other durable solutions thereby creating a major setback to institutions implementing durable solutions. The open confrontation and hostilities between refugees and the various authorities at the refugee camps in recent times attest to that.
- 3 The policy of resettlement to a very significant extent compromised or undermined the other two remaining aspects of durable solutions especially repatriation.
- 4 Security conditions in the country of origin add up to the challenge of repatriation since no refugee would like to return to a hostile political and fragile economic environment.
- 5 The office of UNHCR Ghana is handicapped in taking total control of resettlement programmes. It has little or no control over resettlement of refugee.

- 6 Lack of local integration policy in Ghana is a major impediment to refugee integration into Ghanaian society. UNHCR Ghana, in particular is not enthused about the absence of such a policy.
- 7 The implementation of durable solutions in Ghana sorely rest on the shoulder of UNHCR. The office of UNHCR Ghana has taken over the primary responsibility of refugee management and operation instead of Ghana Refugee Board doing so on behalf the government as such the office is therefore not satisfied with performance of the Board.
- 8 Lack of adequate or limited information about the nature and limitations of resettlement as a durable solution, is the cause of high and unrealistic expectation on the part of refugees.

Recommendations

In the light of the findings and conclusions of the study the following recommendations are made.

- 1 UNHCR and its allied bodies involved in resettlement programmes should communicate more effectively and made refugees understand the real and current issues about resettlement programmes. This could be achieved through participatory assessments, and group discussions, through these; unreal expectations and misunderstandings would reduce drastically.
- 2 The Ghana Refugee Board and its partner, UNHCR should embark on educational programmes to keep refugees informed about the current relevant information about the activities of durable solutions. It is only

when refugees have the necessary information that they can make informed choices especially concerning resettlement.

- 3 Also when repatriation is being promoted, UNHCR should restrict resettlement interventions to refugees with acute protection or specific needs. In particular, group resettlement should be replaced by a more targeted approach in the selection and processing of cases.
- 4 UNHCR and Ghana Refugee Board should investigate specific fears of refugees and find solutions to them as part of an assessment of the repatriation programme. They should seek information from NGOs well established in such countries and knowledgeable of the political and security situation, state of national infrastructures and local conditions.
- 5 In order to actively involve UNHCR Ghana, more in resettlement programmes, resettlement should be strategically promoted and coordinated and should involve the resettlement country, International Organization for Migration, the government of Ghana as well as country of origin, requiring more commitment on the part of the international community to sustain the burden-sharing.
- 6 The government of Ghana should put in place clear and deliberate local integration policy that should be unambiguous both in their intention and implementation, which are not only to legitimate the process but more significantly giving it the necessary legal backing.
- 7 Also, all deliberations concerning local integration where crucial decisions are made on behalf of refugees should involve UNHCR and its partners,

refugees themselves, immigration officers, the police and any other relevant body interested in the welfare of the refugees.

- 8 The Ghana Refugee Board should be well resourced and made more vibrant. There should be active research department or centre to constantly provide the authorities with the accurate data based on empirical evidence instead of relying on newspaper publications.
- 9 UNHCR, Ghana Refugee Board and NGOs should establish repatriation committees involving NGOs, UNHCR, and refugee representatives in the countries of origin to facilitate efforts of voluntary repatriation, and liaise with these committees.

REFERENCES

- Abild, E. (2009). Creating humanitarian space. A case study of Somalia. *New issues in refugee research*, PDES Working Paper No. 184, Retrieved: 17 April, 2010 from <http://www.unhcr.org/cgiibintexis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=3>
- Adepoju, A., Boulton, A., & Levin, M. (2007) 'Promoting integration through mobility: Free movement and the ECOWAS protocol', *New issues in refugee research*, PDES Working Paper No. 150, Retrieved: 11 March, 2010 from <http://www.unhcr.org/cgiibin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=3>.
- Agblorti, S.K.M (2011). Refugee integration in Ghana: The host community's perspective. *Research Paper 203*, UNHCR.
- Alexander, A. (2008). Without refuge: Chin refugees in India and Malaysia. *Forced migration review (3) 12-29*.
- Allen, R., & Le Rosi, A. (2010). 'Should I stay or should I go? A review of UNHCR's response to the protracted refugee situation in Serbia and Croatia', <http://www.UNHCR.org/4d08e19a9.pdf>
- Amnesty International, (2008). Annual report.
- Ashraf, A., & Majid, A. (1988). Economic impact of Afghan refugees in NWFP; Pakistan Academy for rural development, Peshawar, Pard.

