

## **CORRECTIONS**

5-10-2007

Page 6: The Project Summary should be written in the third person—not “I will...” but “The project will...”

Page 21: Advisees listed under iii. Thesis Advisor is inaccurate (leave plenty of time for your advisor to get you this information)

Pages 25 and 26: I should have budgeted for office space and NVivo. I also should have requested that they forward the application to Wayne Patterson if it reviews well so that I may be considered for additional funds from the OISE-Ghana.

**Page 28:** Current and Pending Support includes any grant or fellowship that you intend to apply for during the grant period, not just what you have already been promised (or NSF as the default, if you haven't been offered anything, which is what I did). Note that **you cannot submit the same proposal to more than one federal agency**. I had to withdraw my NSF Sociology application when the Law folks learned that I submitted to Sociology too, and they weren't happy with me. If the grant covers different costs, then it does not count as the same proposal (e.g., you can apply for both Fulbright and NSF).

**02 INFORMATION ABOUT PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS/PROJECT DIRECTORS(PI/PD) and  
co-PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS/co-PROJECT DIRECTORS**

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Submit only ONE copy of this form for each PI/PD and co-PI/PD identified on the proposal. The form(s) should be attached to the original proposal as specified in GPG Section II.B. Submission of this information is voluntary and is not a precondition of award. This information will not be disclosed to external peer reviewers. **DO NOT INCLUDE THIS FORM WITH ANY OF THE OTHER COPIES OF YOUR PROPOSAL AS THIS MAY COMPROMISE THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE INFORMATION.**

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**PI/PD Name:** Myra M Ferree

**Gender:**  Male  Female  
**Ethnicity:** (Choose one response)  Hispanic or Latino  Not Hispanic or Latino

**Race:**  
(Select one or more)  
 American Indian or Alaska Native  
 Asian  
 Black or African American  
 Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander  
 White

**Disability Status:**  
(Select one or more)  
 Hearing Impairment  
 Visual Impairment  
 Mobility/Orthopedic Impairment  
 Other  
 None

**Citizenship:** (Choose one)  U.S. Citizen  Permanent Resident  Other non-U.S. Citizen

**Check here if you do not wish to provide any or all of the above information (excluding PI/PD name):**

**REQUIRED: Check here if you are currently serving (or have previously served) as a PI, co-PI or PD on any federally funded project**

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**Ethnicity Definition:**

**Hispanic or Latino.** A person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.

**Race Definitions:**

**American Indian or Alaska Native.** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America), and who maintains tribal affiliation or community attachment.

**Asian.** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.

**Black or African American.** A person having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa.

**Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander.** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands.

**White.** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa.

---

**WHY THIS INFORMATION IS BEING REQUESTED:**

The Federal Government has a continuing commitment to monitor the operation of its review and award processes to identify and address any inequities based on gender, race, ethnicity, or disability of its proposed PIs/PDs. To gather information needed for this important task, the proposer should submit a single copy of this form for each identified PI/PD with each proposal. Submission of the requested information is voluntary and will not affect the organization's eligibility for an award. However, information not submitted will seriously undermine the statistical validity, and therefore the usefulness, of information received from others. Any individual not wishing to submit some or all the information should check the box provided for this purpose. (The exceptions are the PI/PD name and the information about prior Federal support, the last question above.)

Collection of this information is authorized by the NSF Act of 1950, as amended, 42 U.S.C. 1861, et seq. Demographic data allows NSF to gauge whether our programs and other opportunities in science and technology are fairly reaching and benefiting everyone regardless of demographic category; to ensure that those in under-represented groups have the same knowledge of and access to programs and other research and educational opportunities; and to assess involvement of international investigators in work supported by NSF. The information may be disclosed to government contractors, experts, volunteers and researchers to complete assigned work; and to other government agencies in order to coordinate and assess programs. The information may be added to the Reviewer file and used to select potential candidates to serve as peer reviewers or advisory committee members. See Systems of Records, NSF-50, "Principal Investigator/Proposal File and Associated Records", 63 Federal Register 267 (January 5, 1998), and NSF-51, "Reviewer/Proposal File and Associated Records", 63 Federal Register 268 (January 5, 1998).

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**PI/PD Name:** Elizabeth Holzer

**Gender:**  Male  Female  
**Ethnicity:** (Choose one response)  Hispanic or Latino  Not Hispanic or Latino

**Race:**  
(Select one or more)  
 American Indian or Alaska Native  
 Asian  
 Black or African American  
 Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander  
 White

**Disability Status:**  
(Select one or more)  
 Hearing Impairment  
 Visual Impairment  
 Mobility/Orthopedic Impairment  
 Other  
 None

**Citizenship:** (Choose one)  U.S. Citizen  Permanent Resident  Other non-U.S. Citizen

**Check here if you do not wish to provide any or all of the above information (excluding PI/PD name):**

**REQUIRED: Check here if you are currently serving (or have previously served) as a PI, co-PI or PD on any federally funded project**

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Collection of this information is authorized by the NSF Act of 1950, as amended, 42 U.S.C. 1861, et seq. Demographic data allows NSF to gauge whether our programs and other opportunities in science and technology are fairly reaching and benefiting everyone regardless of demographic category; to ensure that those in under-represented groups have the same knowledge of and access to programs and other research and educational opportunities; and to assess involvement of international investigators in work supported by NSF. The information may be disclosed to government contractors, experts, volunteers and researchers to complete assigned work; and to other government agencies in order to coordinate and assess programs. The information may be added to the Reviewer file and used to select potential candidates to serve as peer reviewers or advisory committee members. See Systems of Records, NSF-50, "Principal Investigator/Proposal File and Associated Records", 63 Federal Register 267 (January 5, 1998), and NSF-51, "Reviewer/Proposal File and Associated Records", 63 Federal Register 268 (January 5, 1998).

## List of Suggested Reviewers or Reviewers Not To Include (optional)

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### **SUGGESTED REVIEWERS:**

Not Listed

### **REVIEWERS NOT TO INCLUDE:**

Not Listed

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## COVER SHEET FOR PROPOSAL TO THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

