THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF LIBERIAN REFUGEES IN WEST AFRICA, 1990-2007: A DISCOURSE

OLUSESAN ADEWUNMI OSUNKOYA
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & DIPLOMATIC STUDIES, TAI SOLARIN UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, IJAGUN,
sesanosunkoya@gmail.com/solaade2007@ymail.com

KEYWORDS
Management, Liberian Refugees, Refugees, United Nations, West Africa

ABSTRACT
The main aim of this paper is to critically interrogate the nexus between the United Nations (UN) and the management of Liberian refugees in West Africa between 1990 and 2007. The UN has the mandate to provide humanitarian assistance to the various categories of uprooted persons such as refugees, internally displaced persons and asylum seekers. This assistance is being carried out by the UN refugee agency, known as, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The outbreak of Liberian civil war in 1989 resulted in the production of refugees, who sought safety in the neighbouring countries in West Africa and beyond. By 1990, the UNHCR took over the responsibility of the management of Liberian refugees in their various host countries in West Africa. The various host countries of Liberian refugees in West Africa included Guinea, Sierra Leone, Cote d' Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria. Through effective collaboration with the governments of host countries, other UN agencies and non-governmental organisations, the UNHCR succeeded in managing Liberian refugees in these countries. It highlights and discusses major pragmatic steps taken by the UNHCR in conjunction with these partners towards the management of Liberian refugees during this period. Following the restoration of peace into Liberia in 2003, the UNHCR began to implement durable solutions, which were completed in 2007. Thus, in 2007, the UNHCR finally wounded up the various Liberian refugee camps in West Africa. The methodology adopted in this paper is historical, thematic, qualitative and quantitative utilising materials from both primary and secondary sources of data collection.

Introduction

Historically, the origin of refugee production could be traced to the existence of human society. However, it is one of the social problems facing different continents of the world, though in varying degrees in the contemporary times. As pointed out by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, since the end of the Second World War, there has been a constant rise in the number of refugees globally (UNHCR, 2019). Fraogmen explains that this development may be due to the constant turbulence in various nations after this era (Fraogmen,1970). For instance, as at 1950, when the United Nations

High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established, there were some 1.5 million refugees in the world (Loescher, 1992:9). According to the report of the UNHCR, the global population of refugees rose steadily from 2.8 million in 1976 to about 21.3 million in 2017, including adults and children. Of these number, over 26% of the global population of refugees is found in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNHCR, 2019). Generally, the sudden rise in the number of global refugees was hinged on several factors and forces. Boamah-Gyau argues that the world refugee problem is caused by a variety of reasons; factors and forces, which include massive violations of human rights, especially the practice of colonialism, direct and structural violence, war, internal conflicts, external aggression, ethnic and religious strife, direct political persecution and economic and national disasters (Boamah-Gyau, 2008).

Although the production of refugee is not confined to Africa, the continent is one of the most acute refugee problems in the world (Hamrell, 1967:9). Without doubt, the population of refugees of African origin has been on the rise in the contemporary times. This increase has been hinged on rise in conflict and violence in the continent most especially in the post-colonial period. Castaneda and others argue that the increase in refugee population poses great problems to the continent and the globe at large (Castaneda et al, 2017). Nindi explains that the history of refugee phenomenon in Africa began in the early 1960s (Nindi, 1986:96). This, however, took several dimensions between the 1960s and 2000s. These dimensions, which were caused by both internal and external factors resulted in the increase in the number of refugees in the continent. While the politics of independence and the rising tide of political instability (such as domestic strife and civil) in several independent African countries are pertinent internal factors, the external factors derive mainly from situations of racist and minority regimes in Southern Africa and, to an increasing extent, the continued outside intervention in the internal affairs of the independent African states (neo-colonialism) (Adepoju, 1982:22). The resultant effect of this development during these years, was unprecedented increase in the number of African refugees to the extent that by the 1980s, Africa had the largest refugee problem in the world. This was why Hamrell aptly described Africa as the home of millions of refugees (Hamrell, 1967:14-15). For example, the number of African refugees grew from a mere 400,000 in 1964 to about 735,000 in 1967 (Hamrell, 1967:6-7), and later to more than 2.5 million in the 1980s (Nindi, 1986:96). This challenge forced Gould to observe that, “refugees constitute one of the greatest but least well-appreciated and least well-documented tragedies of present-day Africa” (Gould, 1974:413).

It is significant to point out that though refugee crisis in Africa began as a liberation struggle, it later took the form of domestic strife and civil war from the 1990s. Prior to the 1990s development, the majority of African refugees originated mainly from territories that fought for political independence. While Adepoju argues that the majority of African refugees originated from three territories, which were the Portuguese rule, namely; Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, especially in the period between 1960s and 1970s and that these refugees lived mostly in three neighbouring countries sympathetic to the liberation cause, namely; Zaire, Senegal and Tanzania (Adepoju, 1982:22), Hamrell explains that the majority of refugee situations in Africa stemmed from the liberation efforts particularly in the Southern part of the continent (Hamrell, 1967:9). Nindi observes that, until the mid-1970s, most African refugees came from countries where bloody wars were being fought by colonial powers or European settlers to suppress nationalist guerrillas such as Algeria, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique and Namibia (Nindi, 1986:97). West Africa began to have her own share as from the 1980s occasioned by virulent violent conflicts such as civil wars. Adepoju argues that West Africa experienced various types of forced migration caused by demographic pressure, poverty, poor economic performances and endemic conflicts (Adepoju, 2003:37-41). According to Boamah-Gyau, following civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Ivory Coast as well as political discontent in Togo since the mid-1980s, refugee movements became prevalent in West Africa (Boamah-Gyau, 2008). Most the refugees in West African countries are placed in camps by the help of both host governments and the UNHCR. As posited by Opaye, the primary responsibility for ensuring the physical security of refugees rests with the host government, in accordance with relevant international law and regional instruments. However, where the host governments are often unable to ensure protection of the refugees themselves, host states look to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (Opaye, 2005). This is against this background that this

paper seeks to interrogate the United Nations (with major emphasis on the UNHCR) and the management of Liberian refugees in West Africa between 1990 and 2007.

Conceptual Clarifications

There are three important concepts that require proper and adequate clarifications. This is because these concepts are very significance in this discourse. They are management, refugee and refugee camp.

