Etude de la Population Africaine
African Population Studies

REDACTEUR EN CHEF
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
Akam Evina

Institut de Formation et de Recherche Demographiques (IFORD)
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African Strategic Research Corporation
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ISSN 0850-5780
Published by the Union for African Population Studies. Correspondence concerning subscription, orders, reprints, and membership should be directed to: Union for African Population Studies, B.P. 21607 Dakar Ponty, Dakar, Senegal. Tel: 221 825 95 51/24/35/28, Fax: 271 825 59 55. Email: upapsy@c. Frequency of publication: March and September. Copyright © 1999 Union for African Population Studies.

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Social life and problems of Liberian refugees in Nigeria: an exploratory study of a refugee camp in Oru, Ogun State

O. Y. OYENYE
and
P. A. EDEWOR
Ogun State University, Ago-Iwoye, Nigeria

Abstract
The study examines the social life and problems of Liberian refugees in a camp. The data from a sample of 162 refugees show that the refugees were relatively young, have high level of education, mostly of the Christian faith and from all the counties and major ethnic groups in Liberia. They suffered the problem of starvation, torture, threats and harassment, constant fear, health problems and general insecurity before leaving Liberia; eighty per cent had lost at least one relation in the war. Although such amenities as electricity, pipe-borne water, sports facilities, school for children and health centre were available in the camp, water supply was irregular while drugs and other essential commodities were grossly inadequate. Education-related problems featured prominently together with unemployment, loneliness and boredom, separation from family and poor living conditions. However, the refugees spent their time on such activities classified as academic, religious, domestic, agricultural, artistic, manual, commercial and sports. They have contributed to the local community in the area of labour supply, demand for commodities, supply of farm and non-farm products, environmental sanitation, traditional dance, evangelism and sports. Policy recommendations are made.

Introduction
A major social problem which has called for concern in most countries of the world today is that of refugees. Refugees, here, may be considered as people who have fled their countries to seek refuge elsewhere, usually for reason of racial, ethnic, religious or political persecution or under sudden crisis such as war conditions (Huck and Bouvier, 1983; Kelly and Elwell, 1981; Newland, 1981). Refugees are usually temporarily or permanently unable to return to their countries (Oyeneye and Peil, 1992). Majority (over 50) of the world’s refugees are in Africa and this large number is attributable to disruptions in social and economic life resulting from political violence and war in their countries of origin.

A similar report to the one above had earlier been made by the U.S. Committee for Refugees (USCR) in 1983 noting that about 7.8 million refugees, the world over, were awaiting permanent settlement in that year, with a majority in or from the developing countries (USCR, 1983). This was in addition to at least another million people who could be termed internal refugees, having been displaced within their own countries (USCR, 1982; 1983).

In Africa, Angola, Chad, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Sudan, Uganda and, most recently, Sierra Leone have been the major senders of refugees since independence. According to the estimate given by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), about 4.5 million refugees were in Africa in 1989, a figure which rose to over five million in 1991. Aside from these, over 10 million persons who still live in their countries have been displaced owing to drought, famine, local fighting and desperate economic conditions.

Although the number of refugees varies from year to year, not less than a total of four million refugees per year has been recorded in Africa since the early 1980s, with Sudan and Ethiopia having very large numbers even since the 1950s due to civil wars. Before the outbreak of the Somali crisis which began in 1991, Somalia used to receive refugees from South-Eastern Ethiopia. With the Somali crisis, thousands of Somalis fled to Ethiopia and Kenya. The Angolan civil war caused over a million Angolans to flee to Zaire and Zambia. Civil wars in...
Southern Sudan and Rwanda also forced people to flee to Uganda (Schultheis, 1989).

Numerous Mozambican refugees (about 700,000) were in Malawi in 1989. Zimbabwe which sent about 750,000 refugees to neighbouring countries including Zambia and Botswana before her independence in 1980 later received Mozambican refugees. Ethnic clashes have caused Rwanda and Burundi to exchange refugees while the border clash between Mauritania and Senegal has also caused them to do the same (Schultheis, 1989; O'Connor, 1991). Numerous Chadians, Libereans and Sierra Leonesians also fled their countries because of civil wars. The Liberian civil war which began on December 24, 1989, generated a lot of refugees in Sierra Leone, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Ghana and Nigeria. Sierra Leone which was one of the countries which received refugees from Liberia now sends refugees to neighbouring West African countries including Nigeria, owing to political crisis and civil war.