PROGRAM ANNOUNCEMENT/SOLICITATION NO./CLOSING DATE/if not in response to a program announcement/solicitation enter NSF 04-23					<b>FOR NSF USE ONLY</b>			
<b>PD 98-1372</b>			<b>01/15/07</b>		<b>NSF PROPOSAL NUMBER</b>			
FOR CONSIDERATION BY NSF ORGANIZATION UNIT(S) (Indicate the most specific unit known, i.e. program, division, etc.)								
<b>SES - LAW AND SOCIAL SCIENCES</b>								
<b>DATE RECEIVED</b>	<b>NUMBER OF COPIES</b>	<b>DIVISION ASSIGNED</b>	<b>FUND CODE</b>	<b>DUNS#</b> (Data Universal Numbering System)	<b>FILE LOCATION</b>			
				<b>161202122</b>				
EMPLOYER IDENTIFICATION NUMBER (EIN) OR TAXPAYER IDENTIFICATION NUMBER (TIN)		SHOW PREVIOUS AWARD NO. IF THIS IS <input type="checkbox"/> A RENEWAL <input type="checkbox"/> AN ACCOMPLISHMENT-BASED RENEWAL		IS THIS PROPOSAL BEING SUBMITTED TO ANOTHER FEDERAL AGENCY? YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> IF YES, LIST ACRONYM(S)				
<b>396006492</b>								
NAME OF ORGANIZATION TO WHICH AWARD SHOULD BE MADE			ADDRESS OF AWARDEE ORGANIZATION, INCLUDING 9 DIGIT ZIP CODE					
<b>University of Wisconsin-Madison</b>			<b>21 North Park Street</b>					
AWARDEE ORGANIZATION CODE (IF KNOWN)			<b>Suite 6401</b>					
<b>0038950000</b>			<b>MADISON, WI 53715-1218</b>					
NAME OF PERFORMING ORGANIZATION, IF DIFFERENT FROM ABOVE			ADDRESS OF PERFORMING ORGANIZATION, IF DIFFERENT, INCLUDING 9 DIGIT ZIP CODE					
PERFORMING ORGANIZATION CODE (IF KNOWN)								
IS AWARDEE ORGANIZATION (Check All That Apply) (See GPG II.C For Definitions)								
		<input type="checkbox"/> SMALL BUSINESS		<input type="checkbox"/> MINORITY BUSINESS		<input type="checkbox"/> IF THIS IS A PRELIMINARY PROPOSAL THEN CHECK HERE		
		<input type="checkbox"/> FOR-PROFIT ORGANIZATION		<input type="checkbox"/> WOMAN-OWNED BUSINESS				
TITLE OF PROPOSED PROJECT <b>Democracy in Displacement: A Comparative Study of Liberian Refugees in Ghana</b>								
REQUESTED AMOUNT		PROPOSED DURATION (1-60 MONTHS)		REQUESTED STARTING DATE		SHOW RELATED PRELIMINARY PROPOSAL NO. IF APPLICABLE		
\$ <b>8,527</b>		<b>12</b> months		<b>09/01/07</b>				
CHECK APPROPRIATE BOX(ES) IF THIS PROPOSAL INCLUDES ANY OF THE ITEMS LISTED BELOW								
<input type="checkbox"/> BEGINNING INVESTIGATOR (GPG I.A)			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> HUMAN SUBJECTS (GPG II.D.6)					
<input type="checkbox"/> DISCLOSURE OF LOBBYING ACTIVITIES (GPG II.C)			Exemption Subsection _____ or IRB App. Date <b>02/13/07</b>					
<input type="checkbox"/> PROPRIETARY & PRIVILEGED INFORMATION (GPG I.B, II.C.1.d)			<input type="checkbox"/> INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE ACTIVITIES: COUNTRY/COUNTRIES INVOLVED (GPG II.C.2.j)					
<input type="checkbox"/> HISTORIC PLACES (GPG II.C.2.j)								
<input type="checkbox"/> SMALL GRANT FOR EXPLOR. RESEARCH (SGER) (GPG II.D.1)			<input type="checkbox"/> HIGH RESOLUTION GRAPHICS/OTHER GRAPHICS WHERE EXACT COLOR REPRESENTATION IS REQUIRED FOR PROPER INTERPRETATION (GPG I.G.1)					
<input type="checkbox"/> VERTEBRATE ANIMALS (GPG II.D.5) IACUC App. Date _____								
PI/PD DEPARTMENT			PI/PD POSTAL ADDRESS					
<b>Department of Sociology</b>			<b>1180 Observatory Rd</b>					
PI/PD FAX NUMBER			<b>Madison, WI 53706</b>					
<b>608-265-5389</b>			<b>United States</b>					
NAMES (TYPED)	High Degree	Yr of Degree	Telephone Number	Electronic Mail Address				
<b>Myra M Ferree</b>	<b>PhD</b>	<b>1976</b>	<b>608-263-5204</b>	<b>mferree@ssc.wisc.edu</b>				
CO-PI/PD								
<b>Elizabeth Holzer</b>	<b>MS</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>608-262-3822</b>	<b>eholzer@ssc.wisc.edu</b>				
CO-PI/PD								
CO-PI/PD								
CO-PI/PD								

## CERTIFICATION PAGE

### Certification for Authorized Organizational Representative or Individual Applicant:

By signing and submitting this proposal, the individual applicant or the authorized official of the applicant institution is: (1) certifying that statements made herein are true and complete to the best of his/her knowledge; and (2) agreeing to accept the obligation to comply with NSF award terms and conditions if an award is made as a result of this application. Further, the applicant is hereby providing certifications regarding debarment and suspension, drug-free workplace, and lobbying activities (see below), as set forth in Grant Proposal Guide (GPG), NSF 04-23. Willful provision of false information in this application and its supporting documents or in reports required under an ensuing award is a criminal offense (U. S. Code, Title 18, Section 1001).

In addition, if the applicant institution employs more than fifty persons, the authorized official of the applicant institution is certifying that the institution has implemented a written and enforced conflict of interest policy that is consistent with the provisions of Grant Policy Manual Section 510; that to the best of his/her knowledge, all financial disclosures required by that conflict of interest policy have been made; and that all identified conflicts of interest will have been satisfactorily managed, reduced or eliminated prior to the institution's expenditure of any funds under the award, in accordance with the institution's conflict of interest policy. Conflicts which cannot be satisfactorily managed, reduced or eliminated must be disclosed to NSF.

### Drug Free Work Place Certification

By electronically signing the NSF Proposal Cover Sheet, the Authorized Organizational Representative or Individual Applicant is providing the Drug Free Work Place Certification contained in Appendix C of the Grant Proposal Guide.

### Debarment and Suspension Certification

(If answer "yes", please provide explanation.)

Is the organization or its principals presently debarred, suspended, proposed for debarment, declared ineligible, or voluntarily excluded from covered transactions by any Federal department or agency?

Yes

No

By electronically signing the NSF Proposal Cover Sheet, the Authorized Organizational Representative or Individual Applicant is providing the Debarment and Suspension Certification contained in Appendix D of the Grant Proposal Guide.

### Certification Regarding Lobbying

This certification is required for an award of a Federal contract, grant, or cooperative agreement exceeding \$100,000 and for an award of a Federal loan or a commitment providing for the United States to insure or guarantee a loan exceeding \$150,000.

### Certification for Contracts, Grants, Loans and Cooperative Agreements

The undersigned certifies, to the best of his or her knowledge and belief, that:

(1) No federal appropriated funds have been paid or will be paid, by or on behalf of the undersigned, to any person for influencing or attempting to influence an officer or employee of any agency, a Member of Congress, an officer or employee of Congress, or an employee of a Member of Congress in connection with the awarding of any federal contract, the making of any Federal grant, the making of any Federal loan, the entering into of any cooperative agreement, and the extension, continuation, renewal, amendment, or modification of any Federal contract, grant, loan, or cooperative agreement.

(2) If any funds other than Federal appropriated funds have been paid or will be paid to any person for influencing or attempting to influence an officer or employee of any agency, a Member of Congress, an officer or employee of Congress, or an employee of a Member of Congress in connection with this Federal contract, grant, loan, or cooperative agreement, the undersigned shall complete and submit Standard Form-LLL, "Disclosure of Lobbying Activities," in accordance with its instructions.

(3) The undersigned shall require that the language of this certification be included in the award documents for all subawards at all tiers including subcontracts, subgrants, and contracts under grants, loans, and cooperative agreements and that all subrecipients shall certify and disclose accordingly.

This certification is a material representation of fact upon which reliance was placed when this transaction was made or entered into. Submission of this certification is a prerequisite for making or entering into this transaction imposed by section 1352, Title 31, U.S. Code. Any person who fails to file the required certification shall be subject to a civil penalty of not less than \$10,000 and not more than \$100,000 for each such failure.

AUTHORIZED ORGANIZATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE		SIGNATURE	DATE
NAME			
TELEPHONE NUMBER	ELECTRONIC MAIL ADDRESS	FAX NUMBER	

\*SUBMISSION OF SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBERS IS VOLUNTARY AND WILL NOT AFFECT THE ORGANIZATION'S ELIGIBILITY FOR AN AWARD. HOWEVER, THEY ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE INFORMATION SYSTEM AND ASSIST IN PROCESSING THE PROPOSAL. SSN SOLICITED UNDER NSF ACT OF 1950, AS AMENDED.

## **PROJECT SUMMARY**

### **DOCTORAL DISSERTATION RESEARCH—DEMOCRACY IN DISPLACEMENT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LIBERIAN REFUGEES IN GHANA**

Myra Marx Ferree (PI) and Elizabeth Holzer (co-PI)

#### **Objectives**

This dissertation explores the consequences of refugee aid for democratic practices among refugees. Funding is requested for twelve months of fieldwork to study two groups of Liberian refugees in Ghana, “camp refugees” living in the Buduburam Refugee Settlement and “town refugees” trying to assimilate in the capital city of Accra. The primary question is: How is democracy fostered or made elusive in refugee camps? In answering this question, I will contribute to three research concerns: (1) Democracy in the midst of political exclusion: How does being excluded from political participation shape democratic practices? (2) Civic engagement in post-conflict settings: How do survivors of violent conflicts re-engage (or not) with government and non-governmental institutions? (3) Implementing international human rights law: What are the consequences for democratic sensibilities when human rights are proclaimed, while political autonomy is curtailed?

#### **Intellectual Merit**

The study draws together democracy studies and refugee studies, two research traditions often treated as unrelated. I bring to democracy debates an interrogation of the role of refugee aid interventions in post-conflict democratization and an investigation of the effects of different political exclusions on democratic sensibilities. I contribute to refugee studies an exploration of political practices, a subject rarely studied in the camp setting. The case will provide insights into issues of democracy in the midst of political exclusion, civic engagement in post-conflict settings, and implementation of international human rights law.