Management: The word management is a multi-dimentional concept, which has been viewed from different perspectives in the extant literature. According to UNESCO, management is a social process, which is designed to ensure the cooperation, participation, intervention and movement of others in the effective achievement of a given or predetermined objective. Also, Resser defines management as 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 explain 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 et al, 1984). From the above perspectives of management, Adesote and Adeleke argue that management can be seen two main dimensions, namely, management of work and management of people. While management of work involves the performance of some work in terms of goals to be achieved and assigns the means to achieve it, the management of people deals with the protection and assisting of people Adesote and Adeleke, 2023:21). This paper, therefore, adopts the second dimension of management, which focuses on the management of people, with major emphasis on the Liberian refugees in their host countries in West Africa.

Refugee: Refugee is a concept has been defined in different ways. According to Article 1 of the 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee is "any person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" Adesote and Ajayi define refugee as 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 the above definitions, 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 and sought safety in both West Africa and beyond. Our study would be limited to Liberian refugees in West Africa during this period of study.

Refugee Camp: Refugee camp is simply referred to as a temporary or permanent settlement created to receive or host refugees who are victims of political crises or environmental disasters in their home countries. Opaye explains that refugee camps are the form of shelter most commonly provided to refugees by host governments and international assistance agencies. They are set up as a temporary solution to the shelter needs of the displaced, thus they serve an important protection function (Opaye, 2005:1). 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 refugee camps in West Africa during the Liberian civil war, host countries of Liberian refugees in Guinea, Sierra Leone, Cote d' Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria, created one or more refugee camps to accommodate Liberian refugees. These camps were official and permanent refugee camps and were under the management of the UNHCR.

The Liberian Civil War and the Forceful Displacement of Liberian Refugees in West Africa:

An Overview

This section critically examines the nexus between the Liberian civil war and the forceful displacement of Liberian refugees in West Africa. Evidence from existing studies reveal that there are two major forms of conflict-induced

population displacement. They are internal population displacement and external population displacement. While internal population displacement is the forceful removal of persons from their places of origins to another place (place of destination) within the country, external displacement, involves forced removal of people from their places of origins to another country for the purpose of safety (Adesote and Peters, 2024:59). The Liberian civil war led to both internal and external population displacement leading to the emergence of internally displaced persons and refugees. However, in this paper, our main focus is the external population displacement, that is, the Liberian refugees in West Africa.

More importantly, in this section, we are not interested in comprehensive interrogation of the Liberian civil war, which broke out between 1989 and 2003. This is because the discourse has been thoroughly discussed in the existing literature. Without doubt, a number of scholars have interrogated the course, causes and some of consequences of the Liberian Civil War (Ellis, 1995:165-190). One of the major consequences of the war, which is the focus of this paper is the production of refugees in West Africa. The Liberian Civil War occurred in two major phases. While the first phase occurred between 1989 and 1997, while the second phase broke out between 1999 and 2003 (Osunkoya, 2017). During these two phases, a large number of Liberians and nationals of other countries living in Liberia became refugees mostly in West Africa. According to Omeje, the Liberian civil war was the first major regionalised war in the post-colonial West Africa. Within a few years, the war directly and indirectly affected the rest of the Mano River Union (MRU –Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea) and accentuated the destabilisation of the sub-region beyond the Mano River states (Cote d'Ivoire inclusive), making the sub-region a zone of high intensity conflict (Omeje, n.d).

Evidence from the extant literature revealed that the root-causes of the Liberian civil war of 1989 included the marginalisation of the majority of the population by restricting access to political power and economic assets, and an economic crisis with unemployment and increased consumer prices fueling resentment and accentuating societal tensions (Sesay, 1996:35-52). For instance, Sergeant Samuel Doe, the then President of Liberia was widely believed to have introduced a new tribalism in Liberia. The bureaucracy, army, security forces and the public services became permeated with members of his ethnic group, the Krahn, who constituted only four per cent of Liberia's pre-war population of 2.5 million (Sesay, 1996:35-52). Liberia was plunged into its first phase of violent civil war in December 1989 as a result of the invasion of the country by the Charles Taylor's led National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) through the northern Ivorian border (Insight, 2012). Taylor's rebellion, led to the killing and eventual overthrown of the autocratic and repressive rule of then President of Liberia, Sergeant Samuel Doe (Vinck et al, 2011). The outbreak of the war forced the Heads of States of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to create a regional peacekeeping force known as ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) for the purpose of peacekeeping operation. Initially, there was disagreement among the Heads of States of ECOWAS as regards their intervention in intra-state dispute. However, the conflict in Liberia posed a serious challenge to ECOWAS and the ECOWAS Charter because it raised the issue of reconciling the principles of sovereignty with the idea of intervening on humanitarian grounds.

Also, there was the problem of which principle should take precedent over the other, since they both seem to be part of the protocol and charter of Organisation of African Unity (OAU now African Union [AU]) and ECOWAS among the Heads of States of ECOWAS. For instance, while Article III of the OAU Charter, states that member states shall not only respect the sovereignty of all member states, but also shall afford each state its inalienable right to independent existence and resolve to peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, or arbitration (OAU Charter, 1963), the ECOWAS Protocol on Non-Aggression (1978) states that the community "cannot attain its objectives save in an atmosphere of peace and harmonious understanding among Member States (ECOWAS Protocol, 1978). As a result of these provisions, ECOWAS was faced with legal problems and challenges justifying its interventions in Liberia. After several discussions, ECOWAS justified the need to intervene on the basis of the Mutual Assistance on Defence Matters (1981), which includes the provision for Allied Armed Forces of the Community (AAFC) (ECOWAS Protocol, 1981). While according to Article 16 of the protocol, the head of state of the member under attack may request action or assistance from the community, Article 4 of the protocol empowers ECOWAS to initiate collective intervention in any internal armed conflict, within any state,