Refugee problems have consequences which could be examined at both the national level (of the host country) and at the level of the individual refugee. At the national level, the host country takes on an additional burden which it finds difficult to shoulder especially in the face of the current economic depression and already overstretched facilities in African countries. This increases the level of poverty in the host nation. However, a study of refugees conducted by Harrell-Bond (1986) in the Yei River District of Southern Sudan showed that the refugees made substantial contributions to the transformation and the development of the local community and the members of the local community benefited tremendously from the skills, ideas, and innovations of the refugees. Harrel-Bond consequently argued that the influx of refugees may actually be an opportunity for positive transformation of the economy of the host nation rather than being a problem.

At the individual level, refugees encounter a lot of problems ranging from material deprivation, loss of property, loss of family and social networks, loss of jobs and a disruption of children's education. They live in poor environment, usually in overcrowded temporary camps or settlements, where these are provided by the host country. Such camps or settlements are usually ill-equipped with health services and the refugees are also poorly fed. Some of their women take to prostitution while some of their men become alcoholics because of frustration. Others take to crime or roam the streets begging for money, food, clothing and other materials. The Nigerian experience with Chadian refugees as from the early 1980s is a typical example (Dodge and Ruandalen, 1987; Harrel-Bond, 1990).

It is against this background that we have chosen to conduct an exploratory study on the social life and problems of Liberian refugees in Nigeria. Accordingly, this study aims at investigating amongst others:

i. the socio-demographic characteristics of the refugees;
ii. the factors and the conditions under which they left Liberia (which will be referred to as the antecedent factors);
iii. the availability of food and other social amenities and facilities in the refugee camp;
iv. their social life and problems within and outside the camp;
v. the possible contributions they have made to the local community since their arrival; and finally,
vi. make appropriate recommendations based on the findings of the study.

Methods of study

This study was conducted in the refugee camp at Oru, a town in Ijebu-North Local Government Area of Ogun State. The town is located between latitude 6°48′N and longitude 3°50′E and is bounded in the East, by Ijebu-Igbo; in the West, by Ago-Iwoye and in the North, by Ata (Adebayo, 1987; Odugbemi 1987). The place now used as the refugee camp was originally a Teacher Training College which was abandoned after the school was phased out some years ago. It is about one kilometer from Oru town.

At the time of the survey, the accurate number of the refugees in the camp was not known due to the fact that just as new members join the camp, a considerable number leave, travelling to Lagos, Port-Harcourt, Jos and other big
Numerous refugee camps have been established in African countries because of military conflicts. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, refugees from these countries, especially those from war-torn countries such as Liberia, have been seen in Nigeria. The refugee camps are usually established by relief organizations or government agencies and are located at both the local community level and the national level. At the local level, the refugee camp is usually an informal arrangement, and the refugees are usually fed and housed in tents. Some of the refugees, however, are usually ill-fed. Some of the refugees have experienced loss of family members and are usually ill-housed. Some of the refugees are engaged in begging for food, and some of the refugees are engaged in illegal activities, such as drug dealing.

The socio-cultural characteristics include educational levels, religious beliefs, and occupation. The educational levels of the refugees include primary education, secondary education, and university education. The religious beliefs of the refugees include Islam, Christianity, and traditional beliefs. The occupations of the refugees include manual, skilled, and professional. The socio-cultural characteristics are important in understanding the refugees' needs and their integration into the local community.

The socio-cultural characteristics are important in understanding the refugees' needs and their integration into the local community.
Clerical and Allied: Clerks, those involved with book-keeping, cashiers, stenographers, etc.
Higher Commercial: Owners or managers of substantial business.
Lower Professional: Clergymen, teachers, nurses, etc.
Other: Apprentices, housewives, unemployed, etc.