#### **Broader Impacts**

In 1999, the United States and others sponsored post-conflict elections in Liberia. The elections failed, and war reignited. Evaluating the failed elections, Kamara (1999) cited a general absence of practical knowledge about democracy. Testifying to the wide relevance of these challenges, when USAID launched its first major evaluation of post-conflict elections, it analyzed the merits of different “voter education” programs (Kumar and Ottaway 1997). In Liberia like elsewhere returning refugees will shape the emerging political landscape. People undergo vast shifts in patterns of social life in refugee camps, learning customs that will serve them well or poorly in other settings (Kibreab 1999). It can be a time of growth or corruption (Malkki 1995). What refugees learn of civic engagement matters for democratic transitions, because democracy needs civic habits to flourish. U.S. policymakers treat democracy aid as a crucial part of post-conflict reconstruction (Carothers 1999; Brown 2006). By exploring the role of refugee aid, my work supports democratization programs that can be more effectively rooted in refugee life experiences.

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Project Summary (not to exceed 1 page)	1	_____
Table of Contents	1	_____
Project Description (Including Results from Prior NSF Support) (not to exceed 15 pages) <b>(Exceed only if allowed by a specific program announcement/solicitation or if approved in advance by the appropriate NSF Assistant Director or designee)</b>	10	_____
References Cited	2	_____
Biographical Sketches (Not to exceed 2 pages each)	4	_____
Budget (Plus up to 3 pages of budget justification)	4	_____
Current and Pending Support	2	_____
Facilities, Equipment and Other Resources	2	_____
Special Information/Supplementary Documentation	0	_____
Appendix (List below. ) <b>(Include only if allowed by a specific program announcement/solicitation or if approved in advance by the appropriate NSF Assistant Director or designee)</b>	_____	_____
Appendix Items:		

\*Proposers may select any numbering mechanism for the proposal. The entire proposal however, must be paginated. Complete both columns only if the proposal is numbered consecutively.

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## **PROJECT DESCRIPTION**

### **DOCTORAL DISSERTATION RESEARCH—DEMOCRACY IN DISPLACEMENT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LIBERIAN REFUGEES IN GHANA**

Myra Marx Ferree (PI) and Elizabeth Holzer (co-PI)

## **OBJECTIVES**

This dissertation explores the consequences of refugee aid for democratic practices among refugees. The primary question is: How is democracy fostered or made elusive in refugee camps? In answering this question, I will contribute to three research concerns: (1) Democracy in the midst of political exclusion: How does being excluded from political participation shape democratic practices? (2) Civic engagement in post-conflict settings: How do survivors of violent conflicts re-engage (or not) with government and non-governmental institutions? (3) Implementing international human rights law: What are the consequences for democratic sensibilities when human rights are proclaimed, while political autonomy is curtailed?

## **INTRODUCTION**

This is a study of democracy in bleak circumstances. I ask *how is democracy fostered or made elusive in refugee camps?* This might seem remote from the affairs of refugees and democracy theorists. Shouldn't concerns over hunger, illness and insecurity take precedence over questions of political rights? Aren't refugees too traumatized, too isolated, too fragmented to govern themselves? I will argue that these doubts stem from a model of democracy rooted in affluence and social cohesion, and that a careful investigation of the forces for and against democracy in adversity will contribute to democratic theory and refugee studies. I propose to make such an investigation with a comparative study of two groups of Liberian refugees, "camp refugees" living in a refugee camp and "town refugees" trying to assimilate in Ghana.

Refugee camps are constructed in the shadow of international refugee law. But the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has molded those laws in complex and paradoxical ways. The UNHCR institutionalizes refugee law in a *management regime* that maintains some rights, yet revokes most refugee autonomy, imposing disciplinary forms of social control over refugees. The "camp management" that governs refugees excludes them politically, actively disciplining refugees into certain modes of obedience (Hyndman 2000; Malkki 1995; Daniel and Knudsen 1995; Harrell-Bond 1986).

My project adds a new focus to refugee studies by exploring camps as polities in which democracy can still be part of the political landscape. Addressed as rights-bearing people yet disciplined and excluded from government, how do refugees reconcile these conflicting ideologies to create their own sense of democracy? The disciplinary practices of management combine an imperative of control with an ethic of compassion (Hyndman 2000), comparable administratively to U.S. welfare assistance programs. Thus refugee

camps provide a site to observe a phenomenon of wide-ranging concern: the consequences for democracy when the institutionalization of compassion produces unaccountable authorities and recipients without autonomy.

Democracy also matters for town refugees, who are excluded from politics as non-citizens, but passively, without the disciplining of camps. I contrast this passive exclusion in town with the active disciplining in camp to see how refugee aid intervention matters for democratic practices.

In my fieldwork, I focus on three areas of political practices among refugees. The selection of focal points is anchored in cultural democracy studies, which understands “democracy” as seen not just in formal offices, but also in cultural sites as people define democracy (Schaffer 1998), protest in its name (Oberschall 1996), and imagine themselves as political subjects (Clifford 2001). I explore a *definitional point* as refugees develop understandings of democracy, (2) an *oppositional point* as refugees use democratic frameworks to mobilize against public policy, and (3) a *subjective point* as refugees conceive of their political capacities as subjects. At each of these junctures, democracy is made more or less elusive for refugees.

I selected the primary field site of Buduburam Refugee Settlement, a Liberian refugee camp established in Ghana in 1990, because its longevity makes the management regime’s effects on inhabitants more evident and its post-conflict status gives its impact increased relevance; also its relatively strong participatory tradition and democratic host country suggest “best practices” for fostering civic engagement in exile. In 1999, a scholar observed, “The camp community is lively, has an internal democracy and is run by an elected Liberia Welfare Council” (Owusu 2000). I chose Accra as a second site to contrast the management regime’s role to effects of exile shared by camp and town refugees and to the passive exclusion of non-citizenship.

From March 1 to April 30, 2006, I lived in Buduburam, working with a refugee-run NGO. I went to study democracy, but I found that Owusu’s description did not reflect the current system. The Liberian Refugee Welfare Council is not elected but appointed by a Settlement Manager and the NGO National Catholic Secretariat has appropriated many of its duties<sup>1</sup>. Most formative for my project was one common explanation for the overthrow: some refugees blamed their people as incapable of being democratic, as being too illiterate or prone to violence. I wondered how democracy had come to seem so elusive to these people. At the same time, a movement to recognize a new representative organization, the Elder’s Council, was gaining momentum under a call for democracy. How and among whom did democracy still resonate, and with what consequences?

This study offers purchase on three concerns in law and social science:

- (1) Democracy in the midst of political exclusion:** How does being excluded from political participation shape democratic practices?

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<sup>1</sup> Informational interview with Welfare Council member, Buduburam Refugee Settlement, Ghana April 2006.

- (2) **Civic engagement in post-conflict settings:** How do survivors of violent conflicts re-engage (or not) with government and non-governmental institutions?
- (3) **Implementing international human rights law:** What are the consequences for democratic sensibilities when human rights are proclaimed, while political autonomy is curtailed?

## **THE EMPIRICAL CASE**

Between 1989 and 2003, a civil war prompted hundreds of thousands of Liberians to flee the country. Most ended up in Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Sierra Leone or Ghana. The first wave of Liberian refugees came to Ghana in 1990. The Ghanaian government granted asylum once the UNHCR agreed to provide for their well-being. The UNHCR leased land close the capital city of Accra, founding the Buduburam Refugee Settlement to house the initial group of roughly 100 people. The site is less isolated than refugee camps in many other countries, close enough to other towns for commerce. Buduburam ballooned to an estimated 40,000 as people continued to flee Liberia. After a short-lived peace accords, in 1997, one of the primary architects of the conflict, Charles Taylor, was elected president of Liberia on the promise that he would stop the conflict. Thus prompted a major repatriation effort in Buduburam, and the UNHCR began to cut aid and, officially withdrawing on June 20, 2000 (Dick 2002). But most who had returned to Liberia after the 1997 elections fled when civil war erupted soon after. The camp expanded again, and the UNHCR returned, though in a smaller aid program. In 2003, another peace treaty was negotiated and in 2005 Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected president. Again, repatriation is being pushed, but disarmament and rebuilding of the infrastructure has been slow, and most people have chosen to remain in Ghana for the foreseeable future.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The study unites two research traditions that share concerns for exclusion, conflict and social cohesion but are treated as unrelated: democracy studies and refugees studies. I bring to democracy debates an interrogation of the role of refugee aid interventions in post-conflict democratization and an investigation of the effects of different political exclusions on democratic sensibilities. At the same time, I use concepts from democracy theory to push the various “empowerment” debates in refugee studies to contribute to refugee studies an exploration of political practices. I approach these debates from a law and society perspective that recognizes the prevailing influence of the law and law-like institutions for refugee policy (Hathaway 1991; Loescher 2001).

