JOURNAL OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE
ISSN Print: 2992-2763 – ISSN Online: 2992-4618 | Vol. 2, Issue 2, No. 1 / June 2024
https://www.jopd.com.ng

NON-STATE ACTORS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF LIBERIAN REFUGEES IN BUDUBURAM CAMP IN GHANA, 1990-2007

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Abstract
The major objective of this paper is to examine the role of the non-state actors in the management of Liberian refugees in Bududuram camp in Ghana between 1990 and 2007. In spite of extant studies on Liberian refugees, little is known about the role played by the non-state actors in the management of these refugees in Ghana, which was one of the major host countries of Liberian refugees in West Africa. This is a major problem that this present study intends to solve. The non-state actors played important roles in the management of Liberian refugees in Bududuram camp. Through effective collaboration with the Ghanaian government as well as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR), the non-state actors succeeded in managing Liberian refugees in the camp in Ghana. The main non-state actors that played significant role in the management of Liberian refugees in Bududuram camp in Ghana during this period were Christian Council of Ghana, National Catholic Secretariat, Ghana Red Cross Society and Assemblies of God Relief and Development Services. These non-state actors provided necessary humanitarian assistance to the Liberian refugees who were housed in the camp in Nigeria during this period. The methodology adopted in the study was historical, thematic, qualitative and quantitative utilizing both primary and secondary sources of data collection. It concludes that the non-state actors were major critical stakeholders in the management of Liberian refugees in Ghana between 1990 and 2007. It, therefore, advocated for continuing engagement of the non-state actors in the implementation of programmes geared towards humanitarian needs.

Keywords: Bududuram Camp, Ghana, Liberian Refugees, Management and Non-State actors

Introduction

The displacement of innocent people out of their homeland both within and across the borders is one of the major humanitarian crises confronting contemporary world. Although this humanitarian crisis is not a new phenomenon, it has continued to take a new dimension since the birth of the 21st century in different continents of the world, caused majorly by violent conflicts, insurgency, terrorism and environmental challenges such as climate change, desertification and so on. The forceful population displacement has become an issue of serious concern to the United Nations because of the human tragedy and insecurity associated with it. Besides, the issue that mostly dominates discussions on population displacement at global, continental and national level is the conflict-induced displacements caused mainly by insurgency, terrorism, ethno-religious, inter-ethnic and political conflicts.

Historically, there were several cases of the forceful displacement of people beyond the shores of their countries. They included Russian refugees of the 1917, the Jewish refugees of the 1930s; and those of post-1945 like the Hungarian refugees of the 1950s, the Vietnamese refugees of the 1970s, the Rwandan refugees of the 1990s and the Liberian refugees of the 1990s (Osunkoya, 2022:3). With specific reference to the Liberian refugees, their displacement was caused by the civil war which broke out in 1989. Here, we are not interested in the detail analysis of the Liberian Civil War as this has been thoroughly

discussed in the literature. Several scholars have interrogated the course, causes and consequences of the Liberian Civil War (Ellis, 1995: 165-170). The Liberian Civil War occurred in two major phases, namely the first phase, 1989 to 1997; and the second phase, 1997 and 2003. During these two phases, a large number of Liberians and nationals of other countries living in Liberia became refugees mostly in West Africa. While some Liberians voluntarily left their country and sought for safety in the neighbouring countries, some were evacuated by governments of some member states of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (Vinck, Pham and Kreutzer, 2011).

One of the major member states of ECOWAS that contributed to the intervention in the Liberian civil war was Ghana under the leadership of Jerry Rawlings. Ghana was among the Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) that set up ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in 1990 mainly to intervene in the Liberian civil war. Other members of SMC were Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the Gambia and Guinea. Owing to the humanitarian crisis that characterised the civil war such as mass killings of innocent people, gross violation of human rights and large scale population displacement, the foreign policy of Ghana towards West Africa took a new dimension. The Ghanaian government did not only involve actively in the peacekeeping operations in Liberia through contributing certain number troops under the auspices of ECOMOG but also participated in the non-kinetic approach by establishing refugee camps to accommodate Liberian refugees within Ghana. Thus, Ghana was one of the host of Liberian refugees during this period. Although there are conflicting figures with respect to the number of refugees produced by the war, Cain observes that during this phase of the war, about 750, 000 refugees and more than 1.2 million internally displaced persons were recorded (Cain, 1999:267-230). Also, Dick and Boer explain that, the seven years of violence and bloodshed in Liberia caused the death of about 200,000 people out of a pre-war population of 2.8 million, while more than half of the country's population was forced to flee their homes. Approximately 1.2 million persons were displaced within Liberia, while about 700,000 refugees fled Liberia to neighbouring countries (Dick and Boer, 2001). The UNHCR estimated that 160,000 Liberian refugees were in Cote d'Ivoire, 235,000 in Guinea, 14,000 in Sierra Leone and 17,000 in Ghana at the end of 1996 (UNHCR, 2003). During the 14-year civil war in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Cote d' Ivoire, Nigeria and Ghana were host countries of Liberian refugees. For example, by November 1990, the number of Liberian refugees in neighbouring countries in West Africa could be seen in the below table.