Our data show that all the 13 counties in Liberia were represented. They include: Nimba, Grand Gedeh, Maryland, Sincde, Montserrado, Mibbi, Grand Kru, Lofa, Bomi, Grand Bassa, Grand Cape Mount, Bong and River Cess. The respondents also cut across all the major ethnic groups in Liberia including the Krahn, Kru, Bassa, Mano, Grebo, Mandingo, Kpelle, Krani, Loma, Vai, Mende, Gola, Cee and Kpelleh. The Congo or Americo-Liberians who were originally slaves who settled in Liberia after the end of slave trade were also represented.

There is ample evidence that a lot of families were disorganized and their members scattered all over as a result of the war. This is based on the fact that more than three quarters of our married respondents were not with their spouses in the camp. Indeed, a sizeable number (43.5%) among these had no idea of the whereabouts of their spouses. Only 34.8 per cent had their spouses still in Liberia while the spouses of other 15 per cent were seeking refuge in other West African countries.

Current fertility level is low (about 2.8) especially that our married female respondents are still in their reproductive years and have not completed child-bearing. Close to eighty per cent of the married female respondents had less than four surviving children. However, majority of our married respondents (70.4%) did not have all their children with them in the camp. Of this number, 43.2 per cent had the rest of their children in Liberia, 15.7 per cent in Monrovia, 9.8 per cent, and 5.9 per cent had the rest of their children in other West African countries, America and Lagos respectively. Of these 21.5 per cent had no idea of the whereabouts of the rest of their children and 5.9 per cent had lost the rest of their children. About 44 per cent of the married respondents had none of their children with them in the camp while another 48 per cent had between 1 and 3 children with them.

**Antecedent factors**

This section takes a look at the situation in Liberia and the factors or conditions under which the Liberians left their country to seek for refuge. The Liberian civil war which began from the Nimba county in the Northern part of Liberia on December 24, 1989, was spearheaded by the Charles Taylor-led rebels. As the rebels advanced southward and gained control over towns and villages, the civilians also moved southward, attempting to escape attack by the rebels. Thus, more people moved towards Monrovia, the Federal Capital, located in Montserrado county. The fact that Monrovia was the seat of the late President Samuel Doe's government coupled with the lack security and safety which his government promised, lured the citizens into Monrovia which soon became overcrowded.

At the time the Liberian refugees left their country on the 27th of September, 1990, virtually all the counties except perhaps Montserrado were under Charles Taylor's control. About seventy-five per cent of the refugees in the camp left from Monrovia and they attested to the fact that the war reached Monrovia before their departure. Eighty-five per cent of those who were resident in other towns before leaving Liberia also claimed that the war got to these towns before their departure.

Various reasons were adduced by the refugees for leaving Liberia. The most frequently cited being the need for security (73.5%) and the problem of starvation (11.7%). The following quotations below were some of the responses given to the question on why they actually took the decision to leave Liberia: "Because of killings, lack of food, water, electricity and peace." "I could not withstand the insecurity and molestation." "Because of too much killing, sickness, lack of food and water and to save my life." "Because the situation back home was getting deplorable. People were dying of hunger and epidemic." "I belong to the late Doe's tribe (Krahn) which Taylor's men were hunting for." "Because the two rebel factions were hunting for my tribe (Krahn)." "Rebels took over our area at Montserrano county." These and other similar words were used by the refugee exit.

When asked (37%) was the torture from a lack of food (40%) loss of lives (10%).

The rebellion was to get into the town by the fact that the ninety per cent of the security force, eighty-five percent other than the major ethnic groups they included were not with their spouses, forty-four per cent of the spouses were lost. Their children were seeking refuge elsewhere. Some of the respondents did not know the whereabouts of their spouses.

Social amenities were the major factors that simply conveyed the amenities of a health centre, section of the hospital, secondary school, etc. With some others.

The major food stuff they lacked was maize flour (37%), long time, food, etc. UNHCR, Asied, and the particular time and the household has, they took their own meals, ate at a place, their food as gathering. Most of them who had lost their farms of indigence (12.5%), relative to the items of the food allocated.

**Life In The Camp**

The refugee day. More within the camp the other outside the camp are very broad c.
by the refugees to describe their experiences and ordeal of Liberia before their exit.