### ***Conditions Adverse to Democracy***

Democracy scholars have been centrally concerned with the conditions under which successful democracies emerge (Rueschemeyer et al. 1992; Mamdani 1996; Chabal and Daloz 1999). Macro-level democratization studies found a strong correlation between economic development and successful democratic transitions (Jackman 1973; Burkhart

and Lewis-Beck 1994; but see Bratton and van de Walle 1997). Yet case studies found evidence of strong democratic participation in impoverished communities (Santos 2005; Baiocchi 2005). The conflicting evidence suggests that mechanisms aside from material deprivation are needed to explain democracy outcomes.

While economic arguments still have considerable influence in the literature (Geddes 1999; Gibson 2002), many scholars have drawn attention to strategies that promote “rule of law” (Carothers 1999; Tamanaha 2004; Zeleza and McConnaughay 2004) and civil society (Bratton 1994; Chazan 1992; Diamond et al 1997). Though formal organizations are given more attention in these accounts than cultural institutions, civic culture has also received notice (Kasfir 1998). Indeed, the idea that successful democracy requires a civic-minded public is an old insight (Tocqueville 1988 [1840]) whose continuing relevance has been affirmed theoretically (Putnam 2000).

Democracy aid practitioners have attempted to cultivate civic culture through civic education programs (Kumar and Ottaway 1997; Brown 2006). But people also “learn by doing,” bringing their understandings of political practice developed in exile with them to post-conflict settings. Thus the question emerges, what do people learn about political practices in exile?

### ***Two Models of Refugee Aid and their Implications for Democracy in Exile***

The 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees granted refugees an assemblage of rights to security and services. Refugee policy is constructed in the “shadow of the law” (Mnookin and Kornhauser 1979) as actors negotiate asylum policies with international law in mind (Kneebone 2003). But refugees, having fallen out of the “national order of things” (Malkki 1995), relied on the transnational organizations, most prominently the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR), to enforce these rights (Loescher 2001). By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, aid policy had become leached of its rights-based mandate leaving few remnants of the original legal entitlements (Harrell-Bond 1986; Hathaway 1991; Loescher 2001).

What emerged to replace the rights-based model was a “management” model, an amalgam of charity and disciplinary control that reaches its apogee in the “refugee camp.” (Harrell-Bond et al. 1992). The “management” governance regime of refugee camps consists of: (1) a de-politicizing metaphor of “management”; (2) rule by non-refugees; (3) accountability to the humanitarian aid providers rather than camp inhabitants. It is not the only possible type of camp governance; refugees have successfully run camps in Algeria (Lippert 1992) and on the Thai-Burmese border (Demusz 1998). But it is the transnational regime disseminated by the UNHCR.

Yet the rights-based model in which basic freedoms were guaranteed by international refugee law and enforced by the UNHCR was sustained in some areas of UNHCR policy, for example in the processing of asylum cases. Consequently, the UNHCR institutes in refugee camps not an unalloyed “charity” discourse, but one that incorporates rights talk. Further, the personnel who manage camps by and large believe in human rights even as

they support the social control practices (Hyndman 2000). Thus the social world in which camp inhabitants forge political practices includes both rights talk and exclusions.

Researchers have responded to the excesses of the management regime with calls for refugee empowerment. “Empowerment” in these cases refers to economic practices like fair access to labor market and material resources (Jacobsen 2005; Kibreab 1999a), community service practices in the UNHCR’s “community development” initiatives, or skills-building training programs like the SHIFSD initiative in Bubuduram that offers adult literacy classes. *Political* empowerment is not widely addressed in the literature. The generally unstated conception of politics that underlies this very non-political discussion of “empowerment” is well-expressed by Michel Agier in his study of the Dadaab camps in Kenya: “the humanitarian system induces the social and political *non-existence* of the recipients of its aid” (2001:322, emphasis added). But even as they are excluded from formal governance institution, people develop norms of political practice.

Many people choose strategies of integration into the host country rather than live in refugee camps (Temudo and Schiefer 2003; Jacobsen 2005). The warmth of reception ranges from being welcomed through kinship networks into the host communities (Temudo and Schiefer 2003) to being rounded up and forced to live in camps (Kibreab 1999b). Ghana has adopted a middle road, encouraging refugees to live in camps, but not actively forcing to do so; people trying to integrate into the country are excluded from political participation passively, through non-citizenship. Yet they too are learning about political practices.

In both strategies, refugees encounter political exclusion, but of fundamentally different varieties. In the camp setting, it is an active disciplining while in the town setting it is a passive exclusion. People undergo vast shifts in patterns of social life in exile, learning customs that will serve them well or poorly in other settings (Kibreab 1999a; Malkki 1995). What is learned about democracy through combination of rights talk and disciplinary political exclusion in camps in contrast to the lesson learned through the passive political exclusion of non-citizenship?

## **RESEARCH DESIGN**

In twelve months of fieldwork in Ghana, I will explore how the managerial interpretation of refugee law is enacted in the local context and what its consequences are for refugees’ democracy sensibilities in a post-conflict setting. The goal of this field study is to produce a model of how the camp management regime makes democracy more or less elusive for refugees. To highlight the effects of management in contrast to the other pressures of exile, I will compare two populations of refugees, “camp refugees” who live in a refugee camp under the management regime and “town refugees” who are living in Accra, the capital city of Ghana. The town/camp comparison is a strategy that has been used by others to study refugee populations (Malkki 1995; Dick 2002). Town and camp refugees have similar characteristics having fled Liberia with comparable motivations and sufficient resources to make it to Ghana—a country relatively generous and stable, but far from Liberia. Thus some difference in outcomes if found could be attributed to

the stimulus of refugee camp management. There are some complications to the town/camp comparison: the permeability of the categories as “camp refugees” go to town and “town refugees” come to live in the camp (Dick 2002), the frequently strong social ties between the groups and another, desire to assimilate held by many town refugees (Kibreab 1999b), and selection biases in decisions whether to live in camp or not. But the Ghanaian case has some advantages: Liberians’ presence in Ghana is not criminalized, so the desire to assimilate is unlikely to provoke strong aversion to talking with researchers witnessed in places that outlaw refugees who try to live outside of refugee camps. Some methodological steps can be taken to bolster the validity of the comparison as well: in interviews, I will explore selection into town or camp as a series of constrained choices (to leave Liberia, go to Ghana not elsewhere, live in camp or not), and I will ask about ties to town or camp refugees. I will also use the analysis of UNHCR discourse in refugee accounts as another indicator of “exposure” to the management regime.

### *Data Collection*

The primary data will be collected in individual semi-structured interviews. I will supplement the individual interviews with focus groups, ethnographic observations, and public texts. I rely primarily on interviews because the social process under study—the development of democratic sensibilities—is an interpretive phenomenon, and interview data is particularly well-suited to uncovering the meanings that subjects ascribe to their actions and the taken-for-granted assumptions that inform their ascriptions (Silbey 2005). Yet political practices are also collective and public, thus what happens in groups in public settings and through public media matters too—to explore this facet, I will collect data from focus groups, ethnographic observations and public texts. I have also added these other methods in recognition that interview subjects craft their responses with diverse intentions (Kibreab 1999b); I will consider the data from self-reports in conjunction with information gleaned from these other sources.

### *Groundwork for field study*

I will have laid substantial groundwork for the field study before the grant period begins.

UNHCR texts: I am currently using UNHCR texts from 1951-2005 to study the move from a rights-based to a welfare assistance model of aid. In addition to establishing the broader transnational framework in which camp policies are established, with this study, I will pinpoint specific discourses and frames that the UNHCR uses. One way that I will measure impact of UNHCR policies in the field is to compare UNHCR discourses and those used by camp and town refugees for targeted critical issues like repatriation.

Interviews with key informants: I began interviewing refugees and international personnel in March 2006 to learn about daily life on camp and important events in camp collective memory, like the removal of the democratically elected Liberian Refugee Welfare Council. I have maintained some of these ties through email correspondence, so I will have contacts with the community upon return.

Initial visit to the refugee camp: I lived for two months in the primary field site of Buduburam (March 1- April 30, 2006), traveling several times to Accra. I familiarized myself with the location and manners of speech and social interaction and identified several sites of formal and informal political activity in camp where I will conduct systematic observations during my upcoming field work. I also verified the feasibility of living for an extending period in the refugee camp.