engineered and supported actively from outside likely to endanger the security and peace of the entire community. Also, while Article 6 (3) and article 17 empower the authority to decide on the expediency of military action, to impose a peacekeeping force between the warring factions, or to engage in political mediation, Article 13 (1, 2) provides for creation of the AAFC from earmarked units (ECOWAS Protocol, 1981). Thus, based on humanitarian consideration, ECOWAS saw her intervention in Liberia as inevitable. The decision of ECOWAS as regards her intervention in Liberia was finally reached at the 13th Summit of Heads of States of ECOWAS held in Banjul, the Gambia between 28 and 30 May 1990 under the Chairmanship of Sir Dauda Jawara (the President of the Gambia). At the Summit, a five Standing Mediation Committee comprising Nigeria, Ghana, the Gambia, Guinea and Sierra Leone was constituted. At the first session of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee (ESMC) held at the Kariba Conference Centre, Banjul between 6 and 7 August 1990, under the chairmanship of President Dauda Jawara and attended by heads of states of Nigeria (General Ibrahim Babangida), Ghana (Jerry Rawlings), Guinea (Lansana Conté**)**, Sierra Leone (Joseph Saidu Momoh), Mali (Moussa Traoré) and Togo (Gnassingbe Eyadema) with OAU Secretary General, Salim Ahmed Salim and members of Inter-Faith Mediation Committee (formed by the Liberian Religious Leaders) as observers (Osunkoya, 2017), it was resolved that a multinational peace keeping force be organised and deployed to Liberia to facilitate encampment and disarming of warring factions, to provide interim governance and to create an atmosphere conducive to democratic elections (Tarr, 1993:75).

Between 1990 and 1997, ECOMOG maintained active peacekeeping operation in Liberia. Following the successful peace keeping operations of the ECOMOG in Liberia, violence abated leading to the establishment of a ceasefire agreement (most especially Abuja Accord II of 1996) between the warring factions. This resulted in the successful conduct of legislative and presidential elections in 1997. The Presidential election which was contested by 13 political parties was won by Charles Taylor of the National Patriotic Party (NPP). Thus, on 2 August 1997, Charles Taylor was successfully inaugurated as the 22nd President of Liberia (Tanner, 1998:133-147). During the first phase of the civil war, large number of Liberians became refugees in West Africa, mostly Guinea, Sierra Leone, Cote d' Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria in varying number. Although there are conflicting figures with respect to the number of refugees produced by the war during this phase, 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, 1999:265-307). Similarly, Dick and Boer argue 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). Also, 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).

It is significant to point out that the cease-fire of 1996 was short-lived as longstanding and simmering ethnic tension, corruption, persecution and abject poverty of the people threw the country back into a second civil war in 1998 barely; two years after Charles Taylor was elected as Executive President (Kieh and Klay, 2009:1). During the five-year civil war, which lasted between 1998 and 2003, widely described as the country's second phase of civil war, Liberia was besieged by violent confrontations as Taylor's NPFL, the Liberian United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) struggled for power. The LURD and MODEL were the two major rebel groups formed in the country to force Charles Taylor out of office. The second phase of Liberian civil war caused by these rebel groups produced more refugees, who fled the country to escape the repeated skirmishes between the rebel groups and Charles Taylor's army (Levitt, 2005). The crisis continued until the signing of a Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2003, which led to the attainment of appreciable peace and stability in Liberia (Vinck et al, 2011). According to the estimate of the US Committee for Refugees in 2002, about 80,000 Liberians were internally displaced at the end of 2001 (USCR, 2001). By February 2003, another 6,000 Liberians had fled from Liberia to Sierra Leone, while 30,000 internally displaced people (IDPs) sought refuge near Monrovia (UNHCR, 2003). During the 14-year civil war in Liberia (1989-2003), the host countries of Liberian refugees in West Africa were Sierra Leone, Guinea, Cote d' Ivoire, Nigeria

and Ghana. The brutal war in Liberia created a humanitarian crisis that threatened the security and stability of the whole West Africa. This development necessitated the intervention of the United Nations, through its refugee agency, the UNHCR for the purpose of mitigating the plight and sufferings of innocent 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	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 shows the number of Liberian refugees in each host country in West Africa. From the table, it is clear that Guinea hosted the highest number of Liberian refugees, followed by Cote d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone in that order. Nigeria hosted the least number of Liberian refugees, which are 6,000. The reason why Guinea, Cote d Ivoire and Sierra Leone hosted the highest number of Liberian refugees was because these countries are the immediate neighbours of Liberia and all of them belong to the same sub-regional organisation, known as Mano River Union (MRU). However, Ghana and Nigeria are distant neighbours.

The UNHCR and the Management of Liberian Refugees in West Africa

Prior to the creation of UNHCR in 1950, the United Nations had taken several measures towards the addressing the plight of uprooted persons, most especially the refugees. The first major refugee body established by the UN as regard the management of the refugees was the International Refugee Organisation (IRO). IRO created in 1947 by the UN towards the management of refugees caused by the Second World War. It was an ad-hoc organisation whose mandate was limited to refugees in Europe. Owing to the challenge of the refugee production beyond Europe, the UN was forced to create another organisation. Thus, in 1950, UNHCR was created, with initial three years mandate, which was to terminate in 1953. With the success of UNHCR in the management of refugees during the initial three years, it remained permanent refugee agency of the UN. Other pragmatic steps taken by the UN towards the management of refugees in member states included introduction of Refugee Convention of 1951, introduction of Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugee of 1967, establishment of cooperation with member states and non-governmental organisations and the introduction of durable solutions. All these pragmatic steps were implemented by the UNHCR in the host countries of Liberian refugees in West Africa.

One major step taken by the UNHCR in the management of Liberian refugees was effective cooperation with the host countries of the refugees in West Africa. The UNHCR worked with the governments of all the host countries in area of the establishment of refugee camps for the accommodation of the refugees. Depending on the number of the refugees, different number of