Table 1 Host Countries of Liberian Refugees in West Africa as at November 1990

S/N	Host countries of Liberian Refugees	Number of Liberian Refugees
1	Guinea	311,000
2	Cote d'Ivoire	193,000
3	Sierra Leone	130,000
4	Ghana	34,000
5	Nigeria	6,000
	Total	674,000

Source: Maxwell Owusu. 2000. Reluctant Refugees: Liberians in Ghana. *The Journal*, Vol.7, Issue 3,

The above table revealed the total number of Liberian refugees hosted by some countries in West Africa as at November 1990. From the table, while Guinea had the highest and was immediately followed by Cote d'Iviore, Ghana was the third; and Nigeria had the least number.

It is imperative to point out here that the management of Liberian refugees in Ghana was a joint effort of the Ghanaian government, United Nations though its agency (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee-UNHCR) and non-governmental organizations (non-state actors). Therefore, in this paper, our focus is on the role of the non-state actors in the management of Liberian refugees between 1990 (when Liberian refugees first arrived in the refugee camp created in Ghana) and 2007 (when the camp was closed by UNHCR). The paper is divided into five sections. Section one introduces the discussion and the methodology adopted for the study. The second section focuses on conceptual clarifications. The third section centres the emergence of Liberian Refugees and the Establishment of Bududuram camp in Ghana. The fourth part critically examines the non-state actors and the management of Liberian refugees in Ghana. The last section is the conclusion. The methodological approach is historical, thematic and analytical. Sources include primary and secondary materials derived from oral interviews and extant literature.

Conceptual Clarifications

In a discourse of this nature, it is imperative to conceptualize some major concepts that will feature prominently in it. The purpose of conceptualising these major concepts would be to give a clearer understanding of the subject matter of the paper. Major concepts in this paper are non-state actors, management, refugee and refugee camp.

Management: Management is a major term that has been viewed from different perspectives by scholars. According to Resser, management is the utilisation of both physical and human resources through cooperative efforts and it is accomplished by performing the functions of planning, organizing, staffing, directing and controlling (Resser, 1973). Donnelly and others argues that management is the process undertaken by one or more individuals to coordinate the activities of others to achieve results not achievable by one individual acting alone (Donnelly, Gibson, and Ivancevich, 1984). From the above perspectives, this paper sees management as the management of people in terms of their welfare and well-being. The people in question are the Liberian refugees.

Non-State Actors: Simply put, non-state actors are organizations and individuals that are not affiliated with, directed by, or funded through the government. They include corporations, private financial institutions, and Non-Governmental Organizations (ESCR-Net, 2024). Those non-state actors that were involved in the management of Liberian refugees in Bududuram camp in Ghana were religious private organisations and non-governmental organisations

Refugee: A refugee is simply someone that is being compelled or forced to flee across national border either through violence, insecurity, and environmental challenge for the purpose of safety (Adesote and Ajayi, 2021:10). Based on this definition, there are different categories of refugees, namely political, economic and environmental refugees. Of these categories, our main focus is political refugees. The Liberian refugees were victims of political violence known as civil war .

Refugee Camp: Simply put, a refugee camp is a temporary or permanent settlement put in place to receive refugees who have escaped crisis or war in their home country. According to

Smith, usually, refugee camps (official camps) are built and run by a government, the United Nations, or international organizations, (such as the Red Cross) or Non-Governmental Organization (NGO). However, there are also unofficial refugee camps, like the Calais jungle, where refugees are largely left without support of governments or international organizations (Smith, 2016). In all, refugee camps develop in an impromptu fashion with the aim of meeting basic human needs such as food, clothing and shelter for only a short time. With respect to Ghana, the Buduburam camp set up mainly to accommodate Liberian refugees during this period was both an official camp and permanent camp.

The Establishment of Buduburam Camp and the Emergence of Liberian Refugees in Ghana, 1990-2007

As pointed out in the introduction, Ghana was one of the host countries of Liberian refugees in West Africa. The refugee camps in Ghana were established in phases. As at early 1990s, there were three main refugee camps in Ghana, namely Buduburam camp (located about 40 minutes' drive west of Accra, the country's national capital), Krisan camp (located in the Nzema East District of the Western Region) and Klikor camp (located near Aflao, a town on the eastern border with Togo) (Essuman-Johnson, 2003:136). These refugee camps, which hosted nationals from different African countries were set up at different times in accordance with the arrival of refugees in Ghana. Of these camps, our analysis would be restricted to the first two. This is because Liberian refugees reside there. Thus, while the Buduburam and Krisan camps hosted Liberian refugees, the Klikor camp had Togolese refugees as the main occupants. Although the two camps (Buduburam and Krisan) hosted Liberian refugees, majority of them were found in Buduburam camp (Omata, 2012:3). Therefore, our discussion will be limited to Buduburam camp.