Individual interviews: In April 2006, I conducted ten formal interviews in addition to the many informal discussions. I asked about daily life, the subject's relationships to various institutions on camp like the camp management, and what they liked most and least about the camp and demographic information. The subjects included one woman with the UNHCR's most vulnerable persons designation, one man making a tenuous living as a street vendor, one man considered among the refugee elites, one female aid worker and four people in roughly the middle bracket of the social hierarchy on camp.

*Data Collection in the Field during Grant Period, September 2007 – August 2008*

Texts: I will collect the texts sponsored by the refugee aid regime to see how the transnational management regime is enacted in the local context. I am interested in public texts seen by refugees. I will collect texts from what in preliminary research I identified as primary vectors of written communication between management and the public: the bulletin boards around camp and the placards. For example, the UNHCR has posted an exhortation against domestic violence in a large colorfully painted sign at one of the main crossroads. I will also explore a third vector, the refugee run newspaper *The Vision*. This vector is "tainted" in interesting ways, because the communication is being mediated by refugee voices. The second type of public text that I will explore is refugee-sponsored public texts. These include the refugee paper *The Vision* and signs placed around camp. I will record signs and bulletin boards using a digital camera, and I will collect copies of the newspaper. I will also be watchful for other vectors to emerge.

Ethnographic observations: I will spend five months with Liberians in Accra, taking fieldnotes for two months and at targeted intervals after that. I will live in Buduburam, observing formal and informal sites of political activity intensively for two months and at targeted intervals afterwards. Formal sites include UNHCR sponsored public meetings and Welfare Council meetings; informal sites include religious services and neighborhood hangouts. I have already taken two months to observe everyday life more broadly, so I focus on developing meaningful questions and identifying the "critical issues" when collective decisions really matter for refugees. Preliminary research suggests three: sanitation, water and repatriation. I will explore decision-making and collective action in these areas. For example, I have found that to push for voluntary repatriation, the UNHCR has embraced a format of "town meetings." But UNHCR personnel, not refugees, are given speaker status, thus this traditionally democratic activity has been leached of most of its participatory power.

Focus Groups: I will run ten focus groups with camp refugees and ten with town refugees

to develop interview questions for the individual interviews and to explore group dynamics among subjects. Each focus group will bring together 8-10 refugees for directed discussions. The initial two focus groups in each locale will be open-ended, exploring community life and critical issues with minimal direction; subsequent groups will be guided to topics including definitions of democracy, civic participation and self-described political efficacy in critical issues. I will note how dynamics of gender and tribe affect the content of speech and the patterns of silence. I will record and transcribe the discussions and take notes on the unspoken group dynamics.

Individual interviews: I will interview town (n=40) and camp refugees (n=80) drawn in a stratified purposive sample that is “purposive” in that participants are selected by theoretically significant variables (current relationship to government, political status before exile, and gender) and “stratified” by length of residence to over-sample people in Ghana longer and thus more greatly exposed to the type of political exclusion. The sampling strategy will circumvent a common methodological problem in studies of refugee camps, the failure on the part of the researcher to situate interview subjects in the context of a stratified and heterogeneous population. While it is widely recognized that considerable inequality exists among refugees (Voutira and Harrell-Bond 1995), researchers still do not typically approach or report sampling in systematic ways (Malkki 1995; Agier 2002; but see Jacobsen 2005).

Some refugees have privileged statuses in relation to camp management or the Ghanaian government: values for camp refugees are designated leaders (e.g. Welfare Council members), most vulnerable persons (an official UNHCR designation that entitles recipients to resources), bare recognition (ID card but minimal consultation), and unrecognized; values for town refugees include citizen, registered non-citizen, unregistered. Political status before exile may also prove significant as people who have lived as elites in the past will likely respond to the political stimuli in their environment differently than others: values for both groups are elite or non-elite. People are also likely to respond in systematically different ways on the basis of gender. In addition to male/female, I will also attempt to differentiate between those holding “traditional” and “egalitarian” gender beliefs. I will sample categories until I reach theoretical saturation (no longer hear novel claims). To alleviate selection biases, I will follow up outlier cases, adjusting sampling criteria during the study with a log to note the progression of criteria.

The questionnaire will have three parts: (1) Open-ended questions; (2) Targeted questions that explore decisions about where to live, definitions of democracy, political efficacy, political exclusion, and demographics; (3) Follow-up questions that fill in details of their taken-for-granted assumptions about political life (adapted from Ewick and Silbey 1998). The interview framework will be tested in a pilot study of Liberians resettled in the United States fielded while studying in an advanced seminar on research methods that I will take this spring. Specific questions will be added or revised in light of new insights from observations and focus groups.

To recruit subjects, I will use a modified snowball sampling method that uses questions about social ties among recruits to assess the sample (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004). I



will select the first recruits from my social ties and after they participate, I will ask them to recruit up to three people from their networks that meet criteria. The new recruits will be asked to do the same until sampling is done. Participants will be compensated for participation and recruitment.

To reveal some outsider biases, I will recruit and train local research assistants to interview one fifth of the sample. I will interview subjects on-site for one to two hours. Interviews will be recorded and transcribed.

Research Timeline (September 2007 – August 2008)												
Field Site	Sept07	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan08	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug
Buduburam	Ethnographic observations		Focus groups	Individual interviews and focus groups interviews								
Accra								Ethnographic observations	Focus groups	Individual interviews		

### *Data Analysis*

#### *How Do Refugees Define Democracy?*

I will analyze definitions of democracy, not just in answers to “What is democracy?” but also when and how democracy is invoked throughout the interviews, focus groups, texts and observations. I will make a schema of democracy definitions and compare versions from camp and town refugees. For example, when refugees linked camp democracy’s failure to illiteracy, this suggests a democracy type that has exclusive qualities, and thus is not a right but a privilege that must be earned by acquiring skills.

#### *How Do Refugees Use Democracy Talk as Protest?*

I will also see how refugees use “democracy talk” to mobilize against public policy or seek other (e.g. tribal or religious) justifications for changes. I will code for instances of oppositional speech and analyze this subset of data for oppositional frames that allude to democracy. For example, in an editorial against the UNHCR and Management’s response to corruption allegations against the (appointed) Chairman of the Liberian Refugee Welfare Council, the editor writes: “the rights of ordinary Liberian to information and fair judgment and justice, must be respected, as part of the orientation of democracy to be practiced in Liberia tomorrow”—again democracy is presented as skills.

#### *How Do Refugees Think of Themselves as Political Subjects?*

I will see how refugees think of themselves as political subjects—how they describe themselves as able or helpless in collective problems—and make a typology of political subjectivity to compare camp and town refugees.

#### *How is Democracy Fostered or Made Elusive in a Refugee Camp?*

The answers to the three questions above will produce a snapshot of democratic sensibilities among camp and town refugees. To analyze how democracy is fostered or made elusive on camp—the overarching question of this project—I will identify the mechanisms through which the management regime contributes to the particular democratic sensibilities that emerge among camp refugees in contrast to those among town refugees. One way that I will do this is by tracing discourses from the camp management through the refugee accounts of critical issues like repatriation. I consider these discourses both a signifier and a means of the management’s influence.

## **SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTION**

### *Intellectual Merit*

The study draws together democracy studies and refugee studies, two research traditions often treated as unrelated. I bring to democracy debates an interrogation of the role of refugee aid interventions in post-conflict democratization and an investigation of the effects of different political exclusions on democratic sensibilities. I contribute to refugee studies an exploration of political practices, a subject rarely studied in the camp setting. The case will provide insights into issues of democracy in the midst of political exclusion, civic engagement in post-conflict settings, and implementation of international human rights law.

### *Broader Impacts of the Study*

In 1999, the United States and others sponsored post-conflict elections in Liberia. The elections failed, and war reignited. Evaluating the failed elections, Kamara (1999) cited a general absence of practical knowledge about democracy. Testifying to the wide relevance of these challenges, when USAID launched its first major evaluation of post-conflict elections, it analyzed the merits of different “voter education” programs (Kumar and Ottaway 1997). In Liberia like elsewhere returning refugees will shape the emerging political landscape. People undergo vast shifts in patterns of social life in refugee camps, learning customs that will serve them well or poorly in other settings (Kibreab 1999). It can be a time of growth or corruption (Malkki 1995). What refugees learn of civic engagement matters for democratic transitions, because democracy needs civic habits to flourish. U.S. policymakers treat democracy aid as a crucial part of post-conflict reconstruction (Carothers 1999; Brown 2006). By exploring the role of refugee aid, my work supports democratization programs that can be more effectively rooted in refugee life experiences.