refugee camps were established by the governments of host countries. For instance, while Nigerian government created only one refugee camp (Oru refugee camp) in 1990 to host Liberian refugees (Ugwuegbu, 2001: 47-59), the Ghanaian government set up two different refugee camps, namely Buduburam camp and Krisan camp. While Buduburam camp was established mainly for the Liberian refugees in 1990, Krisan camp was created in 1996 due to the influx of the refugees into the country (Essuman-Johnson, 2003: 139-161). Liberian refugees were accommodated in different refugee camps in Sierra Leone, Guinea and Cote d' Ivoire. For instance, in Sierra Leone, a major destination of Liberian refugees in West Africa and immediate neighbour of Liberia, there were eight refugee camps, that were under the supervision of UNHCR. Some of these camps were Gerahun refugee camp, Taiama refugee camp, Jimmy Gbagbo camp, Largo refugee camp, Kailahun refugee camp and Gondama refugee camp. These camps were created at different times. Each accommodated varying number of Liberian refugees. In Cote d' Ivoire, the government under President Félix Houphouët-Boigny initially opposed the idea of creating refugee camps for the settlement of Liberian refugees who fled to the country. He stated that they should be regarded as 'brothers in distress' and, rather than being settled in camps. Thus, he encouraged local people to take them up in their midst. This was facilitated by the fact that most refugees came from the same ethnic groups that lived on either side of the border: the Gio in the area of Danané where the borders of Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia and Guinea meet; the Krahn in the area of Guiglo further south; and the Kru plus related groups. However, they were restricted to a region in the western part of the country designated as the Zone d'Accueil des Réfugiés (ZAR). Spontaneous settlement remained the norm, with one exception in 1995, following armed clashes at Taï in southern Guiglo in which many Liberians as well as a number of Ivorians had been killed, the refugee population of that town was moved to a camp set up at Nicla, just outside the town of Guiglo and well away from the border, which was promoted by the UNHCR (Kuhlman, 2002). There were also different refugee camps for the hosting of the Liberian refugees in Guinea. These refugee camps were Lainé refugee camp, Koyama refugee camp, Kola camp, Kouankan refugee camp I, and Kouankan refugee camp II. The largest refugee camp in Guinea that hosted large number of Liberian refugees was the Kouankan refugee camp. With exception of Nigeria where Liberian refugees lived only in the refugee camp created, in other host countries, the refugees lived outside the camps created. Only those in the refugee camps were taken care of by the UNHCR.

Another major area of the management of Liberian refugees in West Africa by the UNHCR was the enactment of refugee laws. This legal instrument was considered significant by the UNHCR. More importantly, the UNHCR worked with the governments of host countries of Liberian refugees in West Africa to enact refugee laws. Although not all the member countries succeeded in enacting refugee laws during this period, all of them made attempts to enact refugee laws. While Nigeria, Ghana, enacted refugee laws following the hosting of Liberian refugees, others like Sierra Leone and Guinea enacted their around 2007; Cote d' Ivoire, which finalised the draft bill of refugee legislation with UNHCR in 2003, was yet to enact it. Those other host countries of Liberian refugees that were unable to enact refugee laws during this period were made to abide by the principle of non-refoulement, which is core principle of refugee law that prohibits States from returning refugees in any manner whatsoever to countries or territories in which their lives or freedom may be threatened (Trémolières, 2009: 247). This principle is usually considered a part of customary international law and is therefore binding on all States, whether or not they are parties to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. In Nigeria for instance, the military regime of General Ibrahim Babangida enacted a Decree (later Act) on 29 December, 1989, which aimed at protecting refugees in Nigeria. The primary refugee policy governing refugees in Nigeria is contained in the Federal Government Decree of 1989. In that year, the military government issued Decree 52 of 1989 (Act 1989, Cap 244 Laws of the Federation in 1990). The Act incorporated the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee problems in Africa. The Act prohibited the refusal of entry, expulsion, extradition or return of persons seeking refuge, until the determination of their status. Indeed, Section 1, sub-section 3 stipulates that:

> *No person, claiming to be a refugee within the meaning of this Act who has illegally entered into or is illegally present in Nigeria, shall be expelled, extradited or returned merely by reason of his illegal entry or presence*

in Nigeria or any part of Nigeria pending the determination of his application for a refugee status (Refugee Status Determination Procedure).

Also, the Ghanaian government under Jerry Rawlings, set up a legal framework to deal with the issues emanating from the influx of refugees into the country (Agblorti, 2011:4). Agblorti argued that the decision of the then government of Ghana to enact refugee law was as a result of lobbying from the UNHCR, other agencies and pressure from the influx of Liberian refugees in the country. Thus, in 1992, the government passed a Refugee Law [Provisional National Defence Council (P. N. D. C.) Law 305D] (Agblorti, 2011:4). Following the influx of Liberian refugees into Ghana, the challenge of managing them became acute. Therefore, in order to address the situation, a national legislation law 305 of 1992 was made and enacted. However, the national legislation took effect on August 27, 1993 (Dick, 2002a.

Also, there was the establishment of refugee management boards by the governments of some of the host countries towards the management of Liberian refugees. The establishment of the refugee boards was made possible by the enactment of refugee laws. For instance, in Nigeria, the 1989 Refugee Act led to the establishment of a body known as the National Commission for Refugees (NCFR). NCFR was charged with the responsibility of safeguarding the interest and treatment of persons, who are seeking to become refugees in Nigeria or persons seeking political asylum in Nigeria and other matters incidental thereto (Osunkoya, 2017). In Ghana, through the passing of the P. N. D. C. Law 305D, the government established Ghana Refugee Board (GRB), a government agency responsible for refugee issues or activities in Ghana (Agblorti, 2001:4 and Dick, 2002). In Cote d' Ivoire for example, the government initially set up an ad hoc National Committee for the Coordination of Refugee Aid in the Ministry of the Interior to oversee the management of the refugees. However, in early 2000, the temporary refugee body was replaced by a permanent office known as the Service d'Aide et d'Assistance aux Réfugiés et Apatrides (SAARA) (Kuhlman, 2002:p.24). In 1996, in Sierra Leone, the government created the Ministry of National Reconstruction, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (MNRRR) with a broad mandate to respond to the immediate humanitarian crisis caused by the influx of Liberian refugees into the country. In 2001, MNRRR was renamed National Commission for Social Action (NaCSA) through the act of parliament with the mandate of managing the transition from emergency and relief to development (NaCSA website, 2025). In Guinea, the government set up the Commission for the Integration and Monitoring of Refugees/Commission Nationale pour l'Integration et le Suivi des Refugies (CNISR). All these refugee management bodies worked with the UNHCR in the effective management of Liberian refugees in their various refugee camps.