The Buduburam refugee camp was established in Gomoa District, the Central region of Ghana in 1990 to host Liberian refugees due to the civil war that erupted in 1989. The camp was originally established on a 140 acres tract of land. Gomoa Buduburam occupies a land of 891 square kilometres with a population of 194,789 people (Ghana Statistical Service, 2002). The camp hosted the largest refugee concentration in Ghana with almost 98 percent of the population as Liberians. It lies about 32 kilometres on the Accra Winneba highway. It is part of the Central Region of Ghana and forms part of the Gomoa District and has its capital at Apam. There are conflicting arguments with respect to the establishment of Buduburam camp. While Essuman-Johnson argued that the establishment of the camp was in response to the influx of displaced Liberians in the country (Essuman-Johnson, 2003:136-137), Agblorti, and Awusabo-Asare contended that the Buduburam camp had been in existence before the arrival of the Liberian refugees, with a population of just 40 persons in 1984 (Agblorti, S.K.M and Awusabo-Asare, 2011:35-40). Also, Acquah substantiates the claim that the Buduburam settlement was established in 1990 to host Liberian refugees (Acquah, n.d:6). However, in 2000, the camp had about 18,713 refugees with Liberians in majority (Ghana Statistical Service, 2005). The settlement lies in a semi-urban area, approximately a one-hour drive from Accra, the capital. The area of the Buduburam settlement is approximately 140 acres. Over time, due to the continued influx of displaced persons from Liberia, refugees spread beyond the settlement (Essuman-Johnson, 2003:136-137). According to Acquah, originally, the settlement was created on a 140-acre parcel of land to cater for 5,000 refugees. However, due to the protracted armed conflict, the refugee population in the settlement overflowed into nearby villages, including Kasoa, Awutu and Feeteh (Acquah, n.d:6).

There was also a contention on the actual number of Liberian refugees in the camp in Ghana between 1990 and 2007. According to Essuman-Johnson, by the end of September 1990, there were about 7,000 Liberians at Buduburam refugee camp, with an estimated population of 2,000 living in various parts of Accra (Essuman-Johnson, 2003:137). Kreitzer argues that in 1990, the population of Liberian refugees stood at 6, 800. The figure is broken

down as: Women-3,050, children-2,050, and men-1,700. Meanwhile, there was an increase in refugee population of up to 10, 000 in 1992 due to intensified fighting in Liberia. As of 1993, there were 6,418 women and 7,505 men Liberian refugees in Ghana (Kreitzer, 1997:45). According to Tete, Bududuram Refugee Camp in Ghana or Gomoa Bududuram hosted over 40,000 Liberian refugees including children between 1990 and 2003 (Tete, 2005). Generally, Ghana hosted over 40,000 refugees by the end of 2002 (United States Committee for Refugee, 2003). As at 2004, a documentation exercise by the UNHCR put the total number of refugees at various refugee camps in Ghana were 48,034, most of them from Liberia (UNHCR Report, 2004).

The Non-State Actors and the Management of Liberian Refugees in Bududuram camp

The role of non-state actors in the management of Liberian refugees in Bududuram camp during this period cannot be overemphasized. The major non-state actors that partnered with the UNHCR as well as the Ghanaian government in the management of Liberian refugees during this period of study. These non-state actors were the Christian Council of Ghana, National Catholic Secretariat, Ghana Red Cross Society and Assemblies of God Relief and Development Services. Each of these non-state actors as well as their activities in the management of Liberian refugees in Bududuram Camp would be discussed.

a. The Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) and the Management of Liberian Refugees

The Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) was one of the implementing partners of UNHCR in Ghana that played significant role in the management of Liberian refugees in Bududuram camp between 1990 and 2007. Her role in the management of Liberian refugees was noticeable in the areas of education, counselling and recreational activities. The CCG, which was founded on 30th October 1929 comprised five churches at inception, among which were; African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church; English Church Mission (now known as the Anglican Church); Ewe Presbyterian Church (now Evangelical Presbyterian Church); Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast (now Ghana); and Wesleyan Methodist Church (now Methodist Church, Ghana) (Anquandah, 2009:1). Currently, the CCG is made up of 18 churches with three affiliate organisations. The churches included African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME); Zion Church; Anglican Church of Ghana; Christ Evangelical Mission; Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; Evangelical Church of Ghana; Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana; F‟EDEN Mission Church; Ghana Baptist Convention; Ghana Mennonite Church; Greek Orthodox Church; Korle Bu Community Church; Legon Interdenominational Church; Methodist Church Ghana; Presbyterian Church of Ghana; the Lutheran Church Ghana; the Religious Society of Friends; The Salvation Army. The three affiliate organisations included Emmanuel Eye Center; Young Men's Christian Association; and Young Women's Christian Association (Anquandah, 2009:1).

When the five churches first met in October 1929, their main concerns for coming together were of threefold and included the search for unity; to work with member churches on issues of social concern; and to be the voice of the voiceless in society (Christian Council of Ghana, 2010). As time went on, the CCG reviewed its strategic plan, and came out with five priority areas, among which were to promote unity among Christians in Ghana; to promote peace and justice through advocacy in Ghana, that is ensuring that conflicts and violence be they religious, political or ethnic based are minimized; to promote inter-faith dialogue and peace; to serve as a focal point for members in matters of national interest by leading the fight against corruption while promoting good governance; and to assist in building the capacity of members to respond adequately to social concerns of quality education, health, poverty reduction, environmental degradation and so on (Christian Council of Ghana, 2010). It is on the basis of these priority areas especially the fifth one (most

importantly the provision of western education) that the CCG decided to partner with UNHCR in rendering humanitarian assistance to refugees in Ghana.