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## Biographical Sketch - Myra Marx Ferree

### (a) Professional Preparation

Bryn Mawr College	Political Science	A.B., 1971
Harvard University	Social Psychology	Ph.D., 1976

### (b) Appointments

2004-	Director, Center for German and European Studies
2002-3	Director, European Union Center, University of Wisconsin
2000-	Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Madison
1991-2000	Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies, University of Connecticut
1987-1991	Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Connecticut
1985-7	Director, Women's Studies Program, University of Connecticut
1976-87	Asst & Assoc. Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Connecticut
1976	Lecturer, Department of Sociology, Tufts University
1975-76	Senior Research Associate, Laboratory for Psychosocial Studies, Boston College
1973-74	Consultant, Personnel Office, Harvard University
1969	Executive Intern, Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C.

### (c) Publications

#### i. Related Publications

*Shaping Abortion Discourse: Democracy and the Public Sphere in Germany and the United States.* (with William A. Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards and Dieter Rucht), Cambridge University Press, 2002. (Best Book, Collective Behavior and Social Movements, American Sociological Association, 2004).

"Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies" (with William A. Gamson, Jürgen Gerhards and Dieter Rucht). *Theory & Society*, 2002, 31(3):289-324.

*Revisioning Gender: New Directions in the Social Sciences.* (edited, with Beth B. Hess and Judith Lorber). Sage Publications. 1998.

"Institutionalization, identities and the political participation of women in the new federal states of Germany" in Metta Spencer and Barbara Wejnert (eds), *Women and Postcommunism, Research on Russia and Eastern Europe*, JAI Press, 1996.

"Political Strategies and Feminist Concerns in the US and Federal Republic of Germany: Class, Race and Gender." Pp. 221-240 in Louis Kriesberg and Metta Spencer (eds.) *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, (Vol. 13) JAI Press, 1991.

#### ii. Other Publications

"Resonance and radicalism: Feminist abortion discourses in Germany and the United States." *American Journal of Sociology*, 2003, 109 (2): 304-344.

"Rethinking stratification from a feminist perspective: Gender, race and class in mainstream textbooks" (with Elaine J. Hall), *American Sociological Review*, 1996, 61 (6): 1-22.

“The Gender Division of Labor in Two-Earner Marriages: Dimensions of Variability and Change.” *Journal of Family Issues*, 1991, 12 (2): 158-180.

“Beyond Separate Spheres: Feminism and Family Research.” *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1990, 52 (4): 866-884.

*Controversy and Coalition: The New Feminist Movement*. (with Beth B. Hess). Boston: G.K. Hall/ Twayne/ Routledge. 1985/ 1994/ 2000 (selected as Choice Outstanding Academic Book of 1985).

#### **(d) Synergistic Activities**

2004 Jessie Bernard Award, American Sociological Association

2002 - Advisory Committee, Democracy and Society Program, Inst. for Women’s Policy Research

2000-2 President-elect and President, Sociologists for Women in Society

1993-95 President’s Commission on the Status of Women, University of Connecticut.

1990-93 Council, American Sociological Association (Council liaison to Committee on Teaching, Minority Fellowship Committee)

#### **(e) Collaborators & Other Affiliations**

##### **i. Collaborators (2002-2007)**

Jessica Brown, University of Wisconsin

Jürgen Gerhards, Freien Universität Berlin

Shauna Morimoto, University of Wisconsin

Tetyana Pudrovskaya, University of Wisconsin

Dieter Rucht, Social Sci. Research Center, Berlin

William A. Gamson, Boston College

Shamus Khan, University of Wisconsin

Carol McClurg Mueller, Arizona State University

Barbara Risman, University of Illinois, Chicago

Valerie Sperling, Clark University

##### **ii. Graduate Advisor**

Thomas Pettigrew, University of California, Santa Cruz

##### **iii. Thesis Advisor (Advisees awarded Ph.Ds: 9)**

Meera Sehgal, Carleton College

Joan Twigg, Kansas State University

Hong Xiao, UC-Davis

Elaine Hall, Kent State University

Lisa Wade, Occidental College

Marita Joan McComiskey, University of Connecticut

Julia McQuillan, University of Nebraska

Silke Roth, University of Southampton

Kristen Springer, University of New Jersey, Rutgers

#### **(f) Current academic status**

Myra Marx Ferree is currently professor of sociology and Director of the Center for German and European Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

## Biographical Sketch

Elizabeth Holzer

### (a) Professional Preparation

Wellesley College	Sociology	B.A. 2000
University of Wisconsin-Madison	Sociology	M.S. 2002
University of Wisconsin-Madison	Sociology	Ph.D 2003 (in progress)

### (b) Appointments and relevant research experience

- Project Assistant, David Trubek, 2005-2007
- Fellow, *UW Institute for Legal Studies*, 2005-2006
- Grant, *Law and Society Association Graduate Student Workshop*, July 2006
- Project Assistant, *NSF Initiative on Nanotechnology and Society*, Mark Suchman, 2004-2005
  - Interviewed 29 subjects, co-writing the questionnaire and recruiting participants
  - Hired and oversaw a programmer to facilitate automated download of patent data
- Teaching Assistant, Joel Rogers, Spring 2004
- Teaching Assistant, Robert Freeland, Fall 2003
- Fellow, *UW DAAD Center for German and European Studies*, Spring 2002
  - Conducted semi-structured interviews with representatives from three European social movement organizations
  - Analyzed discourse and framing in two legal documents and several articles
- Teaching Assistant, Gay Seidman, Fall 2001
- Research Assistant, Susan Silbey, 1998-2000
- Editorial Assistant, *Law & Society Review*, 1998-1999

### (c) Publications

- “Borrowing the Women’s Movement ‘for Reasons of Public Security:’ A Study of Social Movement Impact and Judicial Activism in the European Union.” Submitted for review to *Mobilization*, December 2006.
- “Governing Refugees” Presented at the Midwest Law & Society Retreat in Madison, WI, September 2006.
- “Incidentally Untying Citizenship from Nation-State.” Presented at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association, Baltimore, July 2006.
- “Democracy in Displacement: Methodological Concerns for Studying Democracy in Refugee Camps.” Presented at the 10th Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration at York University, June 2006.
- “Borrowing the women’s movement ‘for reasons of public security.’ ” Presented at *National Feminisms in a Transnational Arena: The European Union and Gender Politics* at the University of Wisconsin, April 2003.

“Sovereignty, Women’s Rights, and the European Union: The Case of Tanja Kreil.”  
Presented at *Gender, Genre and Politics in the Trans-Atlantic Context at the University of Minnesota*, May 2002.

**(d) Synergistic Activities**

From March 1 to April 30, 2006, I lived in Buduburam Refugee Settlement, the refugee camp that will be my primary field site in Ghana. I volunteered for a refugee-run NGO, Children Better Way, helping to develop curricula and co-teaching with a refugee in a class of 31 first graders (refugees, ages 6 – 13). Also, I talked with women in a microloan program about their concerns as entrepreneurs and created a workshop on good business practices.

Earlier, from 2003 – 2005, I had volunteered with Colombia Support Network, working from Madison with a community of displaced people in the Peace Community of San José de Apartadó. I helped fundraise for a traveling speaker series and worked with community members to register their bananas for a fair trade certification project.

**(e) Collaborators & Other Affiliations**

**i. Collaborators**

Suchman, Mark: University of Wisconsin-Madison

**ii. Graduate Advisors.**

Ferree, Myra Marx (master’s thesis and dissertation advisor): University of Wisconsin, Madison

**iii. Thesis Advisor**

None

**(f) Current academic status**

Elizabeth Holzer is currently in her 6<sup>th</sup> year of graduate study in the Sociology Department of the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She passed her first preliminary exam in Political Sociology in August 2004 and her second preliminary exam in the Sociology of Law in August 2006. She was awarded dissertation status in January 2007.