In terms of provision of relief materials (both food and non-food items), health service and others for the Liberian refugees in the host countries in West Africa, the UNHCR was assisted by other agencies of the UN such as the World Food Programme (WFP) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The governments of the host countries partnered with the UNHCR, through their respective refugee management boards in the management of Liberian refugees in their various countries. They did not only provide the enabling environment, which helped the UNHCR to cater for the welfare of the Liberian refugees during this period of study, but also assisted her to open office in their countries. The activities of the UNHCR in this respect included the provision of fund and relief materials (such as food and non-food items), which were directly distributed to the refugees by her and through the NGOs (only those that signed agreement with the UNHCR). For instance, in Nigeria, while Nigerian Red Cross Society (NRCS), Justice Development and Peace Commission (JDPC) and African Refugee Foundation (AREF) were the accredited NGOs (Osunkoya, 2023:79) in Ghana, Christian Council of Ghana, National Catholic Secretariat, Ghana Red Cross Society and Assemblies of God Relief and Development Services were the accredited NGOs. Also, while in Cote d' Ivoire, the Ivorian Red Cross; the Catholic relief agency Caritas were the NGOs (Kuhlman, 2002), in Guinea, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Federation and the National Society were the NGOs (Osunkoya, 2007). In Sierra Leone, some of the accredited NGOs were African Development and Emergency Organization, American Refugee Committee, Arch Diocesan Development Office Bo/Pujehun Development Associates, Caritas Kenema Catholic Relief Services, Christian Children's Fund Environmental Foundation for Africa, International Rescue Committee and Lutheran World Federation (UNHCR Global Report 2005 on Sierra Leone: 240). The table below shows

total budget of the UNHCR towards Liberian refugees in their various host countries in West Africa (Ghana inclusive) as at 1999 is presented in the table below.

Table 2: UNHCR Budget for Liberian refugees in West Africa as at 1999

Total Budget (USD)	Income from contributions (USD)	Other Funds available (USD)	Total Funds available (USD)	Total expenditure (USD)
24, 487, 299	17, 022, 926	5, 561, 856	22, 584, 782	21, 016,605

Source: UNHCR Global Report 1999 (Special Programme), p.111

The table above shows the UNHCR total budget earmarked for the welfare of Liberian refugees in West Africa. One can see vividly that out of the total budget of $24,487,299, only $21,016,605 was spent. The expenditure related to Liberian refugees in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

Table 3: UNHCR ANNUAL BUDGET FOR LIBERIAN REFUGEES AS AT 2004

Activities and Services	Annual Programme	Supplementary Programme	Total
Protection, Monitoring and Coordination	3,080,482	0	3,080,482
Community Services	590,600	8000	598,600
Crop Production	338,900	0	338,900
Domestic Needs /Household support	736,600	200,000	936,600
Education	1,565,100	0	1,565,100
Fisheries	20,000	0	20,000
Food	78,100	20,000	98,100
Forestry	197,500	0	197,500
Health/Nutrition	1, 257,000	20,000	1,277,000
Income generation	563,000	0	563,000
Legal Assistance	214,000	20,000	234,000
Livestock	50,000	0	50,000
Operational support (to Agencies)	1,797,400	100,000	1,897,400
Sanitation	256,600	0	256,600
Shelter/other infrastructure	228,400	80,000	308,400
Passport / Logistics	2,324,200	800,000	3,124,200
Water (non-agricultural)	373,900	0	373,900
Total Operation	13,671,782	1,248,000	14,919,782
Programme Support	2,690,630	0	2,690,630
Total	**16,362,412**	**1,248,000**	**17,610,412**

Source: OBINNA IDIKA. 2005. UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSION FOR REFUGEES UNHCR RESPONSE TO THE LIBERIAN REFUGEE CRISIS. Unpublished Masters Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, p.57

The implementation of durable solutions was another major effort of the UNHCR in the management of Liberian refugees in West Africa. According to the UNHCR, the ultimate objective

of refugee protection and safety is to seek durable solutions to the problem of people being forced to flee from their homes and to cross an international border. It is important to point out that the search for durable solutions to refugee problem has been a central part of the UN, through its agency, the UNHCR. The statute of the UNHCR enjoins the High Commissioner to seek "permanent solutions to the problem of refugees". UNHCR and partner states published a Framework for Durable Solutions for Refugees and Persons of Concern (now known as the Framework for Durable Solutions) (Office of the UNHCR, 1950). This elaborated the '4Rs': Repatriation, Reintegration, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction, as a process that was intended to bridge the gap between relief and development (UNHCR). Black and Koser argue that durable solutions are the two related concepts of Development Assistance for Refugees and Development through Local Integration. Subsequently, durable solutions were placed within the context of a multilateral dialogue, often referred to as the Convention Plus initiative. This led, most notably, to the signing of an agreement between the refugees' government and host states on a Multilateral Framework of Understanding on Resettlement (Black and Koser, 1999)

With regard to this principal objective, the UNHCR proposed and implemented three traditional solutions (generally known as Durable Solutions), namely local integration, repatriation and resettlement towards solving the problems of Liberian refugees in West Africa. Generally, these durable solutions focused on assisting Liberian refugees to become self-sufficient, independent and to enable them participate actively in the socio-economic life either at a new place of settlement (destination) or their place of origin. The implementation of durable solutions was based on the agreement reached between the UNHCR, the governments host countries of Liberian refugees, and the government of Liberia. While all the three durable solutions were successfully implemented in some countries such as Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Cote d' Ivoire, only two were implemented in the countries like Ghana (that is voluntary repatriation and resettlement). However, the successful implementation of these durable solutions by the UNHCR was based on the signing of a tripartite agreement between the UNHCR, the government of Liberia (first with the National Transition Government) and later with the democratically elected government in 2006) and the national governments of the host countries of Liberian refugees in West Africa (UNHCR, 2004).