- Bakewell, O. (2000). Repatriation and self-settled refugees in Zambia: Bringing solutions to the wrong problems, *Journal of refugee studies* 13(4), 356-373.
- Black, R., & Gent, S. (2004). Defining, measuring and influencing sustainable return: The case of the Balkans. *Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalization and Poverty, Research Paper 7*. UNHCR.
- Brooks, H. C., & Percy, D. R. (1970). *Refugees south of the Sahara: An African dilemma*, Westport: Negro University Press.
- Cameron, J. (2005). Focusing on the Focus Group, In Hay, L. (Ed.) *Qualitative research methods in human geography*. South Melbourne. Oxford University Press.
- Campbell, E., & Elizabeth, H. (2005). "Formalizing the informal economy: Somali refugee and migrant trade networks in Nairobi." *Global Commission on International Migration*.
- Campbell, E., & Elizabeth, H. (2006). Urban refugees in Nairobi: Problem of protection, mechanisms of survival and possibility of integration, *Journal of refugees studies* (3)19, 142 -159.
- Chambers, R. (1986). Hidden losers? The impacts of rural refugees and refugee programmes on poorer hosts. *International migration review*, (20)2, 245-263.
- Crisp, J. (2002). *No solutions in sight: The problem of protracted refugee situations in Africa*. Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, San Diego, University of California.

- Crisp, J., & Amy, S. (2009). A surrogate state? The role of UNHCR in protracted refugee situations, *New issues in refugee research* 168, UNHCR.
- Crisp, J., Jane, J., Jose, R., & Shahira, S. (2009). Surviving in the city – A review of UNHCR’s operation for Iraqi refugees in urban areas of Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. *United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Policy Development and Evaluation Service.*
- Da Costa, R. (2006). Rights of Refugees in the Context of Integration: Legal Standards and Recommendations. *Geneva, UNHCR.*
- Dian- Balde, M., Crisp, J., Macleod, E., & Tennant, V. (2011). A shelter from the storm: A real –time for UNHCR’s evaluation response to emergency to Cote d’ Ivoire and Liberia. *Policy development and evaluation service. UNHCR.*
- Dick, S. (2002 a). Liberians in Ghana: Living without humanitarian assistance. *New issues in refugee research* 57, UNHCR.
- Dick, S. (2002 b). Responding to protracted refugee situations. A case study of Liberian refugees in Ghana. *Evaluation and policy analysis unit. UNHCR.*
- Didomenico, V., Harmer, A., & Stoddard, A. (2009). Providing aid in insecure environments: Trends in policy and operations. *Humanitarian policy group report 2*, London: Overseas Development Institute.

- Duffield, M. (2007). *Development, security and unending war: Governing the world of peoples*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Entwisle, H. (2010). The end of the road? A review of UNHCR's role in the return and reintegration of internally displaced populations. *Policy Development and Evaluation Service. UNHCR*,
- Essuman-Johnson, A. (2003). Ghana's policy towards refugees since independence. *Ghana Social Science Journal*, (2)1, 136-161.
- Fielden, F.(2008). Local integration: an under-reported solution to protracted refugee situations, *New issues in refugee research*, Working Paper No. 158, Retrieved: 14 March, 2010 from <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=486cc99f2&query>
- Franco, L. (1994). UNHCR's Operational experience with internally displaced persons. *Division of international protection. UNHCR*.
- Freund, P., & Kalumba, K. (1986). *Spontaneously settled refugees in North West Province, Zambia*. The Centre for Migration Studies of New York, Inc.
- Gayle, J. (2001). *Tourism research*. John Wiley & Sons Australia, Ltd.
- Geraldine, S. (2008). Towards the local integration of Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees in West Africa through enhancing self reliance and promoting regional integration. Available at <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/opendoc>.
- Giddens, A. (1989). *Sociology*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Goodwin- Gill, G. (1996). *The refugee in international law*, Oxford: Clarendin Press.