When asked to list the problems encountered before their departure, hunger (37%) was the most frequently cited (see Table 2 in the Appendix). Others were: torture from rebels; threats and harassment; health problems; fear of insecurity; loss of lives (including those of family members, relations and friends); loss of property; displacement; shortage of water and drugs; fear of conscription into the rebel army; loss of job; disruption in education and finally, the great struggle to get into the ship that brought them to Nigeria. This struggle was necessitated by the fact that there were more people than the ship could accommodate. Over ninety per cent found their way to Nigeria with the help of ECOMOG Peace Keeping Force. Only 8.6 per cent personally found their way to Nigeria.

Eighty-five per cent of the respondents claimed they lost one relation or the other in the war. Another 5.6 per cent were uncertain whether the family members they have not been able to locate were still alive. The relations lost included parents, spouses, children, siblings and cousins. Those who did not know the whereabouts of their other family members expressed very little hope of ever getting together again as family members. Fifty per cent of the respondents do not hear from other relations who are not in the same camp.

Social amenities and food supplies

Since the camp was formerly a school, the buildings and facilities were simply converted to suit the purpose of settling the refugees. Such social amenities and facilities as electricity, pipe-borne water, sports facilities and health centre, albeit with inadequate drug supply, were available in the camp. A section of the camp was also used as school, from nursery and primary up to Junior Secondary (J.S.S. 2). Thereafter, the students are transferred to the secondary schools around, especially Flamerian Comprehensive High School, Cotonou. While the facilities in the camp are mainly provided by the National Commission for Refugees (N.C.R.), it is the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (U.N.H.C.R.) that is responsible for the supply of food together with some other aids.

The major food items supplied were rice, beans, yam, cassava flour (Gari), maize flour (Konvita), bread, meat, fish, tea, sugar, milk and palm oil. For a long time, food preparation was done centrally by women employed by the UNHCR. Aside from the fact that only two meals were served per day, it was of poor quality and those who had no choice of the type of food desired at a particular time. During the course of the survey, there was a decentralization and since then there has been a monthly allocation of food, distributed on household basis in the different blocks. Individual households now prepare their own meals to their own taste and also have a choice of the type of food to take at a particular point in time. The respondents considered the quality of their food as good only after this decentralization was done.

Majority of the refugees (67.3%) had no alternative source of food. Of those who had alternative source of food, 67.6 per cent depended on the little farms they had within the camp, or work as labourers in sawmills in the town or in the farms of indigenes, or sell provisions to earn some little money with which they purchased food items. Others used the token amount they received from friends (12.5%), relations (10.4%) and the Red Cross (6.3%). Some sell the food items allocated to them by the UNHCR and then use the money to purchase the kind of food items desired.

Life In The Camp

The refugees in the camp spent their time on a number of activities during the day. More than half (53.1%) were engaged in one kind of work or the other within the camp. Twenty-three per cent were engaged in one kind of work or the other outside the camp. Activities generally engaged in, within or outside the camp, are shown in Table 2 in the Appendix. They are further classified into nine broad categories namely: (i) academic (32.7%), (ii) religious (6.8%), (iii)
domestic (1.9%), (iv) agricultural (4.9%), (v) creative/artistic/musical (2.5%), (vi) manual (11.1%), (vii) commercial (6.2%), (viii) sports/games (12.3%), and (ix) other (9.9%). While most of them engaged in a combination of these activities, more than one-tenth spent their time doing nothing, sleeping, or just strolling. The details of these classifications are as follows:

Academic: includes going to school, reading, teaching.

Religious: includes evangelism, prayer meetings, etc.

Domestic: includes cooking, taking care of children, plaiting hair.

Agricultural: crop production (crops grown in the camp were maize, cassava, vegetables, okro, garden egg, sweet potato and plantain); and poultry keeping (layers).

Creative/Artistic/Musical: Photography, playing musical instruments (guitar), singing, listening to music.

Manual: Doing menial jobs in town and working at sawmills around.

Commercial: Hawking within the camp and selling provisions and food items in kiosks erected in the camp.

Sports/Games: Football, basket ball, volley ball, table tennis (the camp had facilities for all these), scrabble, chess, draft and cards.