Although the process towards the return of some Liberian refugees from the host countries in West Africa to their country by the UNHCR began after the end of the first civil war in 1997, it was halted in 1998 following the outbreak of the second civil war. Thus, the first process of durable solutions was not totally successful. The successful implementation of durable solutions by the UNHCR took place after the end of the 14-year civil war in Liberia and the exile of former country's dictator Charles Taylor in 2003. The second phase of durable solutions was carried out following the emergence of National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) in October 2003 under the leadership of Mr. Charles Gyude Bryant as the Chairman of NTGL with Mr. Wesley Johnson as the Vice-Chairman (Osunkoya, 2017). The first durable solution implemented successfully in the five host countries was voluntary repatriation. In order to facilitate reintegration of Liberian refugees, several community projects were implemented in some major counties in Liberia, namely, Bong, Grand Gedeh, Montserrado and Nimba. The projects were aimed at rebuilding local infrastructure, water supplies, schools among others. For the purpose of ensuring local and national ownership of the projects, receiving communities and returnees were made to participate in the planning process (Lippman, 2004:9-11). Voluntary repatriation, which deals with the return of the refugees to their countries of origin based on their informed and voluntary consent (UNHCR, 2013), was facilitated by the UNHCR with the co-operation of the government of home country, governments of host countries of the refugees and some stakeholders such as the NGOs. While some Liberian refugees returned on their own, others returned under the auspices of the UNHCR. For instance, in Nigeria for instance, according to Reuters news agency report in 2004, about three hundred (300) Liberian refugees left Nigeria on their own in a ship (Reuters, 2004). Also, in Ghana, it was reported that in April 2004, over 200 Liberian refugees voluntarily returned home in a convoy from Ghana (IRIN, 2004). However, under the auspices of UNHCR, it was reported that between December 2004 and May 2007, a total of 2,112 Liberian refugees were voluntarily repatriated from Nigeria out of about 6,000 Liberian refugees registered by the UNHCR and NCFR (UNHCR, 2007). In Ghana, the UNHCR facilitated the repatriation of some Liberian refugees. For instance, while Porter and others

argue that about 3,500 Liberian refugees returned to their country following the restoration of peace in Liberia since 2004 (Porter , 2008:230-252), a report of the UN Mission in Liberia notes that of the 14,000 refugees initially targeted for repatriation only 4,000 returned to Liberia since the programme began in October, 2004 (IRIN, 2004). According to the UNHCR report, the number of repatriates from Ghana reached only 7,000 during the three-year repatriation programme (Kuhlman, 2002:11).

Also, in Cote d' Ivoire, repatriation programme initially began in 1997. Before its full commencement, some Liberian refugees began to return to their country. Kuhlman argues that from 1996 onwards, many Liberian refugees returned home, well before UNHCR began its organized repatriation programme in 1997. He further explains that by the end of 2000, 70,500 Liberian refugees had been repatriated with UNHCR assistance (Kuhlman, 2002:11). The second phase of repatriation operation was undertaken by the UNHCR in Cote d' Ivoire between 2004 and 2007. During this period, while about 3,400 Liberian refugees chose to return in 2006 on their own, over 20,000 of them were returned through the assistance of the UNHCR (UNHCR Global Report, 2006 on Cote d' Ivoire). Also, the repatriation of Liberian refugees from Sierra Leone which commenced in 2004 continued in 2005, but at a slower pace than expected. Over the course of the year, some 6,200 Liberian refugees repatriated voluntarily in safety and dignity (over 4,200 were assisted, some 2,000 returned spontaneously), which was 63 per cent short of the initial target of 13,000. Transport arrangements allowed refugees to take their belongings and vulnerable refugees benefited from appropriate follow-up and care. The verification exercise conducted by UNHCR in refugee camps not only helped revise the number of refugees eligible for assistance but also updated information on refugees with special needs living in the camps (UNHCR Global Report, 2005 on Sierra Leone:240). Similarly, in Guinea, it was revealed that voluntary repatriation of Liberian refugees to Liberia gained substantial momentum in 2006. In that year, more than 25,000 Liberian refugees returned home with UNHCR's assistance. These returnees represented 80 per cent of the target for 2006. Furthermore, nearly 12,000 refugees from Liberia returned spontaneously. This enabled the Office to streamline operations by closing its field office in Kissidougou, phasing out three camps and consolidating at one site those refugees unable or unwilling to repatriate (UNHCR Global Report, 2006 on Guinea).

The second durable solution implemented by the UNHCR was resettlement. Resettlement refers to the transfer of refugees from a country in which they have initially sought protection to a third country that has agreed to admit them with permanent-residence status (Selm, 2004:40). Until the mid-1980s, resettlement was generally seen by states as the preferred durable solution. After the end of the Second World War, it was the primary means by which the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) and, later, UNHCR provided solutions for the displaced (Osunkoya, 2017). This durable solution was implemented for the Liberian refugees in West Africa. Evidence from the literature revealed that prior to 2004 resettlement programme introduced by the UNHCR, the United States of American government had initiated the programme shortly after the beginning of the Liberian civil war in 1989 for the Liberian refugees (Osunkoya, 2017). With the restoration of peace to Liberia in 2003, the UNHCR implemented resettlement programme for the Liberian refugees who were hosted in West Africa. For instance, UNHCR's Multi-Year Operations Plan for the Repatriation and Reintegration of Liberian Refugees and Internally Displaced persons (2004-2007) provides that "resettlement activities for individual cases of Liberian refugees to third countries, from the various countries of asylum, would be pursued as part of protection and durable solution strategies" (IRIN, 2004). The UNHCR placed very high priority cases for resettlement of Liberian refugees, on either medical or protection grounds. Nevertheless, the USA continued with resettlement of Liberian refugees, particularly family re-unification programme up till September 2006. In 2005, about 1,464 Liberian refugees with 598 cases, which comprised those in Priorities one to five applied for resettlement. Although there was no available statistics to show the total number of those approved, according to the report of UNHCR, it might be around 80 percent (UNHCR/WEP, 2006). Generally, the Liberian refugees were resettled in some different developed countries such as United States of America, Canada and Australia in varying number (Osunkoya, 2017). For instance, while some 1,100 refugees who had lived in Sierra Leone since the 1990s were resettled in third countries, namely Australia, Canada, Finland, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United States (UNHCR Global Report on Sierra Leone:240),

seventy-six (76) Liberian refugees in Cote d' Ivoire were resettled in third countries (UNHCR Global Report 2006 on Cote d' Ivoire); and twenty-two (22) Liberian refugees in Guinea with special protection needs were resettled in third countries (UNHCR Global Report 2006 on Guniea). The table below further reveals the number of Liberian refugees from different host countries in West Africa that were resettled in the three identified developed countries as at 2004.