# SUMMARY PROPOSAL BUDGET YEAR 1

ORGANIZATION <b>University of Wisconsin-Madison</b>				FOR NSF USE ONLY			
				PROPOSAL NO.	DURATION (months)		
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / PROJECT DIRECTOR <b>Myra M Ferree</b>				AWARD NO.			
				Proposed	Granted		
A. SENIOR PERSONNEL: PI/PD, Co-PI's, Faculty and Other Senior Associates (List each separately with title, A.7. show number in brackets)				NSF Funded Person-months		Funds Requested By proposer	Funds granted by NSF (if different)
				CAL	ACAD	SUMR	
1. <b>Myra M Ferree - none</b>				0.00	0.00	0.00	\$ 0 \$
2. <b>Elizabeth Holzer - none</b>				0.00	0.00	0.00	0
3.							
4.							
5.							
6. ( 0 ) OTHERS (LIST INDIVIDUALLY ON BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PAGE)				0.00	0.00	0.00	0
7. ( 2 ) TOTAL SENIOR PERSONNEL (1 - 6)				0.00	0.00	0.00	0
B. OTHER PERSONNEL (SHOW NUMBERS IN BRACKETS)							
1. ( 0 ) POST DOCTORAL ASSOCIATES				0.00	0.00	0.00	0
2. ( 0 ) OTHER PROFESSIONALS (TECHNICIAN, PROGRAMMER, ETC.)				0.00	0.00	0.00	0
3. ( 0 ) GRADUATE STUDENTS							0
4. ( 0 ) UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS							0
5. ( 0 ) SECRETARIAL - CLERICAL (IF CHARGED DIRECTLY)							0
6. ( 0 ) OTHER							0
TOTAL SALARIES AND WAGES (A + B)							0
C. FRINGE BENEFITS (IF CHARGED AS DIRECT COSTS)							0
TOTAL SALARIES, WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS (A + B + C)							0
D. EQUIPMENT (LIST ITEM AND DOLLAR AMOUNT FOR EACH ITEM EXCEEDING \$5,000.)							
TOTAL EQUIPMENT							0
E. TRAVEL							0
1. DOMESTIC (INCL. CANADA, MEXICO AND U.S. POSSESSIONS)							0
2. FOREIGN							2,250
F. PARTICIPANT SUPPORT COSTS							
1. STIPENDS \$ _____				0			
2. TRAVEL _____				0			
3. SUBSISTENCE _____				0			
4. OTHER _____				0			
TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS ( 0 )							
TOTAL PARTICIPANT COSTS							0
G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS							
1. MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES							1,200
2. PUBLICATION COSTS/DOCUMENTATION/DISSEMINATION							0
3. CONSULTANT SERVICES							3,960
4. COMPUTER SERVICES							201
5. SUBAWARDS							0
6. OTHER							916
TOTAL OTHER DIRECT COSTS							6,277
H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (A THROUGH G)							8,527
I. INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)(SPECIFY RATE AND BASE) (Rate: , Base: )							
TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)							0
J. TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS (H + I)							8,527
K. RESIDUAL FUNDS (IF FOR FURTHER SUPPORT OF CURRENT PROJECTS SEE GPG II.C.6.j.)							0
L. AMOUNT OF THIS REQUEST (J) OR (J MINUS K)							\$ 8,527 \$
M. COST SHARING PROPOSED LEVEL \$ 0				AGREED LEVEL IF DIFFERENT \$			
PI/PD NAME <b>Myra M Ferree</b>				FOR NSF USE ONLY			
ORG. REP. NAME*				INDIRECT COST RATE VERIFICATION			
				Date Checked	Date Of Rate Sheet	Initials - ORG	

# SUMMARY PROPOSAL BUDGET Cumulative

ORGANIZATION <b>University of Wisconsin-Madison</b>				FOR NSF USE ONLY			
				PROPOSAL NO.	DURATION (months)		
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / PROJECT DIRECTOR <b>Myra M Ferree</b>				AWARD NO.	Proposed	Granted	
A. SENIOR PERSONNEL: PI/PD, Co-PI's, Faculty and Other Senior Associates (List each separately with title, A.7. show number in brackets)				NSF Funded Person-months		Funds Requested By proposer	Funds granted by NSF (if different)
		CAL	ACAD	SUMR			
1.	<b>Myra M Ferree - none</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	\$ 0	\$	
2.	<b>Elizabeth Holzer - none</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0		
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.	( ) OTHERS (LIST INDIVIDUALLY ON BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PAGE)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0		
7.	( <b>2</b> ) TOTAL SENIOR PERSONNEL (1 - 6)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0		
B. OTHER PERSONNEL (SHOW NUMBERS IN BRACKETS)							
1.	( <b>0</b> ) POST DOCTORAL ASSOCIATES	0.00	0.00	0.00	0		
2.	( <b>0</b> ) OTHER PROFESSIONALS (TECHNICIAN, PROGRAMMER, ETC.)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0		
3.	( <b>0</b> ) GRADUATE STUDENTS				0		
4.	( <b>0</b> ) UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS				0		
5.	( <b>0</b> ) SECRETARIAL - CLERICAL (IF CHARGED DIRECTLY)				0		
6.	( <b>0</b> ) OTHER				0		
TOTAL SALARIES AND WAGES (A + B)					0		
C. FRINGE BENEFITS (IF CHARGED AS DIRECT COSTS)					0		
TOTAL SALARIES, WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS (A + B + C)					0		
D. EQUIPMENT (LIST ITEM AND DOLLAR AMOUNT FOR EACH ITEM EXCEEDING \$5,000.)							
TOTAL EQUIPMENT					0		
E. TRAVEL 1. DOMESTIC (INCL. CANADA, MEXICO AND U.S. POSSESSIONS)					0		
2. FOREIGN					2,250		
F. PARTICIPANT SUPPORT COSTS							
1.	STIPENDS \$ _____	0					
2.	TRAVEL _____	0					
3.	SUBSISTENCE _____	0					
4.	OTHER _____	0					
TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS ( <b>0</b> ) TOTAL PARTICIPANT COSTS					0		
G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS							
1. MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES					1,200		
2. PUBLICATION COSTS/DOCUMENTATION/DISSEMINATION					0		
3. CONSULTANT SERVICES					3,960		
4. COMPUTER SERVICES					201		
5. SUBAWARDS					0		
6. OTHER					916		
TOTAL OTHER DIRECT COSTS					6,277		
H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (A THROUGH G)					8,527		
I. INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)(SPECIFY RATE AND BASE)							
TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)					0		
J. TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS (H + I)					8,527		
K. RESIDUAL FUNDS (IF FOR FURTHER SUPPORT OF CURRENT PROJECTS SEE GPG II.C.6.j.)					0		
L. AMOUNT OF THIS REQUEST (J) OR (J MINUS K)				\$	8,527	\$	
M. COST SHARING PROPOSED LEVEL \$ <b>0</b> AGREED LEVEL IF DIFFERENT \$							
PI/PD NAME <b>Myra M Ferree</b>				FOR NSF USE ONLY			
ORG. REP. NAME*				INDIRECT COST RATE VERIFICATION			
		Date Checked	Date Of Rate Sheet	Initials - ORG			

C \*ELECTRONIC SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR REVISED BUDGET

## Budget Justification

### Doctoral Dissertation Research—Democracy in Displacement: A Comparative Study of Liberian Refugees in Ghana

Myra Marx Ferree, PI and Elizabeth Holzer, Co-PI

I am requesting \$8,527 to cover travel expenses to and within Ghana for fieldwork, local research assistantships, materials and supplies for data collection and storage, and payment to research subjects. The specific costs are below. Where appropriate, the amount is listed in both local currency (“cedis”) and U.S. dollars.

#### **E. Travel: \$2250**

International travel to Ghana to conduct ethnographic research  
New York, NY - Accra, Ghana - New York, NY \$1800  
(Estimate based on Fly America policy for travel from  
approximately September 1, 2007 – August 31, 2008)

Transportation from Buduburam to Accra (\$5 round-trip; weekly): \$150  
To restock supplies and to download data onto the  
Wisconsin server via high-speed internet access during  
the 7 months of residence in Buduburam (September  
2007 – March 2008)

Transportation around Accra: \$300  
To interview research participants and conduct  
ethnographic observations at the Accra field site during  
the 5 months of residence in Accra (April – August 2008):

#### **G. Other Direct Costs: \$5361**

##### G1. Materials and Supplies

Xerox and printing costs \$600  
Buduburam: \$0.25/page  
Accra: \$0.15/page  
200 pages/month:

Cellphone \$500  
I will need to keep a cellphone so that  
potential research participants can contact me  
and so that I can consult with local assistants,  
key informants and local scholars

Notebooks and pens for writing fieldnotes: \$100

##### G3. Consultant Services

Local research assistants \$3960

I will need to hire local research assistants for both of the field sites. The assistant will help facilitate contacts in the local community and by interviewing a portion of the sample, will allow me to assess outsider biases that stem from interview/interviewee interactions.  
\$6/h [approx. 55,000 cedis] for 15hr/wk during the 44 interview-intensive weeks (includes training sessions):

#### G4. Computer Services

Internet fees \$201

For communication, research and saving data onto the Wisconsin server, I will need regular access to the Internet. The hourly fees are the following: Buduburam: \$1/hr; Accra: \$1.30/hr  
7hrs/wk for 52 wks

#### G6. Other

Stipend for focus group/interview participants \$916

Subjects will be compensated for participating in focus groups or individual interviews to maximize the participation rates. They will also be offered compensation for bring up to three recruits into the study until sample size is reached. There will be 20 focus groups of up to 10 people each (200 people) and roughly 120 individual interviews.  
Total number of participants: 320. I plan to offer \$2.17 [20,000 cedis] for participation in individual interviews or focus group and \$2.17 [20,000 cedis] for recruiting another participant into the study.

## Current and Pending Support

(See GPG Section II.C.2.h for guidance on information to include on this form.)

The following information should be provided for each investigator and other senior personnel. Failure to provide this information may delay consideration of this proposal.	
Investigator: <b>Myra Ferree</b>	Other agencies (including NSF) to which this proposal has been/will be submitted.
Support: <input type="checkbox"/> Current <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pending <input type="checkbox"/> Submission Planned in Near Future <input type="checkbox"/> *Transfer of Support Project/Proposal Title: <b>Doctoral Dissertation Research: Democracy in Displacement: A Comparative Study of Liberian Refugees in Ghana</b>	
Source of Support: <b>NSF Law and Social Science Program</b> Total Award Amount: \$ <b>8,527</b> Total Award Period Covered: <b>09/01/07 - 08/31/08</b> Location of Project: <b>Ghana</b> Person-Months Per Year Committed to the Project.    Cal: <b>0.00</b> Acad: <b>0.00</b> Sumr: <b>0.00</b>	
Support: <input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Pending <input type="checkbox"/> Submission Planned in Near Future <input type="checkbox"/> *Transfer of Support Project/Proposal Title:	
Source of Support: Total Award Amount: \$                      Total Award Period Covered: Location of Project: Person-Months Per Year Committed to the Project.    Cal:                      Acad:                      Sumr:	
Support: <input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Pending <input type="checkbox"/> Submission Planned in Near Future <input type="checkbox"/> *Transfer of Support Project/Proposal Title:	
Source of Support: Total Award Amount: \$                      Total Award Period Covered: Location of Project: Person-Months Per Year Committed to the Project.    Cal:                      Acad:                      Sumr:	
Support: <input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Pending <input type="checkbox"/> Submission Planned in Near Future <input type="checkbox"/> *Transfer of Support Project/Proposal Title:	
Source of Support: Total Award Amount: \$                      Total Award Period Covered: Location of Project: Person-Months Per Year Committed to the Project.    Cal:                      Acad:                      Sumr:	
Support: <input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Pending <input type="checkbox"/> Submission Planned in Near Future <input type="checkbox"/> *Transfer of Support Project/Proposal Title:	
Source of Support: Total Award Amount: \$                      Total Award Period Covered: Location of Project: Person-Months Per Year Committed to the Project.    Cal:                      Acad:                      Summ:	

\*If this project has previously been funded by another agency, please list and furnish information for immediately preceding funding period.

## Current and Pending Support

(See GPG Section II.C.2.h for guidance on information to include on this form.)

The following information should be provided for each investigator and other senior personnel. Failure to provide this information may delay consideration of this proposal.	
Investigator: <b>Elizabeth Holzer</b>	Other agencies (including NSF) to which this proposal has been/will be submitted.
Support: <input type="checkbox"/> Current <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pending <input type="checkbox"/> Submission Planned in Near Future <input type="checkbox"/> *Transfer of Support Project/Proposal Title: <b>Doctoral Dissertation Research: Democracy in Displacement: A Comparative Study of Liberian Refugees in Ghana</b>	
Source of Support: <b>NSF Law and Social Science</b> Total Award Amount: \$ <b>8,527</b> Total Award Period Covered: <b>09/01/07 - 08/31/08</b> Location of Project: <b>Ghana</b> Person-Months Per Year Committed to the Project.    Cal: <b>0.00</b> Acad: <b>0.00</b> Sumr: <b>0.00</b>	
Support: <input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Pending <input type="checkbox"/> Submission Planned in Near Future <input type="checkbox"/> *Transfer of Support Project/Proposal Title:	
Source of Support: Total Award Amount: \$                      Total Award Period Covered: Location of Project: Person-Months Per Year Committed to the Project.    Cal:                      Acad:                      Sumr:	
Support: <input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Pending <input type="checkbox"/> Submission Planned in Near Future <input type="checkbox"/> *Transfer of Support Project/Proposal Title:	
Source of Support: Total Award Amount: \$                      Total Award Period Covered: Location of Project: Person-Months Per Year Committed to the Project.    Cal:                      Acad:                      Sumr:	
Support: <input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Pending <input type="checkbox"/> Submission Planned in Near Future <input type="checkbox"/> *Transfer of Support Project/Proposal Title:	
Source of Support: Total Award Amount: \$                      Total Award Period Covered: Location of Project: Person-Months Per Year Committed to the Project.    Cal:                      Acad:                      Sumr:	
Support: <input type="checkbox"/> Current <input type="checkbox"/> Pending <input type="checkbox"/> Submission Planned in Near Future <input type="checkbox"/> *Transfer of Support Project/Proposal Title:	
Source of Support: Total Award Amount: \$                      Total Award Period Covered: Location of Project: Person-Months Per Year Committed to the Project.    Cal:                      Acad:                      Summ:	

\*If this project has previously been funded by another agency, please list and furnish information for immediately preceding funding period.

## FACILITIES, EQUIPMENT & OTHER RESOURCES

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**FACILITIES:** Identify the facilities to be used at each performance site listed and, as appropriate, indicate their capacities, pertinent capabilities, relative proximity, and extent of availability to the project. Use "Other" to describe the facilities at any other performance sites listed and at sites for field studies. USE additional pages as necessary.

**Laboratory:**

**Clinical:**

**Animal:**

**Computer:** I will bring a laptop. I will use the Internet cafe in Buduburam Refugee Settlement for regular email communication with research subjects, advisors and colleagues. I will use an Internet cafe in Accra with high-speed access to download data onto the Wisconsin server for storage

**Office:** I will work from my living space.

**Other:**

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**MAJOR EQUIPMENT:** List the most important items available for this project and, as appropriate identifying the location and pertinent capabilities of each.

**I have a digital recorder, laptop, digital camera and flash drive. These, along with pens and paper for fieldnotes will constitute the "major equipment" for this fieldwork.**

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**OTHER RESOURCES:** Provide any information describing the other resources available for the project. Identify support services such as consultant, secretarial, machine shop, and electronics shop, and the extent to which they will be available for the project. Include an explanation of any consortium/contractual arrangements with other organizations.

**I have been granted affiliation with the University of Ghana, Legon where I will have access to the campus library, a seminar and a local dissertation advisor--a Letter of Affiliation is attached as a "supplementary document."**

**I will follow the common field practice of hiring local research assistants to facilitate research--I have included a description of this**

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## FACILITIES, EQUIPMENT & OTHER RESOURCES

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Continuation Page:

**COMPUTER FACILITIES (continued):**

**on a weekly basis.**

**OTHER RESOURCES (continued):**

**in the budget justification under the heading, "Consultant Services."**



Supplementary Document 1: Human Subjects IRB

Myra Marx Ferree (PI), Elizabeth Holzer (co-PI)

January 15, 2007

Human Subjects approval is pending. The current IRB approval for research in the Buduburam field site will lapse in February 2007. On the advice of the University of Wisconsin IRB, we will submit a new form that includes the second field site (Accra, Ghana) on February 13, 2007 rather than renewing the old one.



# DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

P.O. BOX 16 65, LEGON-GHANA Tel: 233-21-500311/500300 Ext: 6154/6084 Tel/Fax: 233-21-500312  
E-mail: sociologi@ug.edu.gh

My Ref No.....

30<sup>th</sup> October, 2006

The Social Science Research Council,  
New York

Dear Sir/Madam,

## LETTER OF AFFILIATION FOR ELIZABETH HOLZER

This letter is to establish affiliation between Elizabeth and the Sociology Department at the University of Ghana. During her stay in the country, we will grant her access to our campus library system so she can assess Ghanaian material available on the subject. I will also serve as her in-country thesis advisor providing her with insider knowledge as and when necessary. Lastly, towards the end of her stay, the department will organise a seminar to which colleagues across the campus interested/working in her area of interest will be invited.

Elizabeth's work on democracy in situations of adversity is important in two ways. Besides its potential contribution to UNHCR policies and practices, it will also provide our students of political sociology with novel Ghanaian data for inclusion in their discussions of civic engagement in the developing world. We therefore have a vested interest in supporting her work and are willing to do so in the various ways aforementioned.

We look forward to her stay.

Yours sincerely,

*Akosua K. Darkwah*

Akosua K. Darkwah