- Grabska, K. (2006). Marginalization in urban spaces of the global south: Urban refugees in Cairo. *Journal of refugee studies*, 19(3), 102- 113.
- Green, R. H. (2000). Food security in refuge and return: Some aspects of entitlements, markets, and modalities, In Dick, S. (2002), *Liberians in Ghana: living without humanitarian assistance. New issues in refugee research*, Geneva, UNHCR.
- Grogan, P. (2008). *Does a rising tide lift all boats? Refugee resettlement, integration and New Zealand's settlement strategy*. Fulbright, New Zealand.
- Guido, A. (2011). The end of history? Conflict, displacement and durable solutions in the post- cold war era. *New issues in refugee research*. Geneva, UNHCR.
- Hamm, C. (2000). Journey into the darkness; it began as simple assessment mission. *Refugees*, 121, 8- 12.
- Hancock, B. (1998). *An introduction to qualitative research*, Trent Focus Group, Birmingham.
- Harrell-Bond E. (1986). *Imposing aid: Emergency assistance to refugees*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hatch, J. (1970). Historical background on the African refugee problem, In Brooks, H. C. & Percy, D. R. (eds.) *Refugees south of the Sahara: An African dilemma*, Westport: Negro University Press, pp. 11-26.
- Horst, C. (2002). Vital links in social security: Somali refugees in the Dadaab camps, Kenya. *Refugee survey quarterly*, 21, 1- 2.

- Karen, J. (2001). The forgotten solution: local integration for refugees in developing countries. *New issues in refugee research*, PDES, Working paper No. 45, Retrieved: 10 February, 2010 from <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid>.
- Kaiser, T. (2000). Participation or evaluation? Reflections on 'beneficiary based' evaluation of UNHCR's programme for Sierra Leonean and Liberian refugees in Guinea. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 17(2): 185-204.
- Kibreab, G. (1989). *Environmental causes and impact of refugee movements: A critique of the current debate*. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford University Press.
- Kiros, H. (2009). Finding home far away from home: place attachment, place-identity, belonging and resettlement among African-Australians in Hobart.
- Kleinschmidt, K. (2000). "The drums of war were heard..." Daily life in a refugee camp is a harrowing experience. *Refugee*, 121. 14-17.
- Kunz, E.F. (1981). "Exile and resettlement: Refugee theory," *International migration review*, 15(12), 42 – 51.
- Landau, L. (2006). Protection and dignity in Johannesburg: Shortcomings of South Africa's urban refugee policy. *Journal of refugee studies* 19(3) 164-172.
- Loescher, G. (2001). *The UNHCR and the world politics: a perilous path*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Long, C. (2009). Extending protection? Labour migration and durable solutions

- for refugees. *New issues in refugee research 176*, UNHCR.
- Long, K. (2010). "Home alone? A review of the relationship between repatriation, mobility and durable solutions for refugees. *New issues in refugee Research*, PDES Working paper No. 14. Retrieved: 10 November, 2010 from <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=3ae6a0cc0&query>.
- Long, K. (2011). *Permanent crises? Unlocking the protracted displacement of refugees and internally displaced persons*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Mason, R.D. (1999). *Statistical techniques in business and economics*, Boston, MA: Mc Graw-Hill.
- McCommon, C. S. (1989). *Refugees in Belize: A Cauldron of ethnic tensions, Conflict, migration and the expression of ethnicity*, London: Oxford University Press.
- McKeever, D. (2005). Identifying gaps in protection capacity, Benin. *UNHCR, Strengthening protection capacity project*.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Beverley Hill: Sage Publications.
- Milner, J. (2009). *Protracted refugee situations: Political, human rights and security implications*, Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Moumtzis, P. (2000). A million thoughts went through my mind. Was I going to come out of this alive? *Refugees*, 121, 18- 26.
- Nazneen, S., Uma, A. S., & Mayadas, D.S.W. (2000). *Refugees in 19990s: AUS*

- perspective*. New York, Columbia University Press.
- NGO-SPAS. (2009). Somali statistics 2008. *NGO Consortium*.
- NGO- UNHCR. (1999). Protecting refugees: A field guide for NGOs. UN Publications.
- Oguaye, & Katsriku. (1996). *Government and NGO relations in Ghana*. Accra Gold Type Ltd.
- Omata, N (2011a). Repatriation is not for everyone': the life and livelihoods of former refugees in Liberia. *New issues in refugee research 213, UNHCR*.
- Omata, N. (2011b). Forgotten or neglected? Non registered refugees in Ghana: their rights and protection. *Oxford monitor of forced migration, (1)2, 203-213*.
- Otunnu, O. (1992). "Too Many, Too Long: "African Refugee Crisis Revisited." *Journal, of refugee studies, (12)3,120-139*.
- Parker, E. (2008, December). The refugee problem: Looking toward Afghanistan's long-term stability. *South Asia Monitor, Number 125*.
- Sadako, O. (2005). *The turbulent decade: Confronting the refugee crises of the 1990s*, Norton, New York Basic Books.
- Sanders, M., Lewis, P., & Thornhill, A. (2007). *Research methods for business students*, Fourth Edition, U.K: Prentice Hall.
- Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social research*. Hound mills, Basingstoke, Hampshire.
- Smith, S. (2004). Warehousing refugees: A denial of rights, a waste of humanity. *Refugee Survey*, Washington: US Committee for Refugees.

Sperl, S., & Vriese, De, M. (2005). From emergency evacuation to community empowerment: *Review of the repatriation and reintegration programme in Sierra Leone*. Retrieved: 30 February 2010, from

<http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/>

taxis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=49e479cc0&query=integration of Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees in West Africa.

Stein, J.G. (2008). Humanitarian organizations: Accountable – why, to whom, for what and how? In Barnett, M., Weiss, T.G. (Ed.), *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power and Ethics*. New York, Cornell University Press.

Turton, D., & Marsden, P. (2002). ‘Taking refugees for a ride? The politics of refugee return to Afghanistan.’ *Afghan research and evaluation unit*.

United Nations High Commission for Refugees, (1996). Handbook: Voluntary repatriation; International protection.

United Nations High Commission for Refugees, (2002). Evaluation of UNHCR’s policy on refugees in urban areas: A case study review of New Delhi. *Evaluation and policy analysis unit*.

United Nations High Commission for Refugees, (2004). Profile of Ghana Country Office, UNHCR, *Development institute*.

United Nations High Commissions for Refugees, (2005). Protracted refugee situations: The search for practical solutions.

United Nations High Commissions for Refugees, (2006). Challenges in

addressing global refugee resettlement needs.

United Nations High Commissions for Refugees, (2007). Statistical year book.

United Nations High Commissions for Refugees, (2008). Annual global trends report.

United Nations High Commissions for Refugees, (2009). Global appeal, Geneva.

United Nations High Commission for Refugees, (2011a). Annual report on West Africa.

United Nations High Commission for Refugees, (2011b). Baseline standard operating procedures on resettlement.

United Nations High Commission for Refugee, (2011 c). Projected global resettlement needs 2011: Including overview of UNHCR resettlement achievements in 2009, Operational challenges and strategic directions for 2010-2011.

Warner, D. (1994). Voluntary repatriation and the meaning of return to home: A critique of liberal mathematics. *Journal of refugee studies*, 7(23), 160-174.

Whitaker, B. E. (2002). Changing priorities in refugee protection: the Rwandan repatriation from Tanzania. *New issues in refugee research*, PDES Working Paper No. 11, Retrieved: 21 January 2010 from [http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=3ae6a0c70&query=New Issues in Refugee research](http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/search?page=search&docid=3ae6a0c70&query=New+Issues+in+Refugee+research).

Zetter, R. (1995). *Shelter provision and settlement policies for refugees*. Nordiska

Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala Sweden.

Zieck, M. (1997). *UNHCR and voluntary repatriation of refugees: a legal analysis*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR UNHCR OFFICIALS

Introduction

I am a student from the University of Cape Coast. I am conducting a study on Challenges in the implementation of durable solutions for refugees in Ghana.

Reasons for the study

I want to discuss with you issues concerning the challenges that your institution encounters in the performance of your mandated role to protect refugees with special emphasis on repatriation, local integration, and resettlement. I will be interested in the factors that inhibit smooth operation of the durable solutions and how your high office has been handling such challenges. This discussion will be tape recorded after which a transcription will be made. Information gathered from you will be combined with those of other participants so that information provided by you will not be identified with your name.

(A)Background characteristics

1. Sex: Male [] Female []
2. Age: 10-19 [] 20-29 [] 30-39 [] 40 and above []
3. Marital status: Never married [] Married []

4. Religion: Christianity [] Traditional [] Islam [] others

(B) Roles of UNHCR in the implementation of durable solutions

- Please tell me the roles UNHCR in Ghana is expected to play in connection with refugees. (Probe further for specific roles the institution plays)

VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION

(C) Challenges of voluntary repatriation.

- Kindly explain to me the difficulties you go through to carry out repatriation programmes. (Probe further the associated challenges)
- Do you have any resistance from the refugees to co-operate with you in your repatriation programmes (Probe further the nature of the resistance)
- What are the specific challenges that the economic situation in the West Africa region pose to your repatriation programme?
- What difficulty do you face in dealing with refugees that will not like to repatriate, or integrate locally into Ghanaian society?

(D) Challenges from the home country

- How does protracted nature of conflicts in the home country challenge your capacity to pursue a viable repatriation?(Probe further lack of preparedness on the part of home country to receive refugees affect their operations)

LOCAL INTEGRATION

(E) Resistance from refugees

- Kindly tell me how refugees resisted the idea of local integration into Ghanaian society? (Probe further, the various forms refugees show their resistance)
- Explain to me how difficult it is to seek the concern of refugees to be locally integrated into Ghanaian society? (Probe further how much resources it takes to convince refugees to be locally integrated)

(F) Resistance from Ghana Government

- Mention some difficulties you go through in the hands of the Ghanaian authorities to carry out local integration programmes.(Probe further the specific difficulties)
- Also tell me about challenges other partners encounter that affect your smooth operations (NGOs, host communities, and the media).
- How does the fragile economy of the West African region pose threat to local integration in the face of mass unemployment in Ghana?
- What is the major hindrance to local integration?

RESETTLEMENT

(G) Difficulty in implementing resettlement

- Resettlement over the years has not been encouraging. How does that affect your operations of the other two remaining solutions?
- How difficult is resettlement to implement (Probe further for some of the difficulties they face.)
- Kindly explain to me how difficult it is to convince the huge number of refugees agitating to be resettled derails the purpose of discouraging resettlement.
- Please tell me the hustle and bustle you go through in the hands of the officials of the resettled country to resettle refugees from Ghana.
- How difficult is it to implement resettlement of refugees from Ghana?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GHANA REFUGEE BOARD OFFICIALS

Introduction

I am a student from the University of Cape Coast. I am conducting a study on Challenges in the implementation of durable solutions for refugees in Ghana

Reasons for the study

I want to discuss with you issues concerning the challenges that your institution encounters in the performance of your mandated role to protect refugees with special emphasis on repatriation, local integration, and resettlement. I will be interested in the factors that inhibit smooth operation of the durable solutions and how your high office has been handling such challenges. This discussion will be tape recorded after which a transcription will be made.

(A) Background characteristics

- 1 Sex: Male [] Female []
- 2 Age: 10-19 [] 20-29 [] 30-39 [] 40 and above []
- 3 Marital status: Never married [] Married []
- 4 Religion: Christianity [] Traditional [] Islam [] others

(B) Roles in the GRB in the implementation of durable solutions

- Kindly tell me the roles GRB is set up to play. (Probe further for specific roles the institution plays)

VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION

(C) Challenges of voluntary Repatriation.

- Kindly explain to me the difficulties you go through to carry out repatriation programmes. (Probe further the associated challenges)
- Do you have any resistance from the refugees to co operate with you in your repatriation programmes (Probe further the nature of the resistance)
- What are the specific challenges that the economic situation in the West Africa region pose to your repatriation programme?

(D) Response from the home country

- How does protracted nature of conflicts in the home country challenge your capacity to pursue a viable repatriation?(Probe further lack of preparedness on the part of home country to receive refugees affect their operations)
- One major hindrance to voluntary repatriation is its application and timing, how does that pose a danger to your operations? (Probe further how that affects the objectives and programme of the repatriation)

LOCAL INTEGRATION

(E) Resistance from refugees

- Kindly tell me how refugees resisted the idea of local integration into Ghanaian society? (Probe further, the various forms refugees show their resistance)
- Explain to me how difficult it is to seek the concern of refugees to be locally integrated into Ghanaian society? (Probe further how much resources it takes to convince refugees to be locally integrated)

(F) Resistance from Ghana Government

- Mention some difficulties you go through in the hands of Ghanaians to carry out local integration programmes.(Probe further the specific difficulties from the media, politicians, and the hosting communities)
- Also tell me about challenges that UNHCR and other partners encounter that affect your smooth operations (NGOs, religious organizations, and the media).
- How does the fragile economy of the West African region pose threat to local integration in the face of mass unemployment in Ghana?

RESETTLEMENT

- Resettlement over the years has not been encouraging. How does that affect your operations of the other two remaining solutions?
- How difficult is resettlement to implement (Probe further for some of the difficulties they face.)
- Kindly explain to me how difficult it is to convince the huge number of refugees agitating to be resettled defeats the purpose of discouraging resettlement.
- Please tell me the hustle and bustle you go through in the hands of the officials of the resettled country to resettle refugees from Ghana.
- How difficult is it to implement resettlement of refugees from Ghana?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR NGOs

Introduction

I am a student from the University of Cape Coast. I am conducting a study on Challenges in the implementation of durable solutions for refugees in Ghana.

Reasons for the study

I want to discuss with you issues concerning the challenges that your institution encounters in the performance of your mandated role to protect refugees with special emphasis on repatriation, local integration, and resettlement. I will be interested in the factors that inhibit smooth operation of the durable solutions and how your high office has been handling such challenges. This discussion will be tape recorded after which a transcription will be made.

(A) Background characteristics

- 1 Sex: Male [] Female []
- 2 Age: 10-19 [] 20-29 [] 30-39 [] 40 and above []
- 3 Marital status: Never married [] Married []
- 4 Religion: Christianity [] Traditional [] Islam [] others

(B) Roles of NGOs in refugee affairs

- Kindly tell me the roles that your organization plays to make life better for refugees. (Probe further for specific roles the organization plays)

VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION

(C) Challenges of voluntary repatriation.

- Kindly explain to me the difficulties you go through to carry out repatriation programmes with refugees? (Probe further the associated challenges)
- Do you have any resistance from the refugees to co operate with you in your repatriation programmes (Probe further the nature of the resistance)
- What are the specific challenges that the economic situation in the West Africa region pose to your repatriation programme?
- How does protracted nature of conflicts in the home country challenge your capacity to pursue a viable repatriation?(Probe further lack of preparedness on the part of home country to receive refugees affect their operations)
- Tell me about the challenges that GRB encounters to fund the cost of repatriation.

LOCAL INTEGRATION

(D) Resistance from refugees

- Kindly tell me how refugees resisted the idea of local integration into Ghanaian society? (Probe further, the various forms refugees show their resistance)
- Explain to me how difficult it is to seek the concern of refugees to be locally integrated into Ghanaian society? (Probe further how much resources it takes to convince refugees to be locally integrated)

(E) Resistance from Ghana Government

- Mention some difficulties you go through in the hands of Ghanaians to carry out local integration programmes.(Probe further the specific difficulties from the media, politicians, and the hosting communities)
- Also tell me about challenges that UNHC and other partners encounter that affect your smooth operations (NGOs, religious organizations, and the media).
- How does the fragile economy of the West African region pose threat to local integration in the face of mass unemployment in Ghana?

RESETTLEMENT

(F) Difficulty in implementing Resettlement

- Resettlement over the years has not been encouraging. How does that affect your operations of the other two remaining solutions?
- How difficult is resettlement to implement (Probe further for some of the difficulties they face.)
- Kindly explain to me how difficult it is to convince the huge number of refugees agitating to be resettled defeats the purpose of discouraging resettlement.
- Please tell me the hustle and bustle you go through in the hands of the officials of the resettled country to resettle refugees from Ghana.
- How difficult is it to implement resettlement of refugees from Ghana?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR REFUGEES

Introduction

I am a student from the University of Cape Coast. I am conducting a study on Challenges in the implementation of durable solutions for refugees in Ghana.

Reasons for the study

I want to discuss with you issues concerning the challenges that your institution encounters in the performance of your mandated role to protect refugees with special emphasis on repatriation, local integration, and resettlement. I will be interested in the factors that inhibit smooth operation of the durable solutions and how your high office has been handling such challenges. This discussion will be tape recorded after which a transcription will be made.

(A) Background characteristics

1 Sex: Male [] Female []

2 Age: 10-19 [] 20-29 [] 30-39 [] 40 and above []

3 Marital status: Never married [] Married []

4 Religion: Christianity [] Traditional [] Islam [] others

CHALLENGES OF VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION

(B) Difficulties from the host country

- Kindly mention the factors that inhibit your return to your home country.
- What specific challenges do you face in an attempt to prepare for repatriation? (Probe for specific challenges concerning assistance from the authorities, cost of transport and lack of information).
- How do business opportunities in Ghana of which refugees are involved threaten the interest in repatriation?
- What account for refugees changing their mind on repatriation programmes? (Probe for the reasons that motivate refugees to keep on doing that)

(C) Difficulties from the authorities

- Also, tell me the challenges the UNHCR and their Ghanaian counterparts encounter to assist you to repatriate.(Probe further for difficulties they go through in the hands of the authorities)
- Kindly explain to me, the difficulties IOM and other NGOs encounter in an attempt to assist you to repatriate.

(D) Challenges of the home country

- Why did refugees keep on returning to Ghana after they have been repatriated?(Probe further for the cause of such returns)
- Does the political instability in your country pose a threat to your return? (Probe further for the challenge of insecurity in the home)

- Do you think that there are not enough reintegration measures put in place to absorb you on your return? (Probe further for lack of confidence in the reintegration process)
- How would you describe the issue of job insecurity in your home country as a major factor preventing you to repatriate?
- How does the issue of resettlement to third country affect you to repatriate to your home country?
- How does the protracted nature of conflict in your home country pose a challenge to you to repatriate?

CHALLENGES OF LOCAL INTEGRATION

(E) Difficulties refugees face from the host country

- What factors prevent you from integrating into Ghanaian society?(Probe further for lack of job opportunities, discrimination and culture)
- Please explain, why refugees prefer resettlement to the third country to the rest of the durable solution programmes? (Probe further for the reason for the preference)
- How does the challenge of discrimination from the host community prevent you from accessing the opportunities of local integration?
- How does the absence of local integration policy pose a challenge to your integration into Ghanaian society?

(F) Challenges associated with the implementing authorities

- Kindly explain the difficulties UNHCR, G.R.B and their partners encounter to assist you to integrate or repatriate.
- How would you describe the economic activities in the West African sub region as a challenge to integration and repatriation?

CHALLENGES OF RESETTLEMENT

- How would you describe the challenge of the large number of refugees wanting to be resettled on the authorities? How does that affect the high expectations of refugees to be resettled in the shortest possible time?
- Have you ever faced the challenge of discrimination against you for the selection of resettlement? How does that pose a challenge to resettlement as a durable solution?
- Kindly explain the difficulties you go through in the hands of the UNHCR and their Ghanaian counterparts to assist you to resettle.
- What account for majority of refugees wanting to resettle in the third country at the expense of the other remaining durable solutions?
- How difficult is it for you as a refugee to access resettlement as a durable solution?

APPENDIX E

DISCUSSION GUIDE FOR REFUGEE LEADERS

Introduction

I am a student from the University of Cape Coast. I am conducting a study on Challenges in the implementation of durable solutions for refugees in Ghana.

Reasons for the study

I want to discuss with you issues concerning the challenges that your institution encounters in the performance of your mandated role to protect refugees with special emphasis on repatriation, local integration, and resettlement. I will be interested in the factors that inhibit smooth operation of the durable solutions and how your high office has been handling such challenges. This discussion will be tape recorded after which a transcription will be made.

(A) Background characteristics

1 Sex: Male [] Female []

2 Age: 10-19 [] 20-29 [] 30-39 [] 40 and above []

3 Marital status: Never married [] Married []

4 Religion: Christianity [] Traditional [] Islam [] others

CHALLENGES OF VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION

(B) Difficulties from the host country

- Kindly mention the factors that inhibit your return to your home country.
- What specific challenges do you face in an attempt to prepare for repatriation? (Probe for specific challenges concerning assistance from the authorities, cost of transport and lack of information).
- How do business opportunities in Ghana of which refugees are involved threaten the interest in repatriation?
- What account for refugees changing their mind on repatriation programmes? (Probe for the reasons that motivate refugees to keep on doing that)

(C) Difficulties from the authorities

- Also, tell me the challenges the UNHCR and their Ghanaian counterparts encounter to assist you to repatriate.(Probe further for difficulties they go through in the hands of the authorities)
- Kindly explain to me, the difficulties IOM and other NGOs encounter in an attempt to assist you to repatriate.

(D) Challenges of the home country

- Why did refugees keep on returning to Ghana after they have been repatriated?(Probe further for the cause of such returns)
- Does the political instability in your country pose a threat to your return? (Probe further for the challenge of insecurity in the home)

- Do you think that there are not enough reintegration measures put in place to absorb you on your return? (Probe further for lack of confidence in the reintegration process)
- How would you describe the issue of job insecurity in your home country as a major factor preventing you to repatriate?
- How does the issue of resettlement to third country affect you to repatriate to your home country?
- How does the protracted nature of conflict in your home country pose a challenge to you to repatriate?

CHALLENGES OF LOCAL INTEGRATION

(E) Difficulties refugees face from the host country

- What factors prevent you from integrating into Ghanaian society?(Probe further for lack of job opportunities, discrimination and culture)
- Please explain, why refugees prefer resettlement to the third country to the rest of the durable solution programmes? (Probe further for the reason for the preference)
- How does the challenge of discrimination from the host community prevent you from accessing the opportunities of local integration?
- How does the absence of local integration policy pose a challenge to your integration into Ghanaian society?

(F) Challenges associated with the implementing authorities

- Kindly explain the difficulties UNHCR, G.R.B and their partners encounter to assist you to integrate or repatriate.
- How would you describe the economic activities in the West African sub region as a challenge to integration and repatriation?

CHALLENGES OF RESETTLEMENT

- How would you describe the challenge of the large number of refugees wanting to be resettled on the authorities? How does that affect the high expectations of refugees to be resettled in the shortest possible time?
- Have you ever faced the challenge of discrimination against you for the selection of resettlement? How does that pose a challenge to resettlement as a durable solution?
- Kindly explain the difficulties you go through in the hands of the UNHCR and their Ghanaian counterparts to assist you to resettle.
- What account for majority of refugees wanting to resettle in the third country at the expense of the other remaining durable solutions?
- How difficult is it for you as a refugee to access resettlement as a durable solution?