Table 4: Resettlement arrivals of Refugees in Developed Countries in 2004 (Liberian Refugees inclusive) (Selected Countries)

S/N	Third Countries	Number of Refugees
1	United States of America	52,868
2	Australia	15,697
3	Canada	10,521

Source: UNHCR Report, 2004

The above table shows the general number of Liberian refugees from their host countries in West Africa that were resettled in three major developed countries in 2004. From the table, large number of Liberian refugees were resettled in USA and was immediately followed by Australia. Canada had the least number.

The last durable solution implemented by the UNHCR towards mitigating the plight of Liberian refugees in their host countries in West Africa during this period was local integration. Valtonen defines local integration as "the ability to participate fully in economic, socio-cultural and political spheres in the host country without relinquishing one's ethno-cultural identity and culture" (Valtonen, 2004:70-96). Agblorti notes that the key to the implementation of local integration as a durable solution is the legal framework of the host country that allows for such a process to take place (Agblorti, 2011:4). While the durable solution was implemented successfully in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Cote d' Ivoire, it was not implemented in Ghana. The non-implementation of the durable solution by the Ghanaian government according to Agblorti was as a result of three main factors, namely imposition of an increased burden on the government, challenge of refugee-host relations and lack of an appropriately constituted institution to carry out the mandate ((Agblorti, 2011:4) The programme was implemented after the implementation of repatriation and resettlement. The local integration of Liberian refugees in each of the four countries was facilitated by the signing of a multipartite agreement between the governments of Liberia and the host country, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the UNHCR in August 2007 (Usman, 2007). The initiative was part of a wider effort to enhance cooperation in West African sub-region on refugee protection and sustainable solutions. According to the provisions of the UNHCR's Executive Committee No.104 (LVI-2005), local integration is a dynamic and multi-faceted two-way process, which require efforts by all parties including a preparedness on the part of the refugees to adapt to the host society without having to forgo their own cultural identity; and a corresponding readiness on the part of the host communities and public institutions to welcome refugees and to meet the needs of a diverse population (Usman, 2007). The multipartite arrangement was a progression from the refugee status to another realm of recognition as citizens of ECOWAS. Under local integration, the refugees become entitled to a set of legal, economic and socio-cultural rights commensurate with those enjoyed by Nigerians and are shielded from any discrimination (Usman, 2007). The multipartite arrangement defines the responsibilities of each party. Before it was implemented in the host countries, sensitisation campaign was carried out between the refugees and the host population. In Nigeria for example, the local integration of Liberian refugees was a gradual process. In 2005, about 70 refugees volunteered to be integrated. Between 2007 and 2008 about 800 refugees registered for integration (Ogunjobi, 2016). In Cote d' Ivoire, the national government made a formal declaration to facilitate local integration on 19 June, 2007. Specifically, the Government expressed its willingness to give all refugees interested in obtaining Ivorian nationality access to the naturalisation process (UNHCR Report on Cote d Ivoire, May 2009). In Guinea, the UNHCR conducted sensitisation campaigns targeting the local administrative authorities, refugees and the host population in order to underline the voluntary, participative and community-based approach of the local integration programme. More than 5,500 Liberian refugees opted for local integration as a durable solution (UNHCR Global Report 2009 on Guinea).

Conclusion

The foregoing discourse has interrogated the UN and management of Liberian refugees in West Africa between 1990 and 2007. It argued that the UN through its refugee agency known as the UNHCR provided humanitarian assistance to Liberian refugees in the five host countries in West Africa, namely Guinea, Cote d' Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria during this period. Although Liberian refugees began to flee to the neighbouring countries like Sierra Leone and Guinea in December 1989 that the Liberian civil war broke out, the UNHCR officially opened its offices in these host countries in 1990. In 2007, the UNHCR formally closed all the refugee camps that hosted the Liberian refugees. It highlighted and discussed major pragmatic steps taken by the by the UNHCR through effective cooperation with the governments of both countries towards effective management of Liberian refugees during period. These pragmatic steps included the enactment of refugee laws, establishment of refugee camps, creation of refugee boards and the implementation of durable solutions. It argued Guinea, Sierra Leone and Cote d' Ivoire hosted more Liberian refugees than Ghana and Nigeria. This was as a result of the fact that the three countries were the immediate neighbours of Liberia. The influx of Liberian refugees in the three countries was reflected in the number of refugee camps that were created by the various governments. It explained that while some refugees lived within the camps created for them in these three countries, some lived outside the camps. They resided with the members of some rural communities. This development led to request conflict between the refugees and the indigenes of the host communities. The UNHCR and the governments of the affected countries took several measures towards resolving the conflicts. It argued that following the temporary restoration of peace into Liberia in 1997 occasioned by the successful conduct of presidential election leading to the emergence of Charles Taylor as the new President, the UNHCR in conjunction with governments of the host countries most especially Guinea, Sierra Leone and Cote d' Ivoire began to implement three durable solutions, namely repatriation, resettlement and local integration. The process was later halted as a result of the outbreak of another second civil in 1998, which lasted till 2003. With the exile of Charles Taylor in 2003, UNHCR resumed the implementation of durable solutions, which were very successful. It lasted between 2003 and 2007. Despite some challenges encountered, the UNHCR successfully managed Liberian refugees in their various host countries in West Africa. This became possible as a result of cooperation with the host governments and supports of other agencies of UN like WFP and UNICEF and the NGOs.

References

Adepoju, A. (1982). The Dimension of the Refugee Problem in Africa. *African Affairs*, 81 (322)

Adepoju, A. (2003), "Migration in West Africa", Development, 46 (3): 37–41

Adesote, S.A and Peters, A. (2024). Violent Conflict, Forced Migration and Internal Population Displacement in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, 1999-2011. *Journal of Identify and Migration Studies*,18 (1):59-74

Adesote, S.A and Ajayi, A.I. (2021). Boko Haram Insurgency, Refugee crises, and Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria, 2009-2017: A Preliminary Assessment of Governments' Response. *African Journal of Terrorism and Insurgency Research*, 2 (3):5-30

Agblorti, S.K.M. (2011). Refugee integration in Ghana: the host community's perspective. New Issues In Refugee Research, Research Paper No. 203. Policy Development and Evaluation Service, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva

Article 1 of the 1951 Refugee Convention

Article III of the OAU Charter.