Other: Broad baking (there was a constructed bakery oven by one of the refugees), manufacturing of metal pots, etc.

In addition to these activities engaged in by individuals there were other ceremonies engaged in by groups of individuals in the camp. These were the occasional crusades conducted by the Christian religious groups and other social gatherings such as the Marine Night and the Garden Night. The Marine Night which comes up bi-monthly, under constructed tents, is a social gathering which features music and dancing involving men dressed in female apparel and ladies dressed in male apparel. The Garden Night on the other hand is a night of entertainment organized by any individual who intends to declare the surplus harvested from his garden. Dressing in this case is normal. The Garden Night comes up as occasion warrants. With respect to religious worship, a handful of the refugees worship in Oru town. However, most of the Liberians worship within the camp in the church (Refugee House of Prayer, (56.8%); Liberian Christian Fellowship, (15.4%) and mosque (9.9%)) on the days of worship.

There seems to be a high level of interaction between members of the camp and members of the communities around, judging from the fact that close to three quarter (70.4%) had friends in the town and other towns around and three quarter (75.9%), mostly those who had friends in town, were normally visited by people from outside the camp. Most of the refugees also went to town regularly with 61.7 per cent going at least once in a week. Twenty-two per cent (especially those who work in town) went to town each day of the week. Thirty-one per cent went on irregular basis. Members of the camp also travelled to other towns on a regular basis. More than two fifth (42.6%) travelled at least once in a month. Twenty-one per cent travelled on an irregular basis. Only 27.2 per cent never travelled at all.

While majority (66%) would not accept the option of staying permanently in Nigeria, they would only return to Liberia when the war is over and the political situation normalizes (65.5%). Those who would accept this option gave reasons varying from the need to complete their education (most frequently cited reason); "the peace and tranquility ... in Nigeria ..."; the business prospects in Nigeria; not seeing the possibility of the war in their country ending soon; to the fact that they have lost everything they had in Liberia.
Different gift items including clothes, shoes, soap, food, money, drugs, toothpaste, tooth brush, toiletries, buckets, cooking utensils and spoons have occasionally been received by the refugees (2.9%). The sources of such gifts have mainly been religious and charity organizations, friends and philanthropists. In most cases, these gifts were solicited for while they were also voluntarily donated in some other cases. In addition to these, some other ways through which the refugees got money to meet their immediate needs were through the sale of farm products, wages earned on menial jobs, allowances from UNHCR, sale of j. ovisions and food items, and stipend earned from teaching in the camp, photography, bread baking and assistance from relations in other countries (mainly the U.S.A.).

Major Problems and Contributions

The emphasis here is mainly on the problems at the individual refugee level rather than at the national (host country) level. This study reveals that despite the gifts received from friends, religious and charity organizations etc., basic items such as soap, toothpaste, shoes, clothes, body creams, bedding, drugs, etc. and other camp-related items were still grossly inadequate. These problems most frequently cited by the refugees however, was the inability to secure admission into Nigerian schools and higher institutions or inability to pay the required fees in these educational institutions. Other major problems bordered on unemployment, financial hardship, idleness, loneliness, separation from family or inability to locate other family members, isolation from town, insanitary condition of toilets and the generally poor conditions of living.

In spite of these numerous problems, the refugees have made some vital contributions to the local community, however insignificant they might seem. Besides the fact that their continued stay here has popularized the town in the international community, the refugees have supplied labour to sawmills and farms in the town. In addition, baked bread from the camp, manufactured metal pots by some of the refugees, poultry eggs and other farm products albeit of little quantity have been sold to members of the local community. Similarly, sales in the local market have increased as the refugees procured such items as palm oil, vegetable oil, pepper and other ingredients as well as other materials.

Other areas in which the refugees have made contributions are through participation in the monthly environmental sanitation, staging traditional dance in the towns around and teaching some members of the local community how to prepare some Liberian meals, especially cassava leaves. Members of the camp sometimes clear the road that links the camp with the town. Some conduct evangelistic and revival services in churches. Finally, in the area of sports, some of the refugees have represented Ogun State in basket ball tournament.

Conclusion

This study on social life and problems of Liberian refugees has dealt with the socio-demographic characteristics of Liberian refugees in the camp, the conditions under which they left Liberia (antecedent factors), the social facilities and food supplies in the camp, the social life and problems of the refugees as well as the contributions they have made to the local community since their arrival. The data show that the refugees are relatively young (mostly in their twenties), have high level of education, mostly of the Christian faith and are from all the counties and major ethnic groups in Liberia. The data further show that the situation in Liberia before the refugees’ departure was a deplorable one with the problem of starvation, torture, threats and harassment, constant fear, health problems and general insecurity; 85 per cent having lost one relation or the other. Also, seventy-five per cent of the married respondents in the camp were without their spouses, with 43.5 per cent of this number having no idea of their spouses’ whereabouts.

Although such amenities and facilities as electricity, pipe born water, sports facilities, school for children and health centre were available in the camp, water supply was irregular and drugs were inadequately supplied. Similarly, such
basic items as soap, toothpaste, shoes, bedding and food were also grossly inadequate. The refugees spent their time during the day on such activities classified as academic, religious, domestic, agricultural, creative/artistic/musical, manual and commercial as well as sports/games.

In addition to the short supply of certain basic items, education-related problems featured prominently. Other problems were unemployment, loneliness, separation from family, isolation and poor living conditions. In spite of these problems, the refugees have made contributions to the local community in the area of labour supply, increase in the demand for commodities in the local market, supply of farm products and other produced items to the local community, environmental sanitation, traditional dance, evangelism and sports.

Recommendations

From the findings of this study, it is clear that the refugees have not constituted any serious burden to the local community. The problems are more or less at the individual refugee level, and the greater burden for the provision of solution to these problems has lied mainly with the UNHCR. The Nigerian government could, through the National Commission for Refugees (NCCR) and in collaboration with UNHCR assist in solving the problems through the following recommended ways.

i. Liaise with the authorities of Nigerian schools and the management of higher institutions in order to ensure that those who possess the requisite qualifications and have met the necessary requirements be given admission after passing through the necessary admission procedures. Such candidates are to be sponsored by the United Nations.

ii. Work out an apprenticeship scheme similar to that by the National Directorate for Employment, through which those who lack the ability or the necessary entry qualifications into schools, could learn a particular trade of their choice. Such vocational training or other human resource development programmes could help them become self-employed and self-reliant in Nigeria finally returning to their communities at home.

Such training will also be useful to them when they eventually return to their country.

iii. Encourage and assist those who have ideas or have acquired some skills but lack the necessary wherewithal to enable them to practice, with some form of financial aid. Professionals could also be employed or encouraged to practice.

iv. Persuade and encourage members of the local community who have land to rent it out to refugees who are willing to farm. Such potential farmers could be assisted with the initial capital for the rentage of the land and for the purchase of the basic farm implements as hoes, cutlasses, seeds, etc.

v. Arrange to sell such essential commodities as soap, toothpaste and other similar items at subsidized prices to the refugees and also ensure adequate supply of food, water and drugs.

All the above recommendations would help to alleviate the problems of the refugees, reduce the problem of boredom and frustration and further enhance their contribution to the development and transformation of the local community and the nation as a whole.

Footnote

1. Cassava is grown mainly for the leaves which the Liberians use to prepare special dishes.
References


APPENDIX

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents by Age and Sex

<table>
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<th>Age (Years)</th>
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<th>Female</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
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<td>12.7</td>
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<td>20-24</td>
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<td>25-29</td>
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<tr>
<td>50 &amp; above</td>
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<td>110</td>
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Table 2: Problems Encountered in Liberia

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<th>Problems</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Activities on which time was spent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative/Artistic/Musical</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports/Games</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>162</td>
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Abstract

Using the greater access to scarcity and the odds that many households experience effects of seasonal rainy season, many intra- and inter-seasonal effects of house work, Condon (1993) is known, but seasonal weather, spousal separation and number of families within Mali, any of the study variables results are

Joseph M.

Population
Cornell University
Ithaca New York

Introduction

Pronounced problems in all human societies are many intra- and inter-seasonal weather, Condon (1993) is known, but seasonal weather, spousal separation and number of families within Mali, any of the study variables results are

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