The role of CCG in the provision of western education to Liberian refugees in Buduburam camp during this period cannot be overemphasised. Since the early 1990s, educational assistance had been provided to the Liberian refugees in Buduburam camp. Initially, in October 1990, the refugees themselves established a primary school on the camp, but the institution was to have suffered from poor funding (Hampshire K, Gina Porter. 2006). As argued by Preston, the refugees themselves in many cases initiate educational facilities, right on their arrival before any assistance from host government or agencies (Preston, 1991:61-62). In order to sustain the initiative to be sustainable, the CCG became the UNHCR's implementing partner in charge of education in the camp by supporting them with basic educational materials (Hampshire K, Gina Porter. 2006). Up till 2000, the CCG remained the major partner of UNHCR in the provision of refugee education at Buduburam camp. In 2000, when the UNHCR withdrew funding, the CCG was unable to continue assisting the camp schools. As a result, the Liberians running the schools decided to charge school fees so that the schools could continue as a self-sufficient institution (Boamah-Gyau, 2008:49). Thus, the refugee school administrators decided to register with the Ghanaian Ministry of Education so that students would be eligible to take Ghanaian qualifying examinations at Buduburam Community Secondary School (Budusec) without necessarily having to join students at neighbouring Ghanaian schools following the withdrawal of UNCHR in the year 2000 (Boamah-Gyau, 2008:49).

Besides the role of CCG in the provision of refugee education in Buduburam camp, there were some schools inside and around the camp which was ran entirely by residents during this period. There were about forty-nine (49) schools which comprised, nursery, primary, junior secondary schools, senior secondary schools as well as three adult night schools ran by individuals in the camp (Boamah-Gyau, 2008:49). Churches, organisations and private entities established schools to assist the refugees (UNHCR Report, 2006). Although these schools were run by both religious and other private organisations, the Central Board of Education, Ghana coordinated all activities of the schools in the camp (Preston, 1991:67). In the area of higher education for the Liberian refugees, the activity of CCG was significant. The CCG was the major partner of UNHCR in the implementation of DAFI scholarship programme for Liberian refugees particularly in Ghana (Preston, 1991:67). DAFI was successfully implemented in Ghana by the UNHCR through the Christian Council of Ghana during this period of study. Ghana was a major country in West Africa that attracted large number of Liberian refugees between 1990s and 2000s. Although DAFI scholarship was extended to all the refugees in Ghana, the Liberian refugees had the highest number of refugees that benefitted from the programme in Buduburam camp (UNHCR, 2007). Also, the DAFI students of Liberian origin studied mainly in four tertiary institutions in Ghana, namely University of Ghana, Legon, University of Science and Technology now (KNUST), University of Cape Coast and University College of Winneba (Colnoe, 2007:28).

DAFI scholarships covered registration and tuition fees, living allowances, book and clothing allowance, and transport costs if necessary. In addition, and depending on the need, DAFI also financed practical assignments which were related to the studies. As costs of living differed from country to country, the allowances were determined by the local UNHCR offices, and screened and approved by its Headquarters. As a general standard, support levels should ensure that students can enjoy a modest but decent standard of living, and have the minimum means to complete their studies (DAFI, Policy, 2012-2016:2). Through the effective implementation of DAFI, beneficiaries of the programme in Africa were particularly active in terms of network and peer support. For example, in the early 2000s, several workshops took place in Ghana, organised voluntarily by DAFI students within the Buduburam camp, to build young people capacities on areas such as administrative and

accounting skills, accounting for NGOs, effective networking and curriculum vitae writing. Establishing and strengthening a DAFI Alumni network has been a focus of the DAFI management since 2007. In 2006, a former DAFI scholar in Ghana, now living in Europe, was said to have created a DAFI webpage on scholarships to provide information on DAFI scholarships for refugees in Ghana in particular and Africa in general. The same scholar also developed an online alumni network that served both as a social networking tool and a means to improve DAFI's data collection and institutional memory. Based on this collection, the total number of DAFI students since 1992 were 4,771, of which 3,240 successfully graduated. Of the total number of 1,012 students that enrolled in 2007, 400 left the university prior to the official graduation, (e.g. returned home), and 114 were resettled in the last 15 years to a third country. Of those who returned home after graduation, over 93% of them were gainfully employed. Of those who were successfully integrated in the country of asylum, 83% of them were employed, while 8% continued their education at university. Also about 9% remained unemployed (UNHCR, 2007).

The total number of Liberian refugee students at the tertiary level that benefited from the UNHCR educational assistance programme (DAFI scholarship) in Ghana was 156 in the period between 1993 and 2000 (Colnoe, 2007:29). The funds were provided to UNHCR by the government of Germany through the Albert Einstein Academic Refugee Initiative Fund (DAFI). The majority of the beneficiaries were males. Out of the 156 scholarship students, 16 dropped out of the programme due to two main reasons. Some of the students dropped out due to their inability to cope with the academic standards at the various Ghanaian universities, while others left for resettlement in the United States of America, Canada, and Europe (Colnoe, 2007:29). According to Mrs. Frimpongmaa Vowoter, the Liberian refugee students in Ghana between 1993 and 2000 encountered some problems among which were, low nature of the monthly stipend provided and lack of contentment with "mode of examination evaluation" at the various Ghanaian tertiary institutions (Frimpongmaa Vowoter, 2014). She further emphasised that those Liberian students who were still in school up to the withdrawal of UNHCR assistance in 2000 were allowed to complete their programmes at the various institutions of higher learning. The last batch of students completed their education in June 2003. This marked the end of UNHCR educational assistance to Liberian refugees in Ghana. However, some refugees have been able to gain admission and sustain themselves at various institutions of learning in Ghana up to present date (Frimpongmaa Vowoter, 2014). A detailed statistical analysis of the total number of refugees that benefitted from DAFI scholarship in Ghana between 1993 and 2006 is represented in the below tables and a bar chart.

Table 2: Summary of Refugees that benefited from DAFI Scholarship in Ghana in 2006

Country Operation:	**Ghana**
Office:	UNHCR Ghana No. 25 Sir Arku Korsah Street Roman Ridge Airport Residential area Accra +233 21 776 108 (Switchboard)
Partner:	**Christian Council of Ghana**
Total number of students	**65**
Total number of Graduates	**7**
Percentage of Female students	**48%**
Total fund allocated	**$294,242**

Source: UNHCR, 2006 Annual Report on the DAFI Programme, prepared by the Technical Support Section Division of Operational Services UNHCR Geneva 29 June 2007, p.40

Table 3: Breakdown of Refugees that benefited from DAFI Scholarship in Ghana in 2006

Country of Origin	Number of Students	Refugees (caseloads above 5,000 since 1995)
Liberian	**58**	**38,700**
Sierra Leone	**3**	**(under 5,000)**
Togo	**2**	**14,100**
Ethiopia	**1**	**(under 5,000)**
Cameroun	**1**	**(under 5,000)**
Total	**65**	**-**

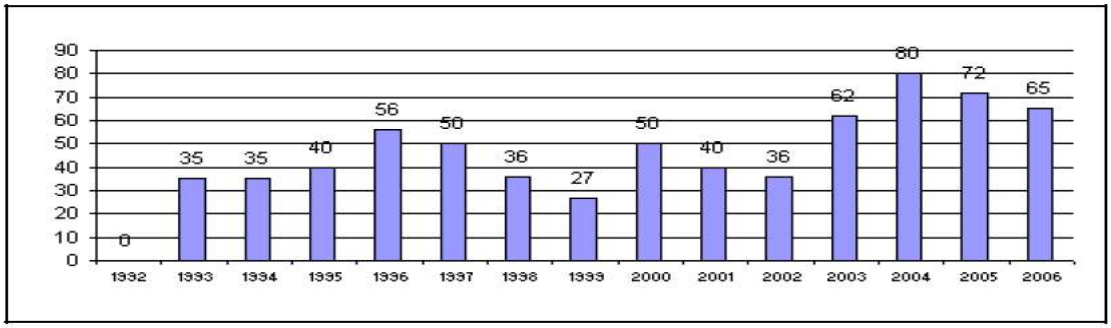
Source: UNHCR, 2006 Annual Report on the DAFI Programme prepared by the Technical Support Section Division of Operational Services UNHCR Geneva 29 June 2007, p.40

Table 4: Breakdown of Fields of Study of Refugees that benefitted from DAFI Scholarship in 2006 in Ghana

Field of Study	Male	Female	Total
Education Sc. and Teacher Training	1	1	2
Humanities	6	4	10
Fine and Applied Arts	-	1	1
Law	1	-	1
Social and Behavioural Science.	2	6	8
Commercial and Business Administration	9	15	24
Natural Science	1	2	3
Mathematics and Computer Science	3	2	5
Engineering	6	-	6
Architecture and Town Planning	1	-	1
Trade Crafts and Industrial Programs	1	-	1
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery	3	-	
Total	34	31	65

Source: UNHCR, 2006 Annual Report on the DAFI Programme prepared by the Technical Support Section Division of Operational Services UNHCR Geneva 29 June 2007, p.4

Chart 1: A Bar Chart Showing the total number of Refugees in Ghana that Benefited from DAFI Programme, 1992-2006 (Selected Years)



Source: UNHCR, 2006 Annual Report on the DAFI Programme, prepared by the Technical Support Section Division of Operational Services UNHCR Geneva 29 June 2007, p.40

b. The National Catholic Secretariat and the management of Liberian Refugees

The National Catholic Secretariat (NCS) was another major partner of UNHCR in the implementation of refugee programme in Ghana during this period of study. The National Catholic Secretariat was tasked with the overall responsibility of supplying food to the refugees from the World Food Programme (WFP). The assistance of the organisation covered of basic and complementary foodstuffs and their storage, inland transportation, preparation and the distribution of food ration to the refugees (N'Tow, 2004). Between 1990 and 1991, the NCS of Ghana managed the World Food Programme's (WFP) through the distribution of cooked and uncooked foods to refugees in Buduburam camp (Essuman-Johnson, 2003:138). The activities of the NCS later went beyond the distribution of food to the refugees in Ghana. In 2000, NCS not only took over the administration of health services, but also became a major partner of UNHCR in the implementation of health services to the refugees Buduburam camp. Prior to this time, the Ghana Red Cross Society (GRCS) was the major partner of UNHCR in the area of provision of health services to the refugees. However, following the withdrawal of financial support by the UNHCR towards the clinic, the NCS took over (Essuman-Johnson, 2003:139). In June 2000, the UNHCR formally withdrew assistance in all forms (which comprised food, water supply, health care, education, and other basic social services) from Liberian refugees in Buduburam camp (Assuah, 2001). Two main reasons were given for the withdrawal, namely: the protracted nature of the Liberian civil war which drained the financial capacity of the donors; and inadequate funding to take care of the new waves of refugees that had emerged and needed urgent assistance than the Liberian refugees. However, when the second phase of the Liberian civil war intensified in 2003 and the new refugees began arriving in Ghana, the UNHCR returned (Micah, 2013).

Following the closure of the camp clinic in year 2000, the Liberian refugees in Buduburam camp approached the Catholic Archdiocese of Cape Coast to take over the health care system (Porter, et al, 2008:230-232). In 2002, the Archdiocese asked Apam Catholic Hospital (a Catholic-run hospital in the central District of Ghana, which is under the aegis of the Archdiocesan Health office in the central region of Ghana originally established in 1959 to reopen the clinic for the refugees (Enoanyi, 2000). With this development, NCS became the new implementing partner of UNHCR in charge of health care in Buduburam refugee camp. Thus, the clinic was managed by the Apam Catholic hospital. With the taken over of the camp clinic by NCS, under the supervision of Apam, the clinic began to experience new look. First, the Apam Catholic Hospital medical officers made frantic efforts to train new medical staff. The training which started in April, 2002 resulted in the training of about ten Liberian staff (a medical assistant, some midwives and nurses) (Omata, 2012). Second, the coming back of the UNHCR also brought a lot of improvement to the camp's health clinic. Aside the fact that UNHCR assisted the camp again with all the basic needs to enable the officials perform their professional duties, it also expanded the clinic premises to a two storey building made up of wards, a laboratory and a stand-by generator to cater for the needs of the ever-increasing refugee population (Omata, 2012).

Liberian refugees' health officials and a Ghanaian supervised the camp clinic. These Liberian experts were given orientation by Apam Catholic Hospital medical officers. According to Dr. Dufarmont, the return of the UNHCR helped in improving the clinic. The clinic opened 24 hours a day and was provided with a stand-by ambulance and a laboratory in the case of emergency. An education programme was in place, run by the Liberian Welfare Council and Liberian health officials at the clinic, for the purpose of educating the refugees, especially the women on prevention of diseases such as diarrhoea, the danger of sexual promiscuity and on family planning (Omata, 2012). Although HIV/AIDS was a big problem facing many refugee camps in Africa, especially with regard to the refugee camps in Tanzania according to the report given by Whitaker (Omata, 2012), at the Buduburam camp there were no reliable records of the number of people living with HIV/AIDS (Dufarmont,

2015). However, HIV/AIDS was a big problem facing Liberian refugees in the Buduburam camp and its surroundings communities because of the level of sexual promiscuity going at the camp (Dufarmont, 2015).

The objectives of the Buduburam camp clinic, known as St.Gregory's Catholic Clinic include:

i. to give access for refugees to health care services with respect to UNHCR and recognised international standards

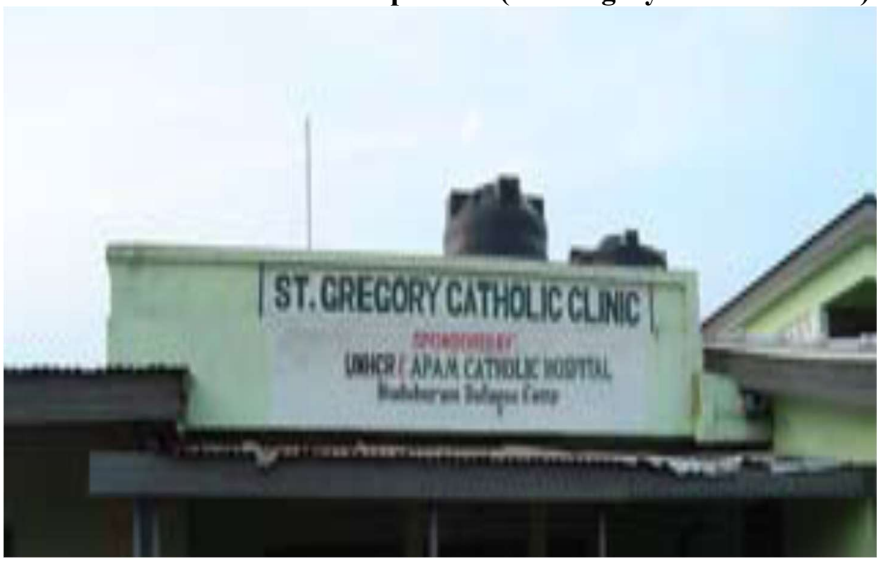
ii. to implement the UNHCR health information system for disease prevention, early detection of cases, case management and epidemic

iii. to avoid disparity between the locals and the refugee population by mainstreaming the population's capacity and sense of responsibility for its own health needs through existing local, district and national programs

iv. to reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS and STDs through awareness education and home based care and support

v. to ensure capacity building of the health staff and ensure long term sustainability of the programme (Boamah-Gyau, 2008).

Figure 1: **Picture of Buduburam Camp Clinic (St. Gregory Catholic Clinic)**



Source: The picture was taken by the researcher during fieldwork

c. The Ghana Red Cross Society and the Management of Liberian Refugees

The Ghana Red Cross Society (GRCS) was another important NGO in Ghana that partnered with UNHCR in the management of Liberian refugees in Buduburam camp, Ghana during this period of study. Generally, the involvement of GRCS in the management of Liberian refugees in Bududuram camp was accompanied by written agreement (Françoise and Barbara, 1996). A tripartite agreement was signed between UNHCR, the Ghana Refugee Board and the Ghana Red Cross Society (GRCS) covering: the implementation of food and non-food distributions, sanitation, water supply, health, shelter, and transportation; the care and maintenance of the drainage system; supply of fuel for waste disposal; the installation of a telecommunications radio system; and the administration of health care in the camp (Françoise and Barbara, 1996). At the inception of the arrival of Liberian refugees in Ghana, the Ghana Red Cross provided an initial $50.000 for the support of the Liberians in July 1990 (Françoise and Barbara, 1996). This amount was said to have been used to purchase assorted drugs, 425 blankets and 105 bales of second hand clothes for the refugees. The society also

provided bags of sorghum and wheat Soya for the upkeep of the refugees. Thus, by the end of 1990, the Ghana Red Cross Society had spent $100 million in their Relief operation (Colnoe, 2007:27). Specifically, the GRCS was responsible for the provision of shelter for the refugees through the construction and maintenance of more permanent refugee camps; refugee sanitation, the construction and maintenance of toilets and general cleaning of the camp; the construction and management of a clinic, drug supply and the implementation of supplementary feeding programme in Bududuram camp Colnoe, 2007:29).

With respect to the health sector, the UNHCR set up a clinic in the camp in 1990, managed by the GRCS, who served as UNHCR's implementing partner between 1990 and 1994. The body was later taken over by another NGO, the Assemblies of God Relief and Development Services (AGREDS) (Boamah-Gyau, 2008:57). The GRCS effectively coordinated and implemented relief activities in the camp, with specific reference to shelter and the distribution of food and non-food items. The Society was also responsible for health services such as the provision of portable water and general sanitation including: first aid and the transfer of sick patients to hospital; establishing a small dispensary in the completed school buildings. It supplied between 10,000 and 15,000 gallons of drinking water daily to the camp utilising the Federation's water truck from the Togolese refugee operation in the Volta region. It also constructed two wells in a bid to ease scarcity of water in the camp. In addition, the organisation installed ten mobile toilets for the refugees. Additionally, attempt to improve health condition in the camp was carried through sensitisation, enlightenment and campaigns (Boamah-Gyau, 2008:57).

d. Assemblies of God Relief and Development Services and the Management of Liberian Refugees

The Assemblies of God Relief and Development Services (AGREDS) played important role in the management of Liberian refugees in Bududuram camp during the period of this study. AGREDS is a national non-profit organisation set up by the Assemblies of God Church in Ghana in 1991. The organisation, which has facilitated development interventions for individuals, groups and communities since her emergence has succeeded in obtaining legitimacy from both the state and non-state actors. Available literature revealed that during this period of study, AGREDS provided non-discriminatory services to all UNHCR's targeted population in Ghana (Essumah-Johnson, 1992). At inception, AGREDS was a major church based non-profit NGO that co-ordinated all the relief programmes of Assemblies of God Church, Ghana. Although the organisation had operated a clinic in Northern Ghana since the late 1960s, she was formally incorporated as a company limited by guarantee on 24 January, 1991 and subsequently registered as an NGO in April the same year. With its official registration as an NGO in Ghana in April 1991, AGREDS began to play key roles in rural health delivery, facilitation of integrated rural development as well as emergency relief and rehabilitation of victims of natural and man-made disasters as well as, ethnic and socio-political conflicts (Omata, 2012). Between 1994 and 2000, AGREDS managed the camp clinic. In 1994, the AGREDS became an implementing partner of UNHCR in the area of health sector, which was formerly administered by the GRCS. The GRCS was said to have pulled out of the management of the camp clinic in 1994 due to unspecified internal problems (Omata, 2012), and thus was unable to maintain the clinic following the withdrawal of UNHCR's financial support in year 2000. The management of the camp clinic was later taken over by the NCS (Essumah-Johnson, 1992).

The AGREDS also managed a number of skill training programmes for the Liberian refugees in Bududuram camp. They were trained in English Language, vocational and technical skills and agricultural activities. A skill and practical training centre was constructed at Bududuram camp for the refugees by the AGREDS. The training centre or institution known the Yendi Girls Vocational Institution was set up in 1999. The institution

provided skill training in dress making and designing; broadloom weaving, soap making, carpentry, masonry, tye-dyeing, food processing technology and shea butter. Vocational training was provided for refugees who did not have formal education and those who preferred to acquire practical training. Ghanaian instructors from the Accra polytechnic institution were hired to conduct the skill-training programme. Certificates were awarded the participants at the end of a programme. Some of the refugees used the education and skills acquired to earn a living in Ghana, while others went back to Liberia after the completion of their programme (Essumah-Johnson, 1992:34). The level of skills acquired by some of the refugees helped them to rebuild their livelihoods by the time they returned to their country (Ernest, 2016).

According to Mr. Ernest Asigri, the Relief Coordinator of AGREDS, some Liberian refugees that emerged outstanding from the skill training programme were sent to the various Polytechnics in Ghana for advanced Training (Ernest, 2016). However, those that remained in Buduburam camp after the completion of the skill training programme were provided with essential tools and other basic logistics in order to put to practice what they had learnt so as to become self-reliant. Also, fund was provided for refugees on a loan basis especially for those who qualified for the credit facilities. The loan was to be paid back within a given period, which varied between six months and two years or more (Ernest, 2016). The other major activity of the Assemblies of God Church in the camp centred on was waste management. Cleanliness of the camp was their responsibility, which necessitated the hiring of trucks to suck and dispose of sewage whenever the toilets were filled and to provide sanitation control at the camp in general (Hardgrove, 2009: 483-487).

Conclusion

Apart from these major non-state actors who partnered with the UNHCR and the government of Ghana in the management of Liberian refugees in Buduburam camp, Ghana, there were other minor non-major organisations that equally played significant roles in the management of Liberian refugees during this period. These minor non-major partners were either religious bodies or Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). For example, the Liberian interdenominational church at Buduburam community negotiated a World Bank grant from World Vision international through one Bishop named Augustus B. Marwiah of the independent churches of Africa and constructed a vocational training centre for the refugees. As of December 2006, more than 5000 refugee students had benefited from the project and approximately 70 persons from the refugee and host community were employed in the institution (Owusu, 2000: 22-23; Omata, 2012). The church was also very instrumental in imparting positive virtues in the lives of the refugees. A counselling hour called 'Jericho hour' was held at the Liberia interdenominational church every Wednesday for refugees experiencing hardship and any kind of problems. The term 'Jericho hour' meant 'giant' problems for 'giant' solutions. Refugees engaging in socially unaccepted practices were enjoined to desist from those habits after being counselled and become more involved in pro-social activities, such as voluntary cleaning of the school premises and the general streets of the camp. Pastors of various churches frequently visited the Awutu and Winneba prisons to spread the gospel of Christianity to the refugees who had being convicted for various offences (Afua, 2016).

According Pastor Kofo, most of the refugees who returned to the camp after serving their prison terms, became baptized in churches and later became actively involved in pro-community activities (Kofo, 2016). The Buduburam church council also established a mediation committee to resolve conflicts among refugees rather than allowing such conflicts to be handled by the Ghanaian police at the camp (Boateng, 2016). Also, the churches at Buduburam community also bought more than 50 acres of land from the chief of the host community for refugees who were interested in farm work (Boateng, 2016).

Another major religious body that played important role in the management of Liberian refugees in Buduburam camp during this period was the Salvation Army. The Salvation Army was a religious group that also provided a lot of assistance to the Liberian refugees. The organisation complemented the food supplied by the World Food Programme (Bediako, 2016). Notable among major food items provided by the religious body included rice, beans, oil, oats, maize flour, onions, bulgur wheat, and canned fish (Bediako, 2016). According to Mr. John Bediako, field coordinator of the Salvation Army, the organization took pregnant refugees women to their camp at Begoro in the eastern region of Ghana, fed them and took care of them until they delivered their babies before been brought back to join their families at the refugee camp (Bediako, 2016).

Also, there were attempts made by some non-governmental organisations and individual volunteers especially the Liberian refugees themselves (some of who had been trained by other non-governmental organisations), to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS within and around the camp. They provided free counselling to people living with HIV/AIDS and gave them contraceptives like condom. Liberian refugees were educated on how to prevent the spread of the disease in schools, churches and other places ((Bediako, 2016). Without doubt, the non-state actors played significant role in the management of Liberian refugees in Ghana between 1990 and 2007.

The study revealed that the non-state actors were major stakeholders in the management of Liberian refugees in Buduburam camp. These non-state actors worked in collaboration with the UNHCR and the government of Ghana in achieving one of their goals, which geared towards humanitarian assistance. The study advocated for continuing engagement of the non-state actors by the state actors in the implementation of programmes geared towards humanitarian needs.

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