Black, R and Koser, K. (1999). *The End of the Refugee Cycle? Refugee Repatriation and Reconstruction*. Oxford: Berghahn Books

Boamah-Gyau, K. (2008). The Socio-cultural and economic impact of Refugees on the host Indigenous Communities in West Africa: A case study of Liberian Refugees at Buduburam Community in Ghana. Thesis Submitted for the Degree: Master of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tromso Norway June 2008

Cain, K.L.(1999). The rape of Dinah: Human Rights, civil war in Liberia and evil triumphant. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 21 (2):265-307

Castaneda, A. E., Junna, L., Lilja, E., et al. (2017). The prevalence of potentially traumatic pre-migration experiences: A population-based study of Russian, Somali and Kurdish Origin Migrants in Finland. Journal of Traumatic Stress Disorders & Treatment, 6(1).

Dick, S. and Boer, W. (2001). The Spirits are Angry: Liberia's Secret Cults in the Service of Civil War', Books

Dick, S. (2002a). Liberians in Ghana: Living without Humanitarian Assistance. *New Issues in Refugee Research*, International Development Centre, February

Donnelly, J.H; Gibson, J.L and Ivancevich, J.M. (1984). Fundamentals of Management. Taxas: Business Publications Inc.

ECOWAS Protocol on Non-Aggression of (1978).

ECOWAS Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defence Matters, (1981)

Ellis, S. 1995. Liberia 1989-1994, A Study of Ethnic and Spiritual Violence. *African Affairs*, 94:165–197

Essuman-Johnson, A. (2003). Ghana's policy towards refugees since independence. *Ghana Social Science Journal (New Series)*, 2 (1):136-161

Fragomen Jr, A. T. (1970). The Refugee: a problem of definition. Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law, 3(1):45-70

Gould, W.T.S. (1974). Refugees in Tropical Africa. *International Migration Review* (Special edition on International Migration in Tropical Africa), Vol.8, No.3, p. 413

Hamrell, S. Ed. (1967). The Problem of African Refugees. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies

Insight on Conflict (2012) *Liberia: conflict profile.* (http://www.insight-onconflict.org/conflicts/liberia/conflict-profile)

Interview held with Mr. Tayo Ogunjobi at Ijebu-Ode on 10 July, 2016

IRIN (2004) Ghana – Liberia: Agreement signed for repatriation of Liberian refugees in Ghana, 2004

Kieh, J and Klay, G (2009).The roots of the second Liberian civil war. *International Journal on World Peace*, 1

Kuhlman, T. (2002). Responding to protracted refugee situations: A case study of Liberian refugees in Côte d'Ivoire. A publication of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Evaluation And Policy Analysis Unit

Levitt, J.I. (2005). *The evolution of deadly conflict in Liberia: From paternaltarianism to state collapse*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press

Lippman, B. (2004). The 4Rs: The Way Ahead?' *Forced Migration Review*, 21: 9–11

Loescher (1992), "Refugee Movements and International Security". Brassey's for The International Institute for Strategic Study. Published by Brassey's for the IISS

Nindi, B.C. (1986). Africa's refugee crisis in a historical perspective. *Transafrican Journal of History*, 15:96-107

Omeje, K. n.d. Conflicts in West Africa: Introduction: Conceptual Analysis

Opaye, C. (2005). Refugee Camp Security in West Africa: An ECOWAS Priority? Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre Paper No.11:1-21

Osunkoya, O.A. (2023). Non-State Actors and the Management of Liberian Refugees in Oru-Ijebu Refugee Camp in Nigeria, 1990-2007. *Zamfara Journal of Politics and Development*, vol 4 (3):79

Porter, G, Hampshire, K, Kyei, P, Adjaloo, M, Rapoo, G and Kilpatrick, K. 2008. Linkages between livelihood opportunities and refugee-host relations: learning from the experiences of Liberian camp based refugees in Ghana." *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 21 (2):230-252

Resser, C. (1973). Management functions and modern concepts. Illnois and Scott: Foresman and Co.

Sesay, M. A. (1996) Civil War and Collective Intervention in Liberia. *Review of African Political Economy*, 23 (67):35-52.

Tanner, V. (1998) "Liberia: Railroading Peace", *Review of African Political Economy* 25, no.75, March 133-147

Tarr. B. (1993). "The ECOMOG Initiative in Liberia: A Liberian Perspective. *Issue", A Journal of Opinion* 21, no. 1/2

Trémolières, M. Ed. (2009). Regional Challenges of West African Migration African and European perspectives. OECD

Ugwuegbu, D.C. (2001). Commentary: Mental Health Needs of Liberian Refugees in Nigeria. *The Journal of the International Institute*, 8 (3):47-59

UNHCR (2003). Thousands Flee Liberia's Conflict'-http://www.unhcr.org/cgi

UNHCR 2003. Thousands Flee Liberia's Conflict'-http://www.unhcr.org/cgi

UNHCR Global Report 2005 on Sierra Leone:240.

UNHCR Report on Durable Solutions

UNHCR Report, 2004

Reuters Report, 2004

UNHCR Report, 2007

UNHCR Report, 2009

UNHCR Global Report 2006 on Cote d Ivoire

UNHCR Global Report 2005 on Sierra Leone,p240

UNHCR Global Report 2006 on Guinea)

UNHCR/WFP, 2006

UNHCR Global Report 2005 on Sierra Leone, p240

UNHCR Global Report 2006 on Cote d' Ivoire

UNHCR Global Report 2006 on Guinea)

UNHCR Report on Cote d Ivoire, May 2009)

UNHCR Global Report 2009 on Guinea United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2019). Climate change and disaster displacement.

UNHCR Report, 2013

US Committee for Refugees, 2002 Country Report

Usman. O. 2007. Efficient Joint Programme on Local Integration of Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugees in Nigeria. A Paper presented during the National Conference on Local Integration of Refugees and Management of Internally Displaced Persons: A search for a durable solution held at UN House Auditorium, Centre Area, Abuja, 27-28 November, 2007

Valtonen, K. (2004). From the Margin to the Mainstream: Conceptualising Refugee settlement

Processes. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 17 (1):70-96

Vinck, P, Pham, P N and Kreutzer, T (2011) *Talking Peace: A population-based survey on attitudes about security, dispute resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction in Liberia*. Berkeley, CA: Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley.