

**A Profile of Liberian
Women In Development**

March 1982

**A Research Project
Jointly Sponsored by
USAID/Liberia and the
Government of Liberia,
and Implemented by the
University of Liberia**



PN-ARM-913
ISBN - 29440

62

PROFILE OF LIBERIAN WOMEN IN MARKETING

by

BRAHIMA D. KABA

With the Assistance of

**JOYCE O. SMITH
J. BOLEY DOVEE
and
AMINATA W. CONTEH**

MONROVIA

February, 1982

1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	111
INTRODUCTION	1
Objective of the Study	3
The Initiation of the Project	4
Importance of the Study	9
Organization of the Study	9
PART I - BACKGROUND INFORMATION	
The Anthropological Literature	13
The Regional Quantitative Studies	15
The National Censuses and Surveys	18
PART II - A DEFINITION OF MARKETING	21
PART III - LIBERIAN WOMEN'S ENTRY IN THE CASH ECONOMY	25
Brief History of Marketing in Liberia	26
Liberian Women's Entry in the Cash Economy	30
PART IV - TYPES AND HIERARCHY OF THE LIBERIAN MARKETS	37
Historical Growth of the Monrovia Markets	52
Estimates of Sellers by Types of Market	53
Urban-Rural Differentials, Market Locations and Concentration in Liberia	58
PART V - POLES OF MARKET WOMEN	61
Village Market Women	62
Town/City Market Women	68
The Method of Business Operation	70
The Size of the Capital	71
PART VI - CONSTRAINTS OF MARKET WOMEN	75
Price Regulation	78
Lack of an Adequate Road System and Bad Conditions of the Road Network	81
The Transportation System	84
Lack of Adequate Storage Facilities	96
Conditions of Marketing	97

TABLE OF CONTENTS

(Con't)

PART VII - ROLES OF MARKETING ASSOCIATION	107
The National Marketing Association	108
The Lofa County Marketing Association	109
The Nimba County Marketing Association	111
The Other Marketing Association	113
PART VIII - A PROFILE OF LIBERIAN MARKET WOMEN	116
Lomco - Yekepa Area P Marekt	117
Voinjama City Market	118
Harper Market	122
Paynesward Market	116
Gbarnga Market	128
General Market (Waterside) and Rally Time Market	137
Zwedru Market	146
A Profile of Liberian Market Women	154
PART IX - CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	158
Conclusions	159
Implications of the Study	160
Recommendations	161
Discrete Studies	164
APPENDIXES	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The project described in this text represents an attempts to develop sound indicators on major roles played by Liberian Women in the Marketing and Food Distribution System of the National Economy.

It is the first national research project to be implemented under the directorship of a major national institution, the University of Liberia. As such, the research team comprised only Liberian nationals who brought in the necessary dimensions of their national feelings for their country and its problems.

However, we, the research team, are more than convinced that only the various contributions made and assistance given by many institution and individuals made the project a reality.

Thus, it is with great pleasure and more than the usual sense of gratitude that we acknowledge here the assistance of various persons. Special mention should be made of Dr. Mary Antoinette Brown Sherman, President of the University of Liberia who first saw the need to bring the project under the umbrella of the University and to Mrs. Leona Chesson, President of the now defunct Federation of Liberian Women's Organization who fought with all of her strength to see her Organization's initiative realized.

Of great importance to the project was the support received from USAID/Liberia the Ministries of Planning and Economic Affairs and Education. A special thank goes to the Ministry of Local Government, now the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and its local staff, for the invaluable services rendered the research team in providing the necessary logistic arrangements.

The members of the project Steering Committee, composed of representatives from the University of Liberia, the Ministries of Planning and Economic Affairs and Education, USAID/Liberia, Peace Corps/Liberia, provided the research team with all the necessary services and encouragement during the entire life of the project.

Ms. Judith Wills, the USAID Project Officer, quite ably and with much patience, carried the important responsibility of sorting out the detailed administrative procedures for the disbursement of funds allocated to the various phases and activities of the project.

Gratitude is expressed to the project steering committee Chairman and Co-Chairman, Drs. J. Teah Tarpeh and Amos Sawyer who remained constantly attuned to the different moods of the project and did not spare any effort to harmonize them in the interest of all concerned.

The various individuals who worked hard to make this Project possible are too many to list here. However, we wish to acknowledge with gratitude the particularly important contributions of Mr. Al-Hasan Conteh and Mrs. Banke Akerele, who both continuously provided helpful insights during the various phases of the project.

The role of Dr. Bengaly Fofana deserves special mention. He voluntarily participated in the fieldwork being carried out by his enthusiastic support of the idea for the first time in the country, to have national involvement in a nation-wide micro data collection exercise for use by development agencies.

We want also to acknowledge with thanks the assistance received from the individual key informants who greatly helped in the gathering of the information presented here.

Our most sincere gratitude and thanks go to the market women who did not spare any effort to make this work a success. Their patience, kindness and willingness to assist "book" people provided the team with a unique opportunity to assemble data for the project.

In the final stages of the research, important editorial contributions were made by Ms. Magdalene David, Research Officer at the University of Liberia.

Throughout the entire period of the research, our Secretary, Miss Gwandoline Addo, provided loyal services by helping to put some order in our administrative affairs. She also worked on the many drafts of the report as well as on the final manuscript and helped us in many small ways for which we are very grateful.

We also want to acknowledge a great debt to Miss Mabel Marlua, who ably assisted Miss Addo during the typing of the first final draft as well as to Mrs. Augusta Sirleaf Horton who was largely responsible for typing the final edited manuscript.

Finally, it is the opinion of the research team that we have merely attempted in the report to write down what was done in large part by others. Nonetheless, it goes without saying that the team bears full responsibility for all errors in the text.

Brahima D. Kaba
Project Director and
PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR-
MARKETING STUDY

Monrovia, LIBERIA

7

The growing concern of government and international donor agencies over the persistence of the phenomenon of the dynamics of growth which seems to work against the poor, the continued deterioration of the conditions of living of the masses in most developing countries, especially in the rural areas, and the particular low level of production of essential commodities in the face of unprecedented growth, form the context of the present study.

This concern is in consonance with the concept of the New International Economic Order, formulated in the mid-1970's, calling for the establishment of programs for the equitable sharing of the world resources among all its people. In order to achieve this goal, the New International Economic Order suggests the reform of the existing structures of dependency of the poor countries and people of the rich countries. Along with this change at the global level, there also has to be a restructuring of the economic order at the national and regional levels. (Akerle 1979).

The same concern was echoed by the Economic Commission for Africa, the United Nations branch concerned with economic matters in Africa, which subsequently identified three (3) areas of national action in order to restructure the local economic order for a more equal sharing of the fruits of development among the countries' different groups including the women who are generally by-passed by development programs. These areas are:

- (a). a deliberate promotion of an increasing measure of self-reliance;
- (b). the acceleration of internally located and relatively autonomous processes of growth and diversification; and
- (c). the progressive eradication of unemployment and mass poverty (Akerle 1979:3).

In order to enable planning agencies to formulate programs of development in these three and related areas, it is essential and urgent to provide them with sound, reliable and, as much as possible quantitative data on the various roles played by different groups in the country's economic life.

One of the major groups on which the paucity of reliable data particularly in developing countries, is striking is the women. In Liberia, as elsewhere in the developing world, data on women's involvement in the country's economic and social life are scarce and their activities tend to be underreported and underestimated. This fact is echoed by AID/Washington when it says that:

"National statistics on women in developing countries are still a problem. Enhancement of women's economic roles is not a major priority for development planners and as such does not receive the effort and resource needed to develop a useful data base for program planning and monitoring. The lack of information and analysis of the roles of target populations in AID-- recipient countries frequently causes some programs to miss their mark. It is in the economic interest of both the host country and AID to identify clearly the respective participation of men and women in the economies of countries in order to design the most appropriate and effective technology transfer and development program. This is particularly true of agricultural and marketing systems." (Report on Women in Development 1978).

Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study is to generate a comprehensive data base on an important target group in the Liberian society, the women, as they engage in various socio-economic activities along side men for government and international development agencies to use in their programs of development planning and assistance.

The emphasis on women is explained by the fact that not only women's roles and status in economic development have been less investigated than men's, but the available research data on women are mostly concerned with their reproductive and domestic roles, and, indeed, very little information exists on women as co-partners of men in the development process.

The Initiative of the Project

In an effort to respond more significantly to the call for more reliable data on women, the Liberian Federation of Women's Organization (LEWO) in 1977, decided to sponsor a national research project with the financial assistance of an international donor agency (USAID/Liberia) and the Liberian Government.

The services of two organizational researchers, including a Liberian counterpart, were engaged to undertake the implementation phase of the project.

The original project document described the exercise as a necessity to undertake a comprehensive literature review followed by an intensive fieldwork on the roles and status of Liberian women as they perform various activities in the societies with the intention of providing planners and experts with an adequate data base

necessary in formulating socio-economic development plans. More specifically, the project document indicated that the purpose of the project was to provide data on women in Liberia and was divided into three components:

- (a) Collection of existing data and information on Liberian women from American and Liberian sources and creation of a resource/reference library in Liberia;
- (b) Intensive research in potential target areas for women's involvement in development project;
- (c) Identification of one or two discrete projects that could profitably be undertaken by the LEMO and/or other agencies."

The document further specified that the project will focus on women who engage in subsistence agriculture, cash cropping and marketing.

With only minor modifications relating mainly to the replacement of LEMO by the University of Liberia as project sponsor, the project was implemented in two separate and complementary phases.

In Phase One, existing data, publications and information on women in both the U.S. and Liberia were reviewed. The areas of interest were the following:

(a) Legal Status of Women

1. Under statutory law
2. Under customary law
3. Relationship between the two
4. Under Muslim law

(b) Education

1. Access
2. Participation

(c) Employment and Economic Studies

1. Agriculture
2. Marketing
3. Small Business

(d) Families and Domestic Groups

1. Roles of men and women
2. Kin ties, marriage, children, etc.

Phase two of the project involved the conduct of four intensive studies identified in the Phase I Report as critical areas where more information was needed on Liberian women in development, namely, agriculture, education, marketing and legal status.

This portion of the project concerns the marketing study and incorporates the findings from both Phase one and Phase two activities and the identification of two discrete projects on women roles in marketing for immediate project development by government and/or donor agencies.

To summarize, the portion should be viewed as an effort to provide both a comprehensive literature and an empirical analysis (quantitative as well as qualitative) of the socio-economic roles and status of Liberian women as they engage, alongside men, in various forms of trade and marketing. The report is the result of a team work which to some extent, has been able to:

- (a) determine and identify the degree of participation or non-participation of Liberian women in the country's marketing system and
- (b) make an assessment of this participation and analyses factors affecting their roles and status.

In doing so, the report:

1. Gives background statistical information on the Liberia's Marketing System.
2. Identifies women's roles and status in this expanding sector of the economy (marketing);
3. Provides indicators of their importance to the nation's economy; and
4. Presents a picture of the condition of women marketers from which a general profile could be determined.

15

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY:

The study is valuable in more than one aspect:

1. The main value of this study can be found in its provision of valuable and important information on the linkages that exist between the economic roles played by women and their social status in society. In other words, it helps determine the importance of women, who represent at least half of the country's population, in the national economy;
2. The importance of the study can also be seen in its provision of a reliable data base which will form the basis for monitoring women's participation in future development programs.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY:

The study is divided into unequal and often short sections or parts:

Part One (1) of the study gives some background information on what is already available on Liberian women's involvement in marketing. Part Two (2) attempts a definition of marketing as it is relevant to the topic and the realities of the Liberian situation.

Part Three (3) identifies the historical as well as other factors that influenced Liberian women's entry into the cash economy.

Part Four (4) is an attempt at categorizing Liberian markets with respect to the importance they play in the marketing system. It also provides some estimates on the total number of market sellers in Liberia as well as their areas of location and concentration.

Part Five (5) is a study of the roles played by different categories of Market women in the Marketing System.

Part Six (6) identifies the major constraints and limitations on women's participation in marketing.

The roles played by Marketing Associations are analysed in Part Seven (7).

Part Eight (8) attempts to define the general configuration or profile of Liberian Women in Marketing and implications for policy formulations.

Part Nine (9) on the basis of the study's fieldtrips, purposes some recommendations for policy implementations.

The appendixes present the methodology, the maps and tables featuring in numerical and statistical terms and various informations used in the Study.

A Bibliography completes the Study.

PART I
BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Very little statistical data exist on the extent and the nature of women's participation in marketing in Liberia.

The little available concrete information on women's involvement into marketing is scattered among different and unrelated studies and national surveys.

The data used in these studies and surveys are almost always limited to a region, a social group and/or do not provide adequate national coverage on the characteristics of women's roles and status in marketing.

Three major sources of background data exist on women's roles and status in marketing in Liberia: The Anthropological Literature, the Regional Quantitative Studies and the National Census and Survey exercises.

The Anthropological Literature:

A great portion of the anthropological works done in the Liberian society were made by scholars, mostly Americans, who have found in Liberia a rich terrain in terms of diversity of social groups and the relative virginity of the domain for the testing of some of the major postulates advanced by prominent American and other Western anthropologies.

The works by Carter in the late 1960's McEvoy and Currens in the 1970's, etc., may all be considered as important academic exercises which were able to properly identify the historical context within which Liberian women, especially in the rural areas, saw a continued and pernicious decline in male labor input into the domestic unit as well as in the subsistence agriculture as a result of extensive male labor migration towards the rapidly emerging and expanding cash crop agricultural and mining areas.

These works, thus, provided valuable anthropological insights into the pre-conditions of marketing and the context in which it develops and functions. Carter's 1969 work provides, among other things, interesting information on the emigration of Lorma people for enlistment into the Liberian Frontier Force and for wage labor at the Firestone Rubber Plantation. McEvoy made a detailed study on Grebo labor migration for wage employment and its consequence on the subsistence economy of Greboland, Currens' study confirmed many of the findings of the above works.

The drastic dwindling of needed male labor in the domestic and subsistence agricultural sectors may be construed as one of the most important factor of women's labor shift from the agricultural sectors to the service sector of marketing.

The anthropological works mentioned above are quite useful in presenting the historical and social factors forming the background for the emergence of marketing among women. However, they contain little or no quantitative data that could be useful to planners, and as already suggested, they lack proper national coverage to allow for generalization. It may be suggested that they have not been interested in, nor have they been required to, providing such data.

The Regional Quantitative Studies:

Studies in this category include works by Kaba (1978), Hasselman (1975), Amegashie (1979) and Handwater (1972, 1980, 1981).

Hasselman's and Amegashie's studies on marketing in Gbarnga appear to be among the first attemptst at providing some quantitative measures on women's role in marketing.

In his 1975 Marketing Study in Gbarnga, Hasselman found the following:

1. That the average number of market women in Gbarnga Central Market lies around 230 women daily;
2. That the main building, which was built in 1974 as a self help project supported by the Liberian Government, is an open-air market hall and measures 150 feet by 50 feet on an area of 1.2 acres;

3. That on the special market day, the number of women and the quantity of goods increase markedly (by 75%);
4. On the ethnic differentiation of market women, Hasselman's study revealed that most of the market women were Kpelle (52%) and Mandingo (25%) while other ethnic groups were under-represented etc...

A good deal of other pertinent statistical analysis are included in this work.

The Amegashie's study appears to be an extension and a further refinement of Hasselman's work. The data offered are also localized and do not include national statistics.

Works by both Handwerke and Kaba are focused on the urban marketing system of Monrovia. Of the two, Kaba's work provides more quantitative measures of women's involvement in marketing in the city of Monrovia.

Thus his study showed that:

1. There were an estimated 6,000 market women in the city;
2. That the majority of the market women (over 50%) were married (mostly through customary law);

3. That over 70% have received no formal education or training;
4. That the majority of marketing women (over 80%) received their initial marketing capital from their husbands and other relatives.

Other socio-demographic and marketing data are included in Kaba's work. Findings from this work could not be generalized to other women in Liberia especially those of the rural areas.

By far the most comprehensive work on informal marketing by women with the specific and declared purpose of providing indicators and quantitative measures on the extent of Liberian women's participation or non-participation in one aspect of the country's socio-economic life has been made by Akerle (1979) in her "Women and the Fishing Industry" study.

This work was the first to appreciate and articulate the need for the undertaking of a comprehensive collection of adequate information and the identification of concrete parameters and indicators on women in development for the specific use of development agencies.

The National Censuses and Surveys

The two (2) national censuses of 1962 and 1974 and the few surveys undertaken by the government contain very few useful information in women's involvement into the commercial sector of the economy. The few census data that concern women's labor participation are not sufficiently disaggregated by economic activities and cannot therefore be used as meaningful parameters for a detailed study of women's roles and status in marketing.

The only interesting data concerning women's labor participation in the 1974 census statistics appear on Table 8, Appendix D.

This table show that the 1974 total female labor participation (age 10+) was 116,024 or 27% of a total of 432, 871 workers for the entire country. Of this number (116,024), 56,491 were self-employed female workers or 25% of 223, 233 self-employed Liberian workers. These 56,491 self-employed female workers quite possibly include market women who work for themselves.¹

These figures are neither clearly delineated nor sufficient to give an accurate image of Liberian women's role in the marketing aspect of economic development.

A pilot labor survey conducted by the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs in 1975, provided some interesting information, by comparing labor force participation rates by age and sex between Monrovia and a rural district near Monrovia (The Todee District). Table 9 Appendix D gives the detail of those informations. Here again not only this survey was of an experimental nature, but its findings cannot be generalized to all of Liberia.

¹ The Census enumeration techniques are not clear as to how market women of the different categories (see Part II) were selected on the basis of self-employment.

These examples show that even the data collection exercises so far undertaken by the national Government have been quite limited in scope and are insufficient in providing the kind of indicators on women's economic activities for use in the development planning program.

As the foregoing clearly shows, there is a complete lack of a national data base on women in development for use by planning agencies and Policy Makers. If development plans are to be successful, it is essential that sufficient micro-data be provided through systematic nation wide data gathering exercises with the specific purposes of focussing on target groups in the populations such as women. The present portion of the study is specifically designed for such a purpose, i.e., to provide relevant indicators on women's roles, status and importance in the Liberian marketing and food distribution systems.

PART I I
A DEFINITION OF MARKETING

For the purpose of this study, marketing is basically defined as a socio-economic activity involving the exchange of goods or marketing commodities, cash or money and services. It is an aggregate of functions involved in moving goods from producers to consumers. The essential components of a marketing system comprise the marketers, their commodities, the medium of exchange, the market places where the marketers¹ carry out their activities and the transportation system used to move goods and people from one marketing point to another.

The establishment and development of a marketing system appear to be predicated on the adoption, use and growth of the monetary system. In previous times, goods and services were exchanged on a non-monetary basis. The adoption of the money economy has tremendous implications for societal development and provides for the establishment and enlargement of marketing system for the distribution of the goods produced by each individuals. The intervention of money, as a universal and standard medium of exchange process and establishes the possibility of a class of people playing the role of middle men/women between the consumers and the producers of commodities.

¹ Throughout the text, marketeers or marketers will be used, as the two (2) spellings are accepted in Liberia.

Money acts as a lubricous, facilitating the movement, exchange and ultimately the production of goods and services of every kind. It is through marketing that the effective demand for goods and services in society is maximized.

Two (2) major consequences emerge from this:

First, the emergence of a money economy and the subsequent establishment of a marketing system constitute direct opportunities for marketers.

(merchants, traders or middlemen/women) who purchase goods which they do not want for themselves, but which they know are in demand. It is noteworthy to mention that marketeers serve not only to satisfy existing demands but also are capable of and do create new ones. They do so by displaying new and uncommon goods thereby generating new needs and desires that did not exist before. Under these circumstances, this process has the tendency to stimulate economic activity.

Second, the emergence of a marketing system has a tendency to subvert many of the values of the traditional society, especially the cooperative tendencies inherent in extended kin system. In their place, it fosters a more individualistic and competitive orientation and lays the foundation for many of the attitudes and values that characterize what is referred to as modern society.

It is in reference with the above explanation that this portion of the report studies the Liberian marketing system and its essential components as they pertain to women's roles and status in society.

The following sections of the study make a relatively detailed component by component survey and analysis of marketing in Liberia using a comprehensive data base collected during the field work of the study (see Appendix C). The key questions that the sections will focus on are:

1. What roles do market women play in the marketing system?
Are there differences between market women in playing these roles?
2. On what, if any, are these differences based?
3. What constraints are imposed on market women in carrying out their marketing activities?
4. What roles do market women associations play in the marketing system?

P A R T I I I

LIBERIAN WOMEN'S ENTRY IN THE CASH ECONOMY

Brief History of Marketing in Liberia

Compared with such other West African countries as Ghana, Nigeria, or even neighboring Sierra-Leone and Guinea, large scale and year-round marketing appears to be a recent phenomenon in Liberia. Thus, apart from a few old marketing centers concentrated in the Liberian/Sierra Leone/Guinea border areas (Foya, Koindu, Nongowa,¹ etc.), almost all other markets in Liberia have been found by this study to be recently established (see Hasselman, 1975).

Gao and Djene markets (in the present day Republic of Mali) were already important trade centers in the 14/15th centuries (See Bah 1981); even Gbakeda and Musadu (in Lofa County, Liberia) were quite developed as market sites in the late 19th century (see Benjamin Anderson, 1970). The two (2) latter have maintained their status as important market places (See Table I, Appendix D).

Three (3) main periods may be identified in the development of marketing in Liberia. The first period started towards the end of the 18th century and before the arrival of the settlers and ended around the mid 19th century.

¹ Koindu is a large marketing town in Sierra-Leone and Nongowa is another one in Guinea. The three (3) markets form an interesting case of international exchange points and the triangle they form may be seen as one of the most important aspects of the Mano River Regional Economic Cooperation.

In this period, places such as Foya, Musadu, Ganta and Gbanka became well known market stations where local farm products were exchanged against a few imported items. Exchange of goods played an active role in the life of these towns (Hasselman: 1975, Handwerker: 1971, 1981, Carter: 1969).

The second period is characterized by a revitalization of marketing by mainly the immigration of Mandingo traders from the mid 19th century to the 1920's-1930's. Market places were open places where traders passed through and where goods were bought from neighboring farms and exchanged or sold.

Along with this increase in marketing activities in the early marketing towns, other small trading sites slowly emerged between 1930 and 1940 (Sanniquellie, Tappita, Kakata, etc.) It was also during this period (1930-1940) that the Lebanese merchandises made their appearance in a few major marketing towns outside of Monrovia. It is reported that the first Lebanese shop was erected in Gbarnga in 1946.¹

This second period is also characterized by a strong competition between the Mandingo traders and the Lebanese merchants.² Many Mandingo traders could not keep up their business as a result of the competition and were forced to move into small villages around the main marketing centers.

¹ Lebanese immigration and settlement in Liberia, mainly in the Monrovia area, started long before this date. (Direct information from Lebanese people in Monrovia).

² Mandingo traders had started their road-side marketing some twenty (20) years before the Lebanese incursion into the interior of Liberia (Hasselman: 1975).

This process enlarged the geographic marketing area. At the same time, Lebanese traders started to buy agricultural products from the rural population and this led to the further introduction of the money economy into the rural areas around the towns. This period probably explains why Mandingo traders have been and are still active in and especially between small marketing centers. (Hasselman: 1975).

The third period in the development of marketing in Liberia coincided with although not necessarily explained by the implementation of two national economic and political programs. First, the development of an embryo of motor road network reaching as far as Gbarnga in 1946 and second, the development of administrative and political centers in the provinces of the interior.¹

¹ These programs were themselves the more or less direct outcome of President William V.S. Tubman's Open Door and Unification policies. The Open Door Policy attracted substantial foreign, mostly American and European, investments to Liberia while the Unification Policy provided administrative measures for a greater integration of the interior lands into the political system established and controlled by the settlers and their co-opted partners on the coast.

Marketing underwent a special development between 1946 and the early 1950's. It was during this period that many Liberians (mostly women) other than Mandingoes entered full time marketing, although on an informal basis. The period that follows from the early 1950's to the mid 1960's was characterized by the development of marketing into a permanent road-side marketing where market women and men traded along the side of the main streets and in front of various shops, sometimes with self-constructed stands on which the goods were displayed or under the simple shelters.

By the early 1960's, Liberian marketers had increased in such large numbers that the Government decided to construct concrete market buildings in the main marketing towns and cities. Sellers of local foodstuffs such as rice, greens, peppers, etc., were now expected to sell their goods at the selected sites.

They were also subjected to increased Government regulation, control and taxation. The investigation conducted for this study reveals that all of the major cities and towns in Liberia have concrete market buildings (see table 2 - Appendix D).

Liberian Women's Entry in the Cash Economy

The entry of most West African countries, including Liberia, into the modern money economy has been characterized by a peculiar increase in the number of people moving from the self-sufficient subsistence economy into an expanding money economy upon which more and more the countries' population are becoming dependent.

In Liberia, this phenomenon has resulted in an increase of the country's dependence on the import of essential food and other consumer commodities (e.g., rice, canned food, etc.) There has also arisen the important problems of food distribution to and increasing number of consumers.

Previously, both men and women performed their major productive roles in agricultural and were organized in family and kinship units. In this respect, Hanwerker, who has just completed a study on marketing in rural Liberia gives the following revealing detail on the organization of farm production within a traditional household context:

Most of the labor (for farming) comes from within the household. Most farm households consist of a core unit of nuclear family of husband, wife and children. But households frequently were extended by the addition of a second wife, a younger brother or sister of the wife (wives, or an elderly parent of either spouse). Previously, households encompassed a variety of additional dependents - slaves, temporary bond servants, children given to a "Big man" to be raised apprentices, young men bound by marriage agreements (Schwab 1947:161) (See Bledsoe: 1980). Today, household size averages approximately five (5) people. In the past, household size almost certainly was noticeable larger (Handwerker:1981).

But in recent years with the expansion of the money economy, women's social roles and status tend to be redefined although still within the confines of the household and family unit. The literature on the marketing aspect of Liberian women social roles reveals that a variety of motivation have contributed to their entry into trading activities but that one of the major factors has been their response to the changing economic activities of men, especially their husbands, boyfriends and other male relatives. In affect, the establishment and rapid expansion of mining concessions (Bong Mining Company, Liberia Mining Company, Lamco, etc.), the plantation concessions (Firestone, B.F. Goodrich, LAC), cash cropping (coffee, cocoa, oil palm, etc.), and timber concessions have had a strong tendency to weaken the supply of male labor., Another important factor in male labor migration to the coastal area and out of the subsistence agricultural sector has been the military.

In reviewing the literature for the present study, it was revealed that rural women whose husbands have migrated to urban and concession areas for employment often find themselves in need of cash to meet household needs. A previous study conducted by Handwerker on the Liberian Marketing System in Monrovia, Bong and Lofa Countries showed that as a result of heavy male migration to the urban and concession areas, women:

...returned to selling food stuffs to meet expenses with which other people could not or would not help them...Women found that they were asked to help meet periodic unplanned expenses by selling the food crops which they have planted with the intention of selling the produce so that they would not have to rely on allocation of money from their husbands (or fathers or brothers). (Handwerker 1971: 145-147).

There is also the fact, confirmed by the study's inquiries, that the husbands of most urban market women tend to be either unemployed or employed in relatively low paying jobs. Handwerker's study cited above reported that nearly half of the sampled sellers were below \$60,000 per month and that the other half had husbands employed in jobs in which either the sums were unreliable from month to month or in which the completion of a contract left them without work for varying periods of time. (Handwerker 1971:147).

In the rural areas, the sale of food crops occurs when the households (or individuals) need cash income and is, in fact, a function of the relative efficiency and distribution of money from other sources, such as cash received from cash crops (cocoa, coffee, etc.), which is both seasonal and controlled by men, or cash sent in by relatives working in mining, government offices, the military or agricultural and forestry concessionary sectors.

With the strong dependence of the national economy on external factors such as fluctuation in the price of export commodities, the level and irregularities of these incomes into rural families become not only more unreliable, but also subject wide variations. For mainly this reason, in many market women's households, husbands' and other relatives' incomes maintenance of the households. In effect, responses from the question on the use of profit generated from marketing indicated that most market women contribute in various household expenditures. Handwerker, in 1981, noted that:

by 1970, food scales had become an integral part of household maintenance for a large and increasing number of farm units. Women would use produce directly from subsistence, as food. An women use produce for subsistence indirectly, by transforming it into money to pay medical and school fees, purchase clothing and so forth... (Handwerker 1981:31).

These facts clearly demonstrate that lack of sufficient income and male labor to run their households due mostly to male labor migration into urban areas and agricultural and mining concessions form for the background factors that compel many rural women, in the majority of the cases with the consent and financial help of their husbands, boyfriends or other relatives, to engage in the informal marketing sector of the economy.

The foregoing is evidence that with the exception of the Mandingo women who have a long history of professional marketing, and although marketing is rapidly expanding among many Liberian women, the majority of the marketers have maintained strong agricultural background and connections and many of them are still both farmers and marketers (See Appendix A).

Consistent with the general definition of marketing offered in the introduction of this work, the Liberian marketing system comprises the following essential components: the marketers (the majority are women), the market sites, the road transportation system (mostly privately owned), the marketing commodities (both imported and locally produced), all operating within a socio-economic system controlled by a relatively centralized national government.

The relative recent involvement of most Liberian women into year round marketing constitute perhaps an important explanatory factor for the fact that unlike women in other West African countries (Senegal, Ghana, Nigeria, etc.), Liberian women have not as yet developed their marketing activities at a level higher than the marketing of most locally produced food commodities. Of course, as will be elaborated on later, there are other explanatory factors which account for the constraints on the size and scope of Liberian women's marketing and trade activities.

Data from the present study and other studies reviewed have shown that Liberian women, in their great majority, enter on an informal basis, the money economy with the apparent consent, encouragement and financial help of their husbands, and other relatives, through the sale of most locally produced food commodities. However, although they lack sufficient experiences in marketing as compared to women from other African countries, as well as essential facilities, they not only control the marketing system but are consolidating this control by attempting, among other things, to organize themselves into marketing Associations.

P A R T I V
TYPES AN HIERACHY OF THE LIBERIAN MARKETS

For the purpose of this study, a market or exchange place/site is construed to be any place, public or private, structurally built or not, where one or more seller and buyer gather for the purpose of mostly exchanging various commodities for cash.¹

The field investigation revealed that there are approximately 120 different market places in Liberia. (See Table 1, Appendix D). Out of this total, 46 or 33% of the country's estimated markets were visited by the Research team. (See Table 2, Appendix D). The statistics on the Regional distribution and the characteristics of the markets are summarized in Appendix D, Tables 1 and 2.

Markets investigated in the present study are differentiated along a number of variables such as public/private, site, number of sellers, frequency of markets, age, types of facilities available, price/variety types/quantity of commodities sold, presence/absence and functions of marketing association, type of customers who buy from the market, etc. Basic data on these facts are conveniently summarized in Appendix D, Table 2.

¹ It was observed during the fieldtrips that in many cases, other social, economic or even political activities were also carried out in larger market places (cultural dance, training of children or apprentice in marketing skills, processing or reprocessing of certain commodities for sale, political rallies, etc.) all of this on an informal basis.

45

From these statistical information, a typology of market was drawn. (See Appendix D, Tables 4 and 5). This typology is a replication of Handwerker's hierarchy of market sites of 1970. However, the four types specified by Handwerker were recategorized into (6) six types because of the increased complexity of the marketing system. Two additional types were thus added: daily markets (as distinguished from both the central and the neighborhood markets in Monrovia and located in the urbanizing zones outside of Monrovia) and the village periodic or weekly markets.

Thus, with respect to this new typology, the study reveals that the Liberian Marketing System comprises six (6) major categories or types of marketing sites (See Table 5, Appendix D). They are:

1. HOUSE SELLERS' SITES:

These types of selling points have the smallest number of commodities and serve a small population from the more immediate neighborhood. Items sold include for the most part imported food and other consumer commodities (cigarettes, biscuits, chewing gum, etc...) and when it is the season, oranges, bananas, tangerines and other fruits.

Many house sellers are young girls or boys. The boys are generally referred to as "Yanna Boys"¹. There seems to be a shift of older women house sellers from this type of activity to cluster and market sites selling, leaving house selling mainly to younger women, girls and the Yanna boys.

It is important to note that even in the house selling activity,¹ women tend to be confined to the marketing of most seasonal and/or low profit items. There is also a strong and constant competition from the more aggressive and mobile Yanna boys.

¹ The Yanna Boys are young boys aged between 9 and 15 who can be seen selling a variety of current consumer goods. The majority of them deal in popular imported consumer commodities such as cigarettes, chewing gum, biscuits, candies, etc. A number of them seem to be selling for older person.

¹ In this category of sellers, Handwerker's recent study reveals the following: "Boys and girls hawked popcorn biscuits, water, eggs, and frozen cubes of soft drinks (kool aid), along the streets, at bus and taxi depots, in residential areas on the outskirts and occasionally within market places. House sellers with a few exceptions (i.e. neighbors who for companionship, choose to sit with one another), spartially dispersed single traders vending from their door steps... Dispersed in residential areas, house seller could not, nor did they have to offer consumers as wide variety of food, prices as consistently low, or quality quite as high as those in market places or supermarkets" (Handwerker:1980:25)

2. THE NEXT CATEGORY IS THAT OF CLUSTERS OF SELLERS:

This category must be sub-divided into two types:

- a. Those in front of supermarkets in Monrovia, Buchanan, Bong Mines, LAMCO; and
- b. Those at certain busy road intersections or car parking lots in the suburbs of the bigger cities (Monrovia, Buchanan, Ganta, etc...)

The majority of items sold are locally produced food commodities, especially fruits. Some specialization takes place at this level, especially among women who sell in front of the supermarkets (Abi-Jaoudi and Sinkor Shopping Center Supermarkets, etc...). These women have specialized themselves in the sale of particular locally produced commodities (tomatoes, lettuce, bananas and other local fruits, flowers, etc...). Customers at supermarkets' sidemarkets are mainly those who buy from the supermarkets.

In Monrovia, LAMCO, Bong Mines, etc., most of these buyers are from expatriate groups (Lebanese, Europeans, Americans, etc.) and the more affluent (upper and upper-middle class) Liberians.

Supermarkets' sidemarkets offer a greater and better quality of food commodities than the other markets of their category (road intersections and car parking lots) although at higher prices.

Furthermore, clients for the parking lots and road intersection markets are more indigenuous and much less affluent.

3. THE THIRD CATEGORY IS THE VILLAGE PERIODIC MARKETS OR WEEKLY MARKETS:

During the field work conducted for the present study, twelve (12) weekly markets were surveyed (see Appendix D, Table 1). The information received from these markets shows similar functions and physical characteristics for all twelve (12) irrespective of regional or geographical differentiations.

The investigation further showed that almost all of the village markets are not provided with concrete shade, and most of the few that have possess very fragile strucutres that cannot last long. In many cases, the structures must be built or repaired by the marketers themselves.

Respondents in village weekly markets expressed the desire to have more permanent and solid market shades built for them. The form of the shade should be simple and may not necessarily comprise such facilities as light, water, toilets or storage room. The size of the market should reflect the number of sellers.

During the field observation on the village markets, two (2) interesting cases were observed with respect to the existence of concrete market shades. Both cases were observed in Grand Bassa County but it is suspected that similar cases may exist in other parts of the Country.

In one (1) of the cases, a good size concrete market hall was erected in Owensgrove (on the Monrovia-Buchanan Highway) and no marketing settlement (lloydsville) on the same highway distant of only 20 miles, was a village type market with no appropriate shades but where an important weekly market is held.

It would appear reasonable to have the concrete market hall built in Lloydsville instead of in Owensgrove. This inconsistency in the provision of market sites to villages is obviously a result of poor planning and coordination on the part of and between authorities in charge.

The second case concerns a relatively remote village market in the Bassa hinterland and isolated from the surrounding villages. This weekly market hall is a concrete building and attracts a large number of sellers from the surrounding villages and buyers from many parts of Bassa County.

As their name implies, village weekly markets meet once a week. They perform three (3) major functions in the marketing system:

- a. The assembling of local agricultural produce for export into regional town/city markets;
- b. Distribution of imported, mostly non-food, commodities for local consumption; and
- c. Collection and distribution of local produce for local consumption.

Five (5) major activities are involved in the performance of market women's roles at the weekly market level:

FIRST: Farmers/producers who are mainly wives of local farmers from surrounding villages carry their produce to the market site and sell it in small lots to "bulking"¹ intermediaries who carry the produce to such towns and urban areas as Voinjama, Ganta, Gbarnga, Pleebo, Monrovia, Buchanan (See Appendix B, Map of Liberia)

SECOND: Farmers/producers also sell produce in small lots, to local consumers.

THIRD: Professional male traders sell imported cloth and household goods (dry goods) to people from the villages (mostly farmers and artisans).

¹ Wholesale.

51

FOURTH: Professional female marketers sell items such as bouillon cubes, soaps, salt, etc... to the local population who can be seen as sellers of produce from the farms and buyers of imported goods. It is note-worthy to mention that at this level, apart from the participation of male sellers of imported dry goods, the exchange through cash of locally produced goods for imported food commodities is performed almost exclusively by women.

It is therefore at this critical level that women/farmers/producers meet full time women marketers. It is also quite probably at this level that the pressure to abandon the dual career of farmer/marketers is the strongest on Liberian rural women. Female farmers who decide to sell their farm products in these markets become tempted by the many opportunities offered to them as well as to the village men through the cash economy in terms of the ability to buy from male sellers envied dry good items such as clothing and household goods.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, rural women must increasingly be able to meet some household expenditures since husband/boyfriends and relatives have in many cases migrated to the cities and concession areas.

FIFTH: The fifth major activity in which women are involved at village periodic markets is the selling by professional female traders of items such as bouillon cubes, fish, salt and soap to the local population.

The women who participate in village weekly activities can be conveniently divided into six (6) major groups:

1. Sellers of farm produce - mainly wives of local farmers.
2. Sellers of imported consumer goods - specialized retailers (Mandingo women are pre-dominant in this group_.
3. Buyers of local farm produce in "bulk" (specialized country buyers).
4. Buyers of imported consumer goods and local produce (retail).
5. Wives of local farmers, single women and men.
- 6 "Middle" women who purchase local produce on behalf of Country buyers.

4. THE TOWN/CITY DAILY MARKETS:

These types of markets constitute the fourth category in the hierarchy. They are primarily oriented towards a population of non-food producers. They are seen in towns such as Gbarnga, Ganta, Sannieuellie, Zorzor, Greenville, Pleebo, etc. (See Map of Liberia, Appendix B) which have a number of residents who are not farmers. For the majority of these town markets there also exists a special market day during the week (See Table 1, Appendix D), and on that day, the number of sellers, the quantity and variety of commodities for sale, and the number of customers are substantially larger. These town/daily markets act as the major distribution centers for, on the one hand, the locally produced foodstuffs, and on the other, imported commodities (food and non-food items).

The town/city market women, as already shown, play the major role of transmitting the food demands of the growing urban population to village farmers. Daily market sellers play a more professional role in the marketing system than the previous group.

The markets in and for which they operate function as the final collection points for the export of local products and the first location for the distribution of imported goods to the population in the interior of the country. The majority of sellers in this category have acquired their working capital from their husbands/boyfriends and other relatives (62.9%).

For the most part, daily markets are found in the major urban centers of the country and their importance tends to depend on such things as population concentration, road density and their centrality in the marketing system, i.e., whether they are easily accessible by marketers and their commodities or not. This, in turn, seems to be a function of their level of connection to the Monrovia central markets which act as the apexes of the marketing system.

5. The neighborhood daily markets. These markets are all concentrated in the Monrovia metropolitan area. Some of the them are of considerable size while others are very small. It is only in Buchanan that an emerging daily neighborhood market type was identified. However, the size and function of the Buchanan market were found to be still comparable to those of a cluster of sellers so that it could not be classified among the category of neighborhood markets.

There are presently seven (7) functional neighborhood markets in Monrovia (see Figure 4 Appendix B).

As their name implies, the Monrovia neighborhood markets primarily play the function of receiving the daily inflow of commodities from the different parts of the country as well as from the two central markets (The General and the Rally time markets) for distribution to residents of the many neighborhoods in the City.

The spread of these types of markets in the City is such that the overwhelming majority of the city residents and prospective buyers is within a mile or so radius of a market ground.

The field observation revealed that the seven (7) markets offer approximately the same range of products irrespective of the size and density of the selling and buying populations. This fact constitutes an important qualitative aspect of the marketing system whereby each market in the city quite efficiently provides the same type of services, i.e., sells the same types and quality of commodities with sufficient quantity at approximately the same price to most, if not all, of the city residents.

Sellers in neighborhood markets are professional market women and usually reside in the city. They buy their goods either directly from incoming trucks in the marketing sites, from the central markets, or by travelling to town daily markets (the fourth type in the hierarchy) to purchase commodities from wholesalers. Imported food commodities are purchased from lebanese stores which are concentrated in the General Market area.

It is worth noting that despite the important function played by the neighborhood market in Monrovia Urban System, their estimated total selling population was found to be only 2,800 market women as

compared to the estimated 13,500 sellers for the two (2) central markets of the city and which represent the sixth (6) category in the hierachy. The discussion below focuses on these central markets.

6. The Central/daily Markets: as already mentioned, there are two (2) such markets in Liberia. Both markets are located in the city of Monrovia. They were found to act as the apexes of the food distribution and the marketing systems in the country in terms of such variables as the number of marketers that operate in them, the quantity and variety of food and other consumer commodities sold, the number and types of buyers, and the movement of marketers from and to the other markets in the system.

Thus, the field investigation revealed that over 500 different types of commodities were offered for sale in the Monrovia general market as compared to an average of 200 items for the other types of markets (see Table 5, Appendix D).

The General and Rally Time markets, as the two (2) central markets are referred to by most marketers and buyers, were found to have an estimated total selling population of 13,500 market women and cate to the daily food and essential commodity need of an almost totally non-farming urban population of probably more than 300,000 inhabitants.

The markets, in this capacity, attract large quantities of products from all parts of Liberia and often from other countries in Africa. Important quantities of imported food and non-food items of all sort are also sold on these two (2) market grounds (sugar, bouillon cubes, sardines, soap, housewares, etc.).

The second major function of the central markets is the distribution of imported food and non-food commodities to the town/daily and village/weekly markets. Many goods from the Lebanese stores, before they reach the markets outside of Monrovia, must generally pass through the central marketing system.

Central markets tend to function as clearing centers for imported essential consumer commodities (food and non-food items) for direct distribution to the various markets as well as to consumers in the marketing system, and final receiving points of locally produced agricultural and artisan products. As such, central markets could be perceived and appreciated in their function of trading centers where the goods and services are efficiently exchanged through the money and credit media.

Sellers in central markets share the same characteristics with those in the neighborhood markets. However, because they cater to the need of a larger group of sellers and buyers, the quantity and variety of goods they offer for sale are larger than those found in neighborhood markets.

In addition to this, the field data indicated that sellers from both types of markets are long time urban residents, have been selling for a relatively long period of time (10, 20 or more years of selling), are married (either through the statutory or the customary systems of marriage), are illiterate (non-Western type of education), members of an extended household system. Those findings were consistent with those used in drawing the profile of Liberian women in marketing. (See Part VIII).

Because of the critical importance of the Monrovia metropolitan markets in the Liberian marketing system (accounting for over 35% of all market sellers in the country), it was found useful to make a brief analysis of the growth and dispersion of market sites in the Capital City.

HISTORICAL GROWTH OF THE MONROVIA MARKETS:

Available data on the contemporary historical growth and dispersion of market places in the Monrovia area show that in 1941, there were only two (2) markets of probably of the town/daily type although smaller in size.

By 1953, there was no apparent increase in that number, but the size of the then existing markets might have increased. In 1963, a general market began to play the central market place role in the

rapidly expanding marketing system of the country, due in part to the significant influx of Mandingo and Fanti traders and market women into the area, and partly due to the petition presented by the Marketers to President William V.S. Tubman on the need for a better market. This led to the construction of the General Market at Waterside. (Handwerker: 1980).

By 1970, there was a significant increase in the number of market sites many of which almost immediately started playing the functions of neighborhood markets. This sharp growth quite certainly paralleled and followed the significant growth of the city population due to the high rural/urban migration of the late 1960's and the early 1970's.

The year 1973 saw the continuation of the 1971 trend and by 1981, the number of central markets had reached two (2) while that of neighborhood markets had grown from two to eight (8) between 1940 and 1970 and then to seven (7) functional and two (2) non-functional in 1981 (see Figures 3 and 4, Appendix B).

ESTIMATES OF SELLERS BY TYPES OF MARKETS

One of the most pertinent statistical information needed by development planners in designing development programs is the number of individuals involved in the various economic activities in the country. Such indicators help determine the labor force participation rate of the different socio-economic groups engaged in

economic activities. In order to be useful, though, these statistics must be disaggregated as much as possible to give a clear view on the characteristics of the populations under study.

In view of this important development planning requirement, it was found useful to present a detail breakdown of the number of marketers by types of markets in the Liberian Marketing System.

For the purpose of this estimation, two (2) major types of markets were considered:

-The daily markets; and

-The weekly markets.

The daily markets comprise the two (2) central markets of Monrovia, the Monrovia neighborhood markets and the town daily markets. On the other hand, weekly markets comprise all the village markets that meet only once a week. Excluded from the counting were the populations of house sellers, and clusters of sellers types of markets. The reasons for this exclusion is twofold:

FIRST: The Research instrument and proposal did not have enough provision for the inclusion of these types of marketing sites;

SECOND: Head counting sellers in such places would have been far beyond the scope of the present study in terms of both the research time and personnel and the budgetary requirements.

The head counting method was adopted because it proved the most appropriate for a better approximation of the total number of women selling in each market visited. In central, neighborhood and town/daily markets, a straight-forward head-counting method was used and in doing so, only sellers with tables or shades were taken into account. Sellers with no permanent selling space were found to be almost inexistant among professional market women.

As for the weekly market, it was found that many sellers operating in these markets were actually professional marketers travelling to village markets to buy from farmers/sellers. Extra care was therefore taken in estimating the population in these markets in order to avoid double counting.

This was achieved by not reporting again on woman who might have been counted during the investigation in daily markets, their usual markets of operation. In weekly markets, only those identified as farmers/sellers from the surrounding villages were tallied. This measure, to a great extent, prevented over-reporting in the process.

It should be noted that almost all the town and city daily markets identified in the country were visited and investigated by the research team during the field trips (See Table 1, Appendix D).

The population of sellers in markets which were not visited could not be estimated from field investigation. However, by extrapolating from the statistics of the 46 markets visited, it was possible to come up with an average population size for each market in each category.

Thus, the calculations from the statistics of the 46 (forty-six) markets visited must be treated with caution. From these extra-polations, the following estimates emerged:

1. Central Markets have an average selling population of $13,500/2 = 6,750$;
2. The neighborhood, daily/weekly markets have an average population size of $11,500/32$ or an average of 360 sellers per market; and

3. The weekly markets have an average selling population size of 1,900/12 or 158 sellers per weekly market.¹

From these results and assuming that the number of markets enumerated approximated the real number of markets in Liberia, it can be estimated that there are:

1. 2 x 6,750 or 13,500 sellers in central markets;
2. 35 x 11,500 or about 12,600 sellers in daily markets.
3. 66 x 1,900/12 or 10,428 in village weekly markets;

The grand estimated total for all the markets estimated in Liberia is therefore 36, 528 market women (excluding cluster and house sellers).

As already indicated, a note of caution must, however, be made that there was no way to ascertain for sure whether the number of markets enumerated from information given by informants reflects the actual number of markets and other exchange sites in the country. It is possible that some marketing sites were not identified by the informants during the fieldwork.²

-
1. The Foya Kamara market in Lofa County is excluded from this count. It falls within the weekly market category.
 2. It is suspected that there is an under-reporting of about 10% to 20% of the total figure. This is particularly true for Nimba, Bong and Lofa Counties.

64

Furthermore, exchange sites designated as house sellers' sites, could not be evaluated.³

With these limitations and in using the only available data on self-employed population (1974) it appears that out of the total population of 223,233 individuals (males and females) in the self-employed category of the population (See Appendix D, Table 8), nearly 3,656 or 15.5% are market women.

The same table shows that there are 56, 491 self-employed females in Liberia. Giving that the census data include market women in this category of self-employed, it results that more than 36,000 (Thirty-Six Thousand) or over 60% of self-employed female are marketeers.¹ However approximative these figures may be, they demonstrate and confirm a trend that has been confirmed by previous studies on female employment and related issues in Liberia (Kaba: 1978; Hasselman: 1975; Akerele: 1979).

³ Counting the sellers in these types of markets would have required a larger period of time for fieldwork and/or more field-workers. The design of the research project precluded this.

¹ These numbers and figures (percentages) must be used with an extra caution since the census figures (1974) are not of the same year as the research data which are for 1981. A 10 to 20 percent reduction is allowed.

URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENTIALS MARKET LOCATION & CONCENTRATION IN LIBERIA

By conveniently categorizing Liberia's population centers into (3) three categories, the data of the study indicate that marketing activities are more metropolitan and urban (75%) than rural (27.8%) oriented (see Appendix D, Table 5).

The centers are:

1. Metropolitan population centers (Monrovia and suburbs).
2. Urban centers (localities of 2,000 (Two Thousand) or more inhabitants); and
3. Rural centers (localities less than 2,000 (Two Thousand) inhabitants).

Appendix D, Table 5 also indicates that not only all the central and neighborhood daily markets are concentrated in Monrovia and its suburbs, but also that 44% of all the estimated market women in the country operate in Monrovia.

Of the 9,720 (Nine thousand seven hundred twenty) estimated marketers in town daily/weekly outside of Monrovia, an estimated 2,500 (Two thousand Five hundred) or nearly 26% of them are in Lofa

66

County, 2,000 (Two thousand) or 21% in Nimba County, 2,250 (Two thousand two hundred fifty) or 23% in Grand Bassa County, Marshall Territory, 1,400 (One Thousand Four Hundred) or 15% in Bong County, and 450 (Four Hundred Fifty) or 5% in Gibi Territory.

This total leaves a balance of over 1,100 (One Thousand One Hundred) or over 10% urban market women to be shared among the four (4) remaining counties and Four (4) remaining Territories. Of these, only Grand Gedeh County may have significant number of professional market women among whom are especially Mandingos and other Liberian women who have migrated into that County for trade. In other counties, professional marketing as is found in Monrovia, for instance was discovered to be quite limited.

The spread of rural marketeers is more evenly distributed among the administrative sub-divisions of the country. It is wise to assume, however, that here again, there is a heavier concentration of rural marketers in five (5) most urbanized countries than in the other counties and territories (Montserrado, Lofa, Nimba, Grand Bassa and Bong).

For Montserrado County, it is revealing that despite the huge concentration of all the central and neighborhood markets in the metropolitan zone of Monrovia, there is almost no marketing in rural Montserrado. It was observed that almost all food production in rural Montserrado is mainly for subsistence, and the little that is surplus production is sometimes sent to Monrovia for cash.

As already explained, Monrovia, with its large marketing population, plays the central role in the marketing system and as such acts as the apex of the Liberian Marketing System. In this role, Monrovia's two (2) central markets function as central distribution points for the majority of imported marketing commodities, and as essential points for the reception of locally produced goods for distribution to the growing, non-farming urban population.

The analysis of the data suggests that market women selling in different markets play different roles and have different statuses in the marketing system.

This positive relationship between role/status and function of marketing site was found to hold true irrespective of geographical and ethnic differentiations. For this reason, a market woman who operates in a daily market in Bong Country, for instance, may easily move her market in Grand Gedeh County and maintain her previous status/role in the marketing system. In spite of this fact, the residential mobility of market women, was found to be quite limited. This may be due to their embedment into the extended family system.

Part III deals with the presentation of data on and analysis of the roles played by market sellers in the different markets investigated.

P A R T V

ROLES OF MARKET WOMEN

The field observation showed that market women perform different marketing roles depending on the type of market in which they sell/buy their goods. The major differences between these roles are based on such factors as the type of produce sold, the size, in monetary terms, of the market, the impact of government regulations on them, etc...As already shown, two main categories of market women were identified among the respondents:

Village Market Women: The village market women operate in village periodic or weekly markets and play the role of part-time market sellers. They share this role with the majority of those mostly women who operate from the house (house sellers).¹ The major economic role of village periodic farmers/seller is to exchange farm surplus production for cash income thereby establishing linkage between the subsistence sector and the expanding monetary sector of the economy.

This role is critical in the elaboration of strategies for the increase in the provision of farm surplus production to an increasingly urbanizing and non-agricultural population.

¹ This part-time status makes the status of female house sellers even more precarious vis-a-vis the strong competition from the more permanent and competitive "Yanna Boys".

It is at this level of direct exchange of material goods that cultural values are also transmitted, interchanged or distorted. It is also in playing this crucial role that village farmers/sellers are provided with an opportunity to abandon their primary roles of food producers.² Our data further show that village sellers have a clear idea of how much they want to receive from their commodities. This relative understanding of the supply and demand mechanisms is based on their relative connection to the open market system through cash requirements for running the households. Because of this fact, there is a need to study at the village level, the impact of government subsidies for imported food commodities based on the fact that these commodities could be locally produced. In the case of rice, an essential commodity, it would seem useful to:

- a. remove the government study on imported rice;
- b. deregulate the selling price of both imported and locally produced rice;
- c. establish an incentive mechanism for increase rice production in the form of farm implements, access to land for both males and females, and importation of farm workers from neighboring countries.

² A great deal of attention should be paid to the playing of this role by development planners and agricultural economists so as to determine the value of the different factors of production at play at this level of the economy.

These measures may help motivate producers/sellers to increase the level of their production.

Another fact discovered during the field trips in the village market is that from the price paid for their farm products, village sellers are only capable of buying a few imported food commodities (bouillion cubes, onions) and a few household items. In other words money from surplus production at the current price is barely sufficient for household maintenance. There is no room for progress and status/role improvement. The reasons mentioned above constitute the main pressure on farmers/sellers to abandon their principal productive role of farming and engage in that of full time marketing by joining a husband/boyfriend in the towns. For many of the village respondents, farming is not in itself hard, it is both the absence of a male and child labor and the money received from farm product through the existing pricing system which is "hand" i.e. so little that times are hard on the people.

Thus the present pricing system in Liberian markets appears to be one sided to the disadvantage of village market sellers.

Because of the phenomenon described above, village producers may react to it by decreasing the supply of farm products into their weekly markets. This could be a cause of the many complaints made by the respondents among the town/daily market sellers about the high prices that village sellers ask for their products. If they

72

buy at the prices charged them, they argued, they would have to go above the selling price set by the Government Agencies (Commerce Ministry) responsible for price control or sell at a loss. In the end, demands for farm food products may fall at such a level that village producers may cease to make surplus production altogether and will either go back into subsistence farming, or as suggested earlier, join relatives in the urban sector and engage in full time marketing.

Farmers/traders do not need marketing capital to start selling in village periodic markets. This fact has both theoretical and practical implications for development planning.

Theoretically, it tends to prove that trading need not always rely on the availability of initial capital and the move from the non-market system of production, as prevalent in most of the rural areas of Liberia into the modern market system predominant in the urbanizing sectors of the country does not require the acquisition of working capital.

At the practical level, the phenomenon is one where the farm seller is being gradually introduced into a system which at best, influences him to abandon his/her basic social and economic values to adopt those that are consistent with his/her activities/pursuits. In this respect, it may be argued that village farmers/sellers operate at a level where the concept of dual economy can be usefully analysed.

village farmers/sellers bring their produce in the village periodic markets from surrounding villages for the most part by foot. The periodic market is almost always on a secondary motor road which is usually poorly maintained and inaccessible during the rainy season. In most cases, the road seldom reaches any of the surrounding farms which produce the food items so that these must be transported by walking long distances.

In the case where the farm is not far from the motor road, those farmers that can afford the transportation fare use vehicles. In some cases, farmers/sellers market their products alongside the motor road and return home when they are sold or at the end of the market day. During the field trip, it was observed that in some areas (Grand Gedeh and Maryland Counties), the great majority of farmers walk to the village market even on the motor road. This is an indication of both a shortage of cash and the high cost of transportation charged by transporters on these relatively bad interior roads.

TOWN/CITY MARKET WOMEN:

The market women who buy in village markets have quite different roles to play in this respect of the economic life of the country in terms of returns and prospect for role improvement.

For the great majority of these women, marketing is an opportunity for constant travels involving two (2), three (3) or more trips every week.

Their main roles are:

- a. To carry sizeable quantity of mostly imported food commodities and household items to village markets for sale to local population; and
- b. To bulk most locally produced food commodities bought at as low a price as possible for resale at higher prices to people in towns and Monrovia markets' retailers. The bulking marketeers from big towns and the cities are in regular contact with Government Agencies, and are quite knowledgeable about regulations including the current pricing system in the big daily markets.

These women are subject to and are aware of the penalties that go along with any violation of these regulations. Armed with:

1. These guidelines;
2. Their marketing experience; and

3. Their possession of an adequate marketing capital, village bulking market women are at a much greater advantage to bargain farm commodity price in their favor than village farmers/sellers.

The situation therefore becomes tantamount to the producer, being underpaid for his/her produce. In turn, the same small capital owner, once in the town market, will try to maximize his/her return by selling her products at the highest price possible to buyers.

Information gathered from the group discussions indicate that professional market women make very little profit from their marketing activities. As a result, very little capital formation occurs in this sector of the marketing system. As already pointed out, the main motivation for getting involved into marketing for the majority of sellers was not the profit motive but rather the necessity of taking care wholly or partly of essential household requirements such as food expenses, payment of children school fees, clothing, etc. (See Appendix A.).

Because of the number, volume and scope of their operations (they operate at both the village/weekly and the town/city/central/daily markets levels), their status of full time marketers and their relatively good understanding of marketing techniques, and the quantity and importance of the commodities they distribute within the marketing system, professional market women (the third category in the hierarchy) were found to have a firm control over the Liberian food distribution and marketing systems. Their control over these distributive systems is critical at two (2) levels;

1. The almost total monopoly they now exercise over the selling area of all the market halls in the country (only the meat selling area of market places/halls were exclusively allocated to male butchers).
2. The fact that the sale of almost all essential marketing commodities is traditionally women's prerogative among most Liberian groups.

From this category of marketing women, a few particularly energetic marketers have been able to take advantage of this relatively favorable situation and subsequently break into the world of small-scale marketing industry or business.

The field data point to a potential growth in the area of professional market women becoming actual small-scale business operators although the number of such individuals is still insignificant to warrant categorization.

However, a professional women may be conceptually differentiated from a small scale business woman according to two (2) dimensions:

1. The method of business operation; and
2. The size of the capital.

THE METHOD OF BUSINESS OPERATION

A professional market woman, as already suggested, travel to remote villages to sell a few relatively inexpensive imported items to village farmers: salt, bouillon cubes, sugar, etc. At the same time, she buys local products, mainly agricultural food commodities, for resale in the bigger towns and cities. Such a woman is at the mercy of transporters, the conditions of the motor roads, the seasonal fluctuations in the supply of products which are mostly obtained from Lebanese stores (wholesalers), etc.

These facts impose some constraints on her marketing activities.

As for the small-scale business women as defined by Boserup (1972) and de Little (1972), a more rational business management method is applied to the buying and selling of goods and services from and in the markets. Such a woman does not travel as frequently as her counterpart professional market woman. She may travel only to the major daily markets of the interior (Gbarnga, Ganta, Foya, etc.) where she would buy bulk local agricultural products for resale on the wholesale basis to other professional market women in the central markets.

In doing so, she must be able to manage a sizeable quantity of various marketing commodities. When the season for a certain product comes, she begins to sell and credit the product to agents, usually professional market women/men who are responsible for retailing the commodity in different markets, including weekly markets.



In this study, Mandingo, Fanti and Nigerian women were found to be more apt at this method of operation than other social groups in the marketing system. In Lofa, however, there are indications of such practice emerging among the Lorma, Gbandi and Kissi women who operate in the Kolahun, Foya and Koindu (Sierra Leone), and Nongowa (Guinea) area.

THE SIZE OF THE CAPITAL:

As already shown, the capital possessed by Liberian professional market women is relatively small and their conditions and methods of business operation do not permit them to accumulate and/or increase their initial capital.

Further, the main motivation for buying and selling remains the provision of needed funds for basic household requirements, either as supplementary or main funds. From the field data, it was possible to estimate the yearly marketing capital of the average professional market woman at between \$1,000.00 (One Thousand Dollars) and \$3,000.00 (Three Thousand Dollars) with profit ranging from a low 5% to a high 25% depending on the lines of products marketed by the seller. These estimates give a low \$50.00 (Fifty Dollars) a year to a high of \$750.00 (Seven hundred Fifty Dollars) a year net profit. These estimates are consistent with both Hasselman's and Akerele's findings (Hasselmann: 1970; Akerele: 1979)

As for the small scale business women, the results of the study confirm the findings made by Boserup and Little that business women operate with a relatively sizeable marketing capital. Many such women have bank accounts and a few of them invest part of their capital in the public transportation system (taxis, pick-ups, buses, etc.) Others engage in restaurants, bars, small boutiques or nightclub business. Almost all of these women are longtime urban residents (10,20 or more years of residency) and the majority of them are married to middle or high level civil servants. It is important to note however that small scale women business managers share with the professional market women a general low level of education and the lack of formal training in business practices.

From the analysis of the differentiation between professional market women (which the overwhelming majority of Liberian market women are) and small scale business women (which instance is still rare in the country), it is possible to postulate that the transition from the status and position of professional market women (a medium level position in the hierachy) to that of business woman (the highest level in the hierachy) is largely dependent upon the following these requirements:

- (a) the acquisition of suitable managerial skills;
- (b) the provision of a minimum business/marketing capital, i.e. a capital which will prevent the business operator from falling into the famous debt trap of wholesalers as described by Akerele in her 1979 study; and

40

- (c) the motivation of doing business mainly for profit and not as part of the necessities to provide for the household requirements.

There are other factors that determine the change in the position of professional market woman into that of a business operator. Additional interrelationships with the three basic ones discovered in this study.

Business managerial skills which are different from marketing skills, could be transmitted through training in special vocational institutions or by establishing special programs or seminars for those market women who demonstrate potential for business entrepreneurship. The interview data, in effect, reveal that 62.2% of the respondents expressed their willingness to attend training institutions if these were made available to them by government to train and/or inform them in and about market business management techniques. (See Appendix A). The interview data further show that 89.2% of the respondents send their school age children to school where they will receive training in such things as business management, market analyses etc....

One of the major implications of this finding for development planning is that access to education and training, especially in business management areas, should be made easier for professional market women to increase their chance of success in entering the higher and evidently more productive domain of small and medium scale business activity which is dominated by the men.

During the course of the field study, several constraining factors were identified which limit women's performance in the marketing system and affect their social roles and status. The next section analyses these major constraints on market women.

P A R T V I

CONSTRAINTS ON MARKET WOMEN

43

Development programs and activities for most Third World Countries are mainly constrained by the lack of critical human, material and financial resources. Another constraint on programs of development is what may be termed the inadequacy of the intervention of those individuals and agencies responsible for implementing the programs. The two (2) last major constraints are both technical and human in nature and as a consequence, are quite difficult to measure. They tend to affect the other elements of social and economic development (Wellesley: 1977).

Conceived as an increasingly important area of social economic development in Liberia, marketing does not escape the above mentioned problems. This is confirmed by the data of the present study which reveal that marketing in today's Liberia is characterized by a number of substantial constraints. These constraints are in fact important elements in the definition of the profile of the Liberian Women in marketing as revealed by the Analysis of the Questionnaire (see Part VIII).

More to the point, there are five (5) major areas of serious constraints which should claim the attention of development planners and experts. They are:

1. The constraint imposed on markets in general by a relatively unsystematic price regulation system of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Transportation;

2. The lack of adequate and regulated transportation system and the bad condition of the motor roads;
3. The lack of adequate marketing facilities;
4. The lack of appropriate credit and loan facilities to marketeers; and
5. The lack of adequate storage facilities.

As already suggested, these five areas are not exhaustive. There are other problems that limit the productivity and efficiency of market women during their activities. For instance, the data show that the majority of marketeers interviewed (73.8%) do not receive any help from their own children in marketing contrary to the "traditional" custom among most African whereby a considerable labor input is expected and received from children in almost all productive activities, especially farming and domestic activities. This problem should be directly linked to the fact that 89.2% of the respondents want their grown up children to attend schools. It is quite possible that had these children not been attending schools, their first duty would have been to help their parents in their various productive endeavors, including marketing.

Another problem which is not listed among the five constraints mentioned above is the pressure of household expenses on women's meager financial resources. Thus, 56.8% of those interviewed give help in various household expenses and payment of children's school fees.

In certain cases, it was reported during group discussions that some women are put out of business because their household expenses have increased so much that they had to use up most or all of their marketing capital to pay for family expenses requirement. However, these problems may be considered secondary to the first five constraints listed in that their solutions depend, to a great extent, on the provision of better pricing and transportation systems, the building of adequate market halls with toilet, water and light facilities, and the establishment of a credit and loan programs especially designed for market women. The analysis below deal, with some detail, with five constraints identified during the fieldtrips:

Price Regulation: From the field informations and inquiries made at government agencies, it was learned that the Ministry of Commerce is the government agency responsible, among other things, for the regulations of all commercial trade and marketing activities in Liberia. Price Inspectors are assigned with the duty of enforcing the regulations of the Ministry in such areas as the control of the quality of the product offered for sale, its units of measurement, and especially, its price.

Commerce Inspectors are posted in every political sub-division (counties and territories). They were found to be very active in mostly the daily markets of the interior. Their activity was quite limited in village markets and in many cases, they were altogether absent from these rural trade sites. When asked why they were absent from village market sites, the majority of Commerce

86

Inspectors responded that they lack transportation means to travel to these areas in order to enforce the Commerce Ministry's laws. For this reason, they limit their activities to the major daily markets near their places of assignment.

In dealing with market women, the price inspectors do not have any official systematic procedure to enforce the Ministry's regulations. Official price lists, if all available, are totally outdated or incomplete i.e., do not contain all local products on sale in the market place. The unit of measurement are not standardized since empty cans of imported commodities are used as units of measurement for many food items on the Liberian markets (empty tomato paste cans of different sizes, empty mackerel cans et...). When the manufacturer of these products elect to change the size of the containers, marketers must adopt new measurement devices.

Moreover, and quite surprisingly, despite the wide differentiations between counties and regions in terms of types, quality and quantity of foods produced for sale on the markets, the Ministry tends to send the same price list all over the country. It would seem more reasonable to make a preliminary study on the availability, quantity and quality of particular commodities in a given county or region before establishing a price list for that county. The price of plantain in Voinjama (Lofa County) where the production is abundant is listed almost the same as that of Monrovia (Montserrado County) where the production is much lower.

81

The situation described above may be an important factor disturbing the equilibrium of the offer and demand mechanism in a supposedly free market system. In some case, in an attempt to turn the system to their advantage, market women resort to such things as tempering with the unit of measurement (bossing in the bottom part of the rice cup) or just simply commodity boarding. There are also instances of taking chance in going above the regulatory prices. All of the above mentioned irregularities are subject to fines by the price inspectors. The field observations and inquiries indicate that even the fines are imposed, in most cases, arbitrarily and that there was no standard fine system existing applicable in cases of violation of Commerce Ministry regulations.

The majority of respondents to the questionnaire (60%) reported having had problems with price inspectors and that their present ways of carrying out their inspection work is an important constraint on women's marketing activities. Earlier, (Part II), it was suggested that the intervention of price inspectors at only some points of the marketing system was most probably affecting the supply of critical farm products such as the rice on the Liberian markets. There is therefore a need to pay a greater attention to this problem of price control in the different types of markets and the establishment of better mechanisms of price determination for locally produced food and related commodities if the country wants to improve market women's productivity and their conditions of work.

Lack of an Adequate Road System and Bad Conditions of the Road Network:

Roads, are the dominant modes of domestic transportation in Liberia. For this reason, road transport appears to be the principal instruments for integrating the rural subsistence sector into the modern market economy. Road transport is the chief means for evacuating cash crops and other agricultural products into the marketing system and introducing agricultural inputs and various consumer goods, whether imported or locally produced, into the interior markets.

The potential for diversifying the economy's productive base is dependent, to a large extent, on the provision of a reliable road network that would increase the competitive character of the country's various agricultural production. The present road network is known to be inadequate for fast and safe transportation. It is also limited and concentrated in the Monserrado, Bong, and Nimba corridors (see Appendix B, Figure 1). As such it constitutes an impediment to the movement of goods and people from one point of the marketing system to another (see Figure 1b, Appendix B).

A report of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs published in 1976 on the conditions of the road network revealed that:

much of the road network is in poor condition, as the major road construction effort in the past was not matched by increasing attention to "maintenance" (National Socio-Economic Development Plan, National Planning Council, Monrovia, 1976).

The report further indicated that the present road network which functions as the principal means of transport for the marketing system:

has been built mainly since 1950. By the mid 1960's there were about 2,300 miles of roads including 200 miles of asphalt-surfaced roads. The public road construction effort intensified in the second half of the 1960's and coincided with considerable road building by private companies engaged in mining, forestry and agriculture, so that by 1974, the total road network was over 4,500 miles...

The main trunk network fans out in 3 directions from Monrovia. The major primary road runs northeasterly through moderately populated areas of Montserrado and Bong Counties to Yekepa (Nimba County) near the Guinea border, with junctions of Gbarnga near the Guinea border, with junctions at Gbarnga and Ganta.... (National Socio -Economic Developmnet Plan, National Planning Council, Monrovia, 1976).

Today, the Monrovia-Yekepa road is paved between Monrovia and Ganta. From the Gbarnga junction the road heads north to Voinjama, the administrative headquarters of Lofa County and then west into Sierra Leone via Foya, an important agricultural marketing center.

From the Ganta junction, the road continues in a south-easterly direction through Tapeta and on to Zwedru, the country capital of Grand Gedeh. From Zwedru, the road continues south with branch terminating at Greenville - an ocean port and capital of Sinoe County - and the other at Harper, also an ocean port and capital of Maryland County.¹

The second primary road from Monrovia runs north-west through Tubmanburg (formerly Bomi Hills) and has just been paved (about 50 miles). From the Klay junction, on this road, a primary laterite surfaced road runs to Robertsport on the coast and capital of Grand Cape Mount County.

The third primary road from Monrovia is a 94 mile paved highway which runs in a south-easterly direction parallel to the coast through Robertsfield (site of an international airport) and Harbel (center of the large Firestone Rubber Plantation) to Buchanan, the country's second major port and capital of Grand Bassa County. Table 9, Appendix D, presents the statistics on the development of the road densities (miles of road per square mile) in West Africa. This particular feature of the Country's road network is depicted in Table 10 Appendix D. It shows that Liberia has 1/5 of Ghana's road density and 1/3 of Sierra Leone's road density.¹ Sierra Leone is a neighboring Country.

¹ These two branches of the road networks could not be used by the research team due to their bad conditions during the raining seasons. All the other major branches of the road networks were used by the research team in the research vehicle with an estimated total mileage of 5,000 miles.

THE TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM:

As already indicated, the Liberian transportation system within the marketing system is dominated by privately owned domestic passenger cabs (taxis), transport buses, pickups and trucks. Vehicle registration data obtained from the Ministry of Commerce are often unreliable. From the available data, it is estimated that the vehicle fleet has grown from 8,000 in 1961 to 23,000 in 1973 or nearly a (3) three fold increase in little over ten (10) years.

By 1980, the estimated number of vehicles was 30,000 showing a decline in the fleet growth rate within that period (less than 40 percent increase in that period).

Buses, trucks and private cabs account for about 80 percent of the vehicle fleet (40 percent for buses and trucks and 40 percent for private cars, including government vehicles) and 20 percent are taxi cabs. Most transport business is of the vehicle, owner-operator type and there are only a few companies operating ten (10) or more vehicles. From field observations and discussions with vehicle drivers, it was revealed that the overwhelming majority of transport vehicle owners and operators were men and that many drivers were of the Mandingo ethnic group.

92

Monrovia is the focal point for road traffic with possibly over 70 percent of the transport vehicles ownership residing in that city. Public passenger transport is well developed in Monrovia, and is relatively cheap. By contrast, in most areas outside Monrovia, transport facilities are underdeveloped and transport fares are much higher than in Monrovia.

On the trunk road network, the following figures were estimated during the fieldtrip (July-August, 1981):

1. Monrovia (Paynesville) - Ganta corridor: 1,000-1,500 vehicle per day;
2. Monrovia (Tubman Bridge) - Tubmanburg : 2,000- vehicles per day;
3. Monrovia - Robertsfield - Buchanan : 500-800 vehicles per day.

It is however possible that on the Monrovia-Robertsfield-Buchanan direction, many of the vehicles tallied drive to the Roberts International Airport to drop off and pick up departing and incoming plane travelers.

Major improvements have recently been made on the designed capacity of these major routes in order to cope with the increasing traffic volume (resurfacing, realignment, with expansion, etc.).

93

Interviews with officials of the Ministry of Commerce revealed that this Ministry is responsible for the regulations of road transport. Existing regulations cover vehicle licensing, registration and inspecting taxi and bus fares, vehicles weights dimensions and axle-load limits.

The field observations, however clearly indicated that most of the passenger vehicles overlook many of these regulations, especially those pertaining to vehicle weight, dimensions, axle-load limits and even fares.

Since the majority of marketers use this transport system to move their merchandise across the country, they are subject to the effects of these traffic violations by vehicle operators (overpacked, overloaded vehicles and overcharged fares).

Presently, only a little over 300 miles of the road network are paved to be broken down as follows:

- a. Monrovia-Gompah City (Nimba County): about 162 miles
- b. Monrovia-Buchanan (Grand Bassa Count): about 94 miles
- c. Monrovia-Tubmanburg (Bomi territory): about 50 miles

It is interesting to note that all of these paved roads lead to major multinational concession areas (Firestone, LAMCO, B.F. Goodrich, etc.) The streets of the cities of Monrovia, Yekepa, Buchanan and Harper are considerably paved. More recently, the main streets of

Gbarnga and Ganta have been paved. As expected paved roads and streets are accessible during both the dry and rainy seasons. There is a second type of laterite roads which are accessible only during dry and rainy seasons. There is a second type of laterite roads which are accessible only during the dry season and the beginning and the ending parts of the rainy season.

These roads are referred to as secondary roads, they total about 3,000 miles. The third type of roads is made of little more than pathways and these roads are practicable with difficulty during the dry season. They become quite unusable during the rainy season. The total mileage of these roads is not known. Most of the tertiary roads lead to rural villages branching off either from bigger towns and cities or from main paved highways or "Secondary Roads". The South-easter part of Liberia (Grand Gedeh, Sinoe, Maryland Counties and adjacent territories) are the least developed in terms of road network.

Because of the above mentioned facts, people and goods have hard time moving from one part of the Country to another, especially from rural villages to urbanizing centers or vice versa. The movement from most country headquarters to the Monrovia metropolitan area is much less difficult.

Both the limitation and the bad condition of the road and transport

networks affect both the conditions and the costs of transport of commodities and people. This situation represents an additional constraint on market women as it has a strong pressure on their time, limited financial resources and conditions of work.

In order to give an idea on the high transport cost for people and goods in the Liberian marketing system, four different locations were selected during the field work to measure the ratio of transport cost over total cost for selected commodities (see Appendix V, Table 7). The cases are:

1. TRANSPORT OF IMPORTED AMERICAN PARBOILED RICE FROM MONROVIA TO:

YEKEPA (NIMBA COUNTY): At the time of the field work (December, 1980 to January 1981) the bag of American parboiled rice, commonly known as "Pussava" rice, sold for \$19.25 wholesale (Government subsidized price) to Marketeers.

It was to be sold at not more than \$20.00 per bag in Monrovia and its immediate surroundings and \$22.00 per bag in Yekepa and its immediate surroundings (Government controlled prices).

The transport for each 100 pounds bag from Monrovia to Yekepa varies between \$1.55 and \$2.25 depending, among other things, on the total number of bags transported at a time (the more load in a truck, the

96

less is paid per bag since a flat rate was charged per truck), the season (transport fares are lower in the dry season than in the rainy season), and the type of customer or other relations established with the truck owner or driver, etc. In addition to this market must pay their own fare from Yekepa to Monrovia for between \$6.00 to \$8.00 depending on the type of transport vehicle used (taxi, pickup, truck, etc). Incidentals on the road and in Monrovia must be added to the total figure (these could not be estimated). In the end, as appeared in Table 7, Appendix D, the women sometimes end up making no profit at all or little profit that they are almost put out of business in some case major unforeseen household expenses emerged.

From the data of the study (see Table 7, Appendix D), the ratio of transport over total cost for one bag of rice from Monrovia to Yekepa was calculated to be 2:21.75 or about 10% while the average profit was less than two percent of that total cost.

2. When the same analysis was performed on the exchange of plantain between Foya (Lofa County) and Koindu (Sierra Leone) international market, it shows that the profit on a \$1.25 plantain bought wholesale in Foya for retail selling

in Koindu was over 55%. The profit margin was higher in this case, because partly the Sierra Leone Government does not subject many locally produced food commodities to price control as is the case in Liberia. Further, plantains were found to be a high demand commodity on the Sierra Leone side of the border and almost all Liberian plantains were transported to Koindu for sale.

3. The marketing of cassava between Pleebo and Harper markets in Maryland County gives a low profit margin in similarity to the first two cases discussed earlier (see Table 7, Appendix D).

In all these cases, the transporter receives the highest portion of what is referred to as the value added (from a low 10% to a high 40% of the total cost of the product) while the marketing receives only from a low 2% to a high 10% of the same total cost of the product.

As already noted, the condition of the road affects the transport cost. Hence, while the distance from Gbakedu to Monrovia and that from Yekepa to Monrovia are about the same, the fact that the Gbakedu road is very bad as compared to that of Yekepa makes a net difference in the transport fares for goods and people between the two (2) roads (see Table 7, Appendix D).

af

4. To illustrate this situation, a tally of a number of one kind of commodities transported was taken at the Gabakedu market road junction during the field-trip. Two transport vehicles were tallied: One (1) pick-up and one (1) medium size eight (8) ton truck. The observation was made during the rainy season and on a weekly market day.

The pick-up was able to carry 60 bags¹ of bitter balls from Gbakedu to the main road junction (about 15 miles but of a very bad tertiary road) at \$1.50 per bag. Passengers pay \$1.00 per head. With the load, only five passengers could ride the vehicle. The driver reported that on "good" days, he could make two trips on the road to total between \$16.00 and a little over \$200.00 for the day. In most cases, however, he makes only one trip on the weekly market days, especially during the rainy season.

The tally of the number of bags loaded into the truck at the road junction was 360 bitter balls at \$3.00 each to reach Monrovia. There were a few other goods that could not be tallied. The approximate amount to be grossed by the driver would then be \$1,080 plus the charged for the few passengers and the other goods that were also carried. The transporter reported that during market days such as in Ghakedu, he could only make one run, and in many cases, he must make provision for two or three days to get ready for the trip.

These cases illustrate clearly enough the important roles played by the transportation system as well as the road network in the Liberian marketing system.

Another transportation related problem mentioned by the marketers was the existence on many of the paved (highways) and secondary laterite roads of a number of road blocks for custom, immigration, police and other security measures which tend to hamper the free and fast movement of goods and people from one market place to another. Thus, on the Monrovia-Buchanan highway, there is a security check point which delays the transport vehicles carrying traders and their goods. On the Monrovia-Yekepa road, exist between four to five security check points at each of which transport vehicle riders must check through three to five different security scrutinies.

In view of the above and because of the long standing free enterprise policy proclaimed by the country, there seems to be an urgent need to seriously reconsider the current practice of check points for traders and marketers. Such a view should not, of course, preclude the necessity of security measures on the major Liberian motor roads but a better alternative system of control could be found which would not restrict the trading and marketing activities in the country.

The situation described above naturally ties up with and is to a great extent dependent upon the improvement of the road network and the establishment of a reliable and efficiently regulated transportation system.

100

Lack of Adequate Facilities: The information received from group discussions and confirmed by both observational and interview data (see Appendix D, Table 2) reveals that most market sites lack one or more, if not all, of the basic facilities that would facilitate the marketing activities of market women. The statistics in Appendix A confirm these findings when they show that 53.4% of the respondents complained about lack of one or more of the basic marketing facilities.

Table 2, Appendix D further indicates that of the 46 markets visited during the field investigation, only 19% of them have toilet facilities, 19% have water and 23% have light. It also shows that only 8.7% have both toilet and water facilities and only 15.2% have both light and water. Significantly, only 2 out of the 46 markets (4%) visited had storage facilities that were functional. On the other hand, none of the markets where interviews were carried out had all four of the identified basic marketing facilities to help improve women's marketing conditions. Considering that a marketing site is to a marketer what an office or factory is to an office or an industrial worker, it is reasonable to argue that the absence of toilet, light and water in the market places constitutes a serious case of poor working conditions and is likely to affect the general welfare of those concerned. In effect, it is clearly difficult if not impossible, to conceive of an office or a factory without the provision of most, if not all, of the above mentioned facilities. These facilities are necessary elements in the physical environment of workers. Their absence tends to affect, to a varying degree, workers' productivity.

For these reasons, and because of the knowledge that the improvement of the working conditions has a significant effect on workers' productivity and welfare, it may be contended that serious attention should be paid to the provision of essential facilities in the marketing places in Liberia.

Lack of Credit Facilities: Market women and most small scale business people in Liberia suffer from the fact that there are no clear guidelines and policies in almost all of the nation's financial and banking institutions' operations for the extension of credit and/or loan facilities. It is only quite recently that some guidelines and programs have been established by the newly created National Investment Commission to provide a limited amount of financial and technical assistance to small scale Liberian businesses and industries. According to reports from this government agency, the programs are now being implemented on a case by case basis so that they are not likely to reach the majority of Liberian traders, more especially, the market women. Furthermore, most of the criteria for the extension of the loan, credit and technical assistance programs are such that the great majority of the market women would not be eligible for the facilities.

From the study's inquiries, there was no instance where any of the usual credit or loan facilities provided by banking and other financial institutions was made available to marketers as defined in the work. This fact is sufficiently borne out by the study data which, as already noted, show that 86% of all the respondents to the

questionnaire had received their initial marketing capital from husband or relatives. The great majority of the remaining 14% received such capital from the sale of farm products with a few from friends (see Appendix A). It is revealing to note that a study on married market women in the city of Monrovia carried out in 1978 discovered the same trend when it indicated that over 80% of the married market women received their marketing capital from husbands and relatives. (Kaba:1978). It must be noted that Monrovia, the nation's capital city, is both the commercial and financial center of the country and that nearly all the banking and financial institutions are concentrated in that city.

The majority of the respondents, during group discussions, complained about the reluctance of Lebanese merchants to extend some credit facility to them.¹ Lebanese merchants insist on the cash payment relationship with professional market women or product exchange relationship with farmers/marketers from the village.

¹ The credit system described by Akerle in her 1979 study on the fishing industry in Liberia (between fish mames and depot owners) was found to be apparently no longer alive. (Akerle 1979).

The traditional "susu" system of credit and loan cooperative was found to be still alive among Liberian market women. However, the majority of the respondents claim not to belong a "susu" organization (58.5%). Most of those in this category blame their non-participation in a "susu" cooperative on the low level of their marketing capital and profit. Only the more prosperous marketers could participate in the "susu" organizations.

From these findings, it can be inferred that marketing capital constraint in any expanding money economy is adversely affecting one of the most truly African cooperative system. A further study is needed on this topic to evaluate the benefit of the "susu" system in a modernizing and developing economy.

Another factor that may be negatively affecting the "susu" system is the greater mobility of marketers and their increasing migratory movement towards bigger towns and cities. Urban living tends to impose on the migrants a different culture, normative and economic constraints which may be inconsistent with the preservation of the "susu" cooperative system. For this additional reason, "susu" may no longer be as strong or trusted as before among Liberian market women.

Lack of Adequate Storage Facilities:

A substantial number of market women interviewed are confined to the sale of perishable food commodities. This was revealed by the data since 71.9% of the sellers interviewed experienced produce spoilage. With time, perishable produce must either be processed for resale, in which case their sale value substantially decreases (fish, cassave, etc.), used for personal consumption (fresh pepper, cassave, etc.) or simply thrown away, in which case the seller gets out at a loss. These products get spoiled because essentially, there are no facilities and/or means to store and preserve them from spoiling.

Due to this point spoilage problem, a good number of women sellers end up making no profit at all or even losing their initial capital.

In order to help alleviate this problem of product spoilage, there is a need to bring in simple appropriate technology for the preservation of most, if not all, of the perishable food commodities that are produced and sold in the markets. When asked, most marketers stated that a cold storage or a refrigeration facility would be the single most important element in obtaining this result.

The five major constraints or problems mentioned above were invariably listed by the respondents during both group discussion and interviewing as the most important constraining factors on their marketing activities. Observation data, as shown in Table 2, Appendix D, confirm, to a great extent, these findings.

105

From the above analysis, it is clear that the five problem-area discussed are all interrelated and that they form the background elements for the definition of the inadequacies of the marketing conditions of Liberian women.

Development and planning agencies, in the light of these findings, should redefine their perception and subsequent definition of problems faced by market women as a definite category of workers/producers whose working environment (physical environment), needs for financial and technical resources and assistance etc. are as real and critical for development as those of any other category of workers/producers in the national economy, whether it is the category of office workers or that of industrial workers or that of the farmers.

In discussing the conditions of marketing, marketers indicated several other factors that inhibit their marketing activities. These factors are analysed below under the sub-title of Conditions of Marketing.

Conditions of Marketing: The group discussions carried out on the conditions of marketing during the fieldtrip provided the research team with an additional opportunity to identify other major problems faced by marketers. The discussions were all carried out on an informal basis and under varying conditions as will be briefly shown below.

In Buchanan (Grand Bassa County), the Mayor helped organized the meeting was held in the Central Administrative Building of the city. Similarly, the second group discussion held with market women in Sanniquellie (Nimba County) was also held in the Central Administrative Building. In Tchien (Grand Gedeh County), the Mayor's office was used. In the two latter cases, only the market women were present. Local government officials provided only the needed logistics (meeting place, time of the meeting and other necessary arrangements).

There were cases in which market women insisted on having the Commerce Ministry Price Inspector present to hear some of the complaints they had against their agency (Buchanan, Sanniquellie). In the case of the Monrovia General Market, the research team noted that the entire membership of the National Marketing Association was male although the great majority of cases brought before the Association and witnessed by the team involved mainly women engaged in the various forms of marketing.

Finally, however, the majority of the group discussions were held in the market places themselves (Foya, Robertsport, LAMCO, Sanniquellie, Tappita, Bong Mines, Fetura, Harbel, Harper, Duala market etc.). It was discovered, however, that holding a group discussion on the market ground presented some obvious problems and that this did not constitute the ideal way of investigating market women's roles and status in the marketing system. The women's attention was found to be concentrated on their products and this did not allow for systematic and an uninterrupted free interviewing

or discussion. The noise level in the market places is usually such that communication and interactions, other than for buying and selling, becomes impossible and often meaningless (for more detail on the methodology, see Appendix B).

Information from group discussions confirm, for the most part, the results of the analysis of the interview data. The discussions held during these meetings centered around two major issues that were found to be significantly related to market women's status and roles in the marketing system, namely, the issue of conditions of marketing, pertaining especially to the facilities/technologies available for improving these conditions and the issue of control over and participation in decisions that affect these conditions, especially decisions taken by central government agencies to regulate marketing activities (price control, quality control, sanitary control, choice of market sites, collection and use of daily/weekly or monthly marketing dues, etc.)

Prominent among the problems identified by professional market women in central, neighborhood and daily markets is the problem of price control. As already shown, market women complain that the Commerce Inspectors and other price control agents "arbitrarily" seize their marketing commodities and fine them \$15.00 (Monrovia) to \$40.00 (Buchanan, Sanniquelle) for selling above the government established retail price. Some women reported during the field investigation that once their goods were seized for retail price violation, they never put their "eyes" on them again, even if they paid the fines imposed on them by the Inspector.

In some cases, the women complained that the products seized from them were worth only a few dollars (\$10.00 or \$15.00) and that they were fined for more than the value of their total market. In such cases, they simply could not even pay the fine and therefore had to forfeit the repossession of their goods. Sometimes, the women reported, disputes and some ensuing clashes arise between price controllers and market women. These cases are referred to the Offices of Marketing Association.

According to the majority of the participants of the discussions, the price control system in operation now in the country's markets is seriously restricting the activities of sellers in the marketing system. The interview data also confirm this contention when they indicate that 69% of the market sellers interviewed believe that the Commerce Inspectors "Humbug" them, that is, molest them, whenever they (The Commerce Inspectors) feel that the price or the unit or measurement of the commodity displayed for sale is not adequate.

Both the interview data and the discussion information revealed that not all marketing commodities are subject to price control. Table 3, Appendix D, gives the list of the prices of some essential locally produced food commodities that are sold in the majority of the markets. Table 3 shows that there are minor differences between the counties in terms of the prices paid for some essential food items. This minor variation in local food prices from one county to another may be explained by the differences between the regions in the production of agricultural products, the method of production, the distance of the farms from the marketers, and the presence or

absence of foreign concessions.

Another striking finding from field observation, and confirmed by the interview data and group discussion informations, was the fact that the majority of the imported essential food commodities sold by market women (salt, bouillon cubes, cigarettes, tomato paste, soap, etc.), is not subject to Commerce Ministry price control as carried out by local price control inspectors and agents. The price of rice, a critical consumer commodity, is however strictly controlled whether imported or locally produced. Until very recently, the retail price of imported rice was subsidized by government.

The first question that comes to the mind with respect to controls imposed on the selling price of locally produced commodities is whether the imposition of such controls does not contradict government's free enterprise system policy and eliminate the incentives for increased production by farmers. It is clear however, that the main rationale behind the price control system is to insure that consumers are not overcharged in buying their needed food products. At this point, it may be suggested that the cost of production of local products be taken into account in determining the price at which they should be sold in the markets. This would help clarify the controversial issue of the control for these products.

On the line of the second major problem-area emerging from both group discussions and interview data, i.e., the problem of control over the conditions of work in the markets, market women across the

country are unanimous in reporting their helplessness in decisions taken by central and/or local government authorities to effect changes in their marketing conditions. Although marketing associations are supposed to exist and function in all the areas visited, the leaders and membership of these associations reported that they are hardly consulted when it comes to such important decisions as to the choice of a new market site, the type of facilities to be made available, the rate of the daily/weekly/monthly dues, etc.

The result of such situations is that, in some cases, market women are unable or unwilling to use some of the buildings erected for marketing from decisions taken by government authorities without sufficient knowledge on the marketing and related realities of the area. The Owensgrove market hall mentioned earlier is a case in point. In two other instances, women in Voinjama and in Bong Mines refused to use new market halls built for them without consultation. In the Voinjama's case, the research team was informed by marketers that the new market hall was built in an area frequented by "spirits" which throw bad luck on any marketing item displayed under the new hall so that it could not be sold. However, the team observed and noted that the new hall had only one access for customers as compared to the old ones which had four different accesses (one on each side) so that the latter could easily receive many more customers than the new hall. In addition to this fact, the two old market halls were more centrally located than the new one in terms of the flow of the buyers and the possibility of increased movement and interactions. At the time of the

///

investigation, both the Mayor's office and the local marketing association were using different means, including coercion, to convince the market women to use the new market hall. During the follow up trip (see Appenlix B) to Voinjama, it was observed that the number of sellers had substantially increased in the new hall. However, when asked about the quality of the new market, the overwhelming majority of the users voiced their preference for the old markets where goods were believed to be more accessible to buyers than in he new hall. The team even saw a tendency for more commodity prices to be lower in the new hall than in the old ones. It must be noted, however, that the new market had more facilities than the old one, i.e. separate areas for fish sellers, toilet facilities (not functional), fish stalls, etc. In all, the partitioning of the new market was much better made than that of the old one.

In Bong Mines, the Bong Mining Company had built two concrete market halls for the market women of the area. The partitioning of the halls were adequate and the major facilities were provided (toilets, storage, lights, water, etc.). However, the roof of one of the halls was so high that after 9/10 a.m. during the dry season, the greatest part of the area under the roof comes under the sun and it becomes too hot inside. During the raining season, more than half of the hall's floor area is flooded with water. This major technical error has been a major factor in discouraging market women from using this hall.

In view of the foregoing, one may suggest that the architecture of market halls reflect the needs and desires of the people for whom they are being built. The architectural design must also take into account the environmental realities of the area where the markets are being built. In the course of the field investigation, the newly built Kakata (Gibi Territory) market was identified as offering a new alternative for the provision of adequate marketing area and facilities to the increasing number of market sellers. Thus, it was observed that the halls of the Kakata market were built on a large site which can accommodate both short and long term expansion programs. The halls, further, were built in such a way as to shelter the marketers from the elements and at the same time insure the free flow of buyers from all sides. Essential facilities such as water, light and toilets were made available. The team noticed, however, that the storage facility had not been built. Of all the markets investigated during the study, the Kakata market, in the opinion of the research team, was the most appropriate in offering the types of facilities that are likely to help improve the marketing conditions of women as well as their status and roles.

From inquiries made at government agencies, it was learned that the construction of almost all Liberian market halls is the responsibility of the government (Mayoral offices). However, market women's associations also referred to as marketing associations often intervene to influence government decisions on the construction, expansion and/or renovation of market halls. These reports were confirmed during group discussions with marketers.

113

However, the implementation of government decisions on these activities depends more on plans and policies decided on in Monrovia than on the actual intervention of marketers, their needs or expectations.

Marketing associations, despite their low participation in decisions pertaining to the choice of market location, the size and other characteristics of the market sites, play important roles in the internal regulation of women's marketing activities and in the undertaking of projects on a self-help basis. The next section is a presentation of the roles played by marketing associations in the Liberian marketing system.

One of the respondents, during a group discussion in Lofa, stated that Marketing Associations are essential for the existence and survival of market women, because, she argued, the associations help them counteract many irregular, constraining and frustrating government regulations especially those of the local agencies of the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Transportation.

The frustration of these women vis-a-vis government agencies responsible for and/or intervening in marketing activities, especially in the interior, echoes the complaints made by the overwhelming majority of respondents. The responses to the questionnaire clearly attest to this fact when they indicate that 69% of the respondents have problems with the Ministry of Commerce price Inspectors stationed near the market places (see Appendix A).

114

According to information received from the field investigation, there are three hierarchies in the organization of marketing associations in Liberia. These are: the National Marketing Association, the local (county level) marketing Associations, and the market site (city/town level) marketing associations.

In almost all cases, these three different hierarchies of the marketing associations are in principle charged with the following duties: (a) collection of daily/weekly and/or monthly marketing as well as in many of the Monrovia neighborhood markets to ten cents in the Monrovia central markets. Lower marketing dues were collected from the village/weekly markets. In a few large daily markets, both daily and monthly dues payments were required of marketers (Foya, Voinjama, Yekepa, etc.). (b) the regular (often) daily cleaners were hired by the site marketing association and the dues collected were used to pay their salaries; and (c) the provision of watchman services to guard the markets against possible vandalism. Here however, village/weekly markets did not see the necessity to secure such services for their ground.

In some cases, though, the city government provided one or more of these services. The investigation further revealed that each hierarchy, in addition to the functions described above, also played other roles in its attempts to defend the interests of its members and in doing so, it develops different set of relationships with local and central government agencies. The following presentation gives some detail on the functions of each one of the hierarchies as revealed by the field data.

115

PART VII

ROLES OF MARKETING ASSOCIATION

The National Marketing Association: This national association is headquartered in the Monrovia General Market. Its main responsibility consists, in addition to duties mentioned earlier, of supervising the proper functioning of all public markets in the country with regards to regulations established by the Ministry of Local Government to govern activities connected to marketing in the cities. In this capacity, all local market site associations as well as the county level associations fall (in theory) under the jurisdiction of the National Marketing Association. In practice, however, the limited size of its staff and the complexity of the task at hand, both combine to prevent the national association from making any effective impact on the other hierarchies. In the end, it was observed that the all male administration of the General Market based association can barely solve the day to day routine problem brought to its attention by the various categories of market sellers of the sole General Market.

On the other hand, the city government of Monrovia which is supposed to regulate the city markets often enters into conflict with the National Marketing Association. According to most responses of market women during the group discussions in the markets, the National Marketing Association has little to offer them in terms of bringing relief to market women of both the General Market and the group of markets outside of Monrovia. The majority of the group discussions' participants claimed that the national association is of no help to them when it comes to getting the government to provide the sellers with sufficient and adequate facilities in the markets.

117

Discussions held with the leaders of the National Marketing Association indicated that the major policy decisions made government authorities (City Hall, Housing Authority, Ministry of Commerce, etc.) and pertaining to such things as the extension of market sites, the building of toilet, water, and light facilities etc. are usually reached and implemented without consultation with the association.

The above mentioned problems are prominent in making the national association a machinery which does not function in accordance with its mandate of helping to alleviate the constraints on marketers.

The local, county level, marketing associations play the important role of attempting to rally market sellers for the purpose of putting resources together in order to participate in the improvement of the marketing conditions. The field work showed that depending on the region, some associations were quite successful (Lofa, Nimba) while others were much less successful (Maryland, Cape Mount, Sinoe, Grand Gedeh, etc.) in their attempt to attain their objectives. A brief discussion on the functioning of these local associations will give an idea on their impact on the Liberian marketing system.

The Lofa County Marketing Association: The association is headquartered in Voinjama (capital of the county) with branches in Zorzor, Kolahum, Foya, etc. The Association leadership is all female but there is a male counterpart association which works hand

in hand with the women's organization. Decisions taken by women are implemented or brought to the attention of the local government authorities for action (Mayor's office). Conflicts between members of the association are first settled by the association before being referred to any judicial court.

As may be expected, the local marketing associations are most active in the regional or county capitals where they are headquartered. The Lofa County Marketing Association is thus quite enterprising in Voinjama City where the membership is currently involved in a motel or guest house construction project. During discussions held with the executive officers of the association, the research team was informed that a substantial amount of money had been raised over the years by the membership towards the implementation of the self-help project. This information was later confirmed by the office of the development Superintendent.

In Foya, an important agricultural and marketing center, the association was led by a very dynamic woman who was also quite active in local and interregional politics. In Kolahun, the association's local branch was actively participating in the market relocation project. The head of the Kolahun Marketing Association was also acting as the market price controller for the Ministry of Commerce. But this did not preclude the regular visits of the Commerce Ministry price Inspectors from Voinjama City to whom she must report irregularities in pricing priced by her counterparts market women. It is however, in such instances that market woman complain the least about harrassment from Commerce Ministry Inspectors.

119

The Nimba County Marketing Association: Of all the regional associations covered by the study, this one appears to be the most effective in terms of the structure of its organization and the level of influence it has on local government authorities as well as on its membership.

The association is headquartered in Sanniquellie, seat of the county capital, and is headed by another dynamic woman. It has an executive committee comprising of women representing the major ethnic affiliations engaged in marketing in Nimba County. Men who are mainly traders of imported dry goods (clothing, household wares, etc.) are also represented in the executive committee. The mayor of the city is an ex-officio member of the committee so also is the head of the Drivers' Union of Nimba County. The Association has strong and active branches in the major daily and weekly markets in Nimba County (Ganta, Tappita, Sacclepea, Karnplay, Gbinda, LAMCO, etc.). The members of the executive committee who are themselves professional market women constantly travel to these places to perform both marketing and association duties.

The Association's branches undertake projects to their own as well as participate in joint projects designed by the headquarter in Sanniquellie. Thus, two years ago in Tappita, the local branch of the Marketing Association undertook a rice mill project which was running during the time of the field work. The Association had requested a government assistance for funds to buy, install and run a rice mill to be located in the vicinity of the market. The

request was granted and the women themselves provided funds to build the shade and provided the budget for the managerial and operational activities of the mill. A governing board, composed of association members, was also set up to monitor the various operational phases of the project. The loan was to be paid in two to five years period; by the end of the second year of the loan, the principal of the loan had been repaid and the mill was still in a good running condition. The executive members of the governing board informed the research team that the profit derived from the operation was to be used to help provide other essential marketing facilities for the women of the market (toilet, light, water, and eventually a guest house).

In their own words, the participants in the project claimed that the operation is not only a success, but also represents a clear indication that women in the markets, if given the appropriate assistance by government and other aid agencies, are quite capable of managing their own affairs in consistence with their needs and aspirations.

The association had put in another loan request for a one truck transport project for the transportation of the paddy rice from the surrounding farms where roads exist to their rice mill. The second loan request had not materialized by the association was still looking for opportunities to put into realtities its new plan.

121

The foregoing represents a clear indication that marketing associations are significantly committed to designing and undertaking programs which, if implemented with the necessary assistance of government or private donors agencies, would, more likely than not, help to improve their marketing conditions and eventually lead to the kind of development that guarantees popular participation.

The other marketing association: with the exception of Grand Bassa County and Gibi Territory, and to a lesser degree Bomi Territory, marketing associations in the other counties and territories are much less active than those described above. This relative inactiveness of the associations in centers such as Grand Gedeh County, Maryland County, Sinoe County, etc., seems to be primarily dependent upon the relative low level of marketing in these counties and their relative isolation from the main market road networks in Liberia.

It must be noted, however, that as revealed by the data (see Appendix D, Table 2), marketing associations exist in all the counties and territories covered by the side (although not in all the markets) and this may be seen as an evidence of market women's commitment to organize themselves into bodies that would help identify their common needs and problems and subsequently try to find suitable solutions to same. This suggests that with the expansion of the marketing system in these regions, marketing associations would see their influence increased and would therefore

expand the scope of their activities and functions. In the light of these facts, it would seem reasonable that projects designed by or for these associations should claim the serious attention and possible assistance of planning and aid agencies. It is in these areas that aid given by donors agencies as well as government assistance are more likely to have a significant impact on the social and economic conditions of the people concerned.

The recognitions of this necessity by policy makers and planning agencies would seem to be the single most important step in providing market women with the needed assistance and the opportunity to partake meaningfully in decisions and actions affecting their social and economic activities in the development process.

In doing so, a greater attention should be paid to the many constraints faced by market women in their day to day work.

Further, because of the great potential offered by marketing associations for influencing government agencies for the provision of adequate facilities in the markets as well as the provision of a genuine leadership to market sellers, specific micro-studies on their composition, structure, and functions must be undertaken in order to gather useful information and data on the marketing system for development planning purposes.

The analyses made in the foregoing parts of this work have provided and identified the essential data and characteristics which present good picture of the roles played by market women in the food and related products distribution system as well as the role played by the food and consumer goods distribution system in the marketing system. From these descriptive data and analyses, it is possible to draw a profile of the Liberian woman in marketing. Such a profile is not presented as a mere generalization. It should be seen as a composite presentation, highlighting the main features or reliefs of Liberian women's roles, status and importance in the country's marketing system. It is a type of illustration from which discrete micro-studies could be derived for further investigation. This documentation, however, focuses on the presentation of useful indicators that are relevant to both planning and agencies and policy makers.

The following section deals with the profile of Liberian market woman. In examining the profile of Liberian women in marketing, it may be useful to present cases of the interviews carried out on Marketing activities during the field investigation. The cases were selected so as to represent the different regions of the Country.

P A R T V I I I
A P P O I L F O F L I B E R I A N M A R K E T W O M E N

125

LAMCO - YEKEPA AREA P MARKET

NIMBA COUNTY

MARKET WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE

RICE (IMPORTED) - WHOLESALE:

The rice in this market is bought from LPMC in Monrovia. It is transported to Ganta by large trucks that charge \$225.00 for every 160 - 170 bags of rice. This quantity is classified as a load. At the LPMC, a bag of rice is sold to the wholesaler at \$19.40. Upon reaching Yekepa, a bag of rice is sold at \$23.50. Buying is not restricted to any one group of people - rather to anyone who can afford \$23.50. Wholesalers of rice have to register with LPMC through Commerce. The fee charged is \$112.50 of which a receipt of \$100.00 is obtained.

PROBLEMS:

The owner of this large quantity of rice has to have enough petty cash to buy cigarette for most if not all of the officers at the various check points. Special emphasis was laid on Security Guards at the Free Port of Monrovia and those at the Ganta check point. You either have to give them the amount asked for or you will be detained; in the process some of your rice may get stolen or damaged.

RICE (LOCAL):

Much commercial rice farming is not done around this area. Those farmers that do this kind of farming are mostly subsidized by Lebanese merchants who collect the harvest and sell the bags of rice to Liberians at rates as high as \$35.00. The Commerce Inspector disregards the price of this commodity. Consumers either have to buy or leave it.

VOINJAMA CITY MARKET

LOFA COUNTY

MARKET WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE

RICE SELLER:

This seller gets her commodity from LPMC by bags of \$22.00 each plus a transportation cost of \$1.50 a bag. This product is then sold at 25¢ and 35¢ a cup - retail process (imported and local rice).

Spoilage occurs only when the bag gets torn and the rice wastes or gets wet.

All payments are done with cash. The price of the rice stays the same in all seasons. There is an increase in cost well as retail price in time of shortage on the market.

127

According to the seller, the Commerce Inspector controls prices without harassment.

In order to begin marketing, her husband gave her a certain amount. Although she was originally a farmer; this was not much a help for parents with five (5) children in school. Marketing then became the alternative. Since that time, it has been a very long time beginning in Monrovia and two (2) years now in Lofa County.

Like many of her mates, this woman is a member of a SUSU. She is Lorma and her age is not known.

She wants the Government to extend a line of credit for rice sellers from LPMC.

- Commerce Inspector controls price of cassava;
- Has (2) two daughters that go to school;
- Husband pays school fees;
- Kru
- Goes to night school in 1st grade;
- Wants transportation system, larger toilet;
- Husband works at the Port;
- No other activities;
- Self cooks with the help of the children;

GREEN SELLERS:

- Plants greens;
- Sells at 5¢ a bunch;
- Not a Member of SUSU;
- Plants greens on rented ground;
- (1) One child and (3) three grandchildren;
- Kru;
- Selling since (10-12) ten to twelve years;
- Wants market hall to be expanded;
- Does not want to go to school;
- Has no husband nor boyfriend - Husband died;
- Pays tuition and buys food with profit;
- Daughter-in-law cooks;
- No other business;

Palm oil seller:

- Buys from Kaloken
- Buys at \$3.00 dry season and \$5.00 rainy season
- sells at 25¢ dry season and 30¢ rainy season (stockton bottle);
- Buys with cash;
- Does not spoil;
- Commerce Inspector imposes price control;
- (8) Eight children all attending school;
- Self pays school fees;
- Husband died;
- Grebo;
- Wants public transport system;
- Wants all children to attend school;
- No other business activity - non functional farm;
- Is a member of Susu (\$1.00 weekly);

Banana seller:

- Buys from Kaloken;
- Buys at 3 for 5¢ - Plantain (4 for 20¢);
- Spoilage - when not sold throws away;
- Price does not vary - same price during all seasons;
- Is a member of a Susu (\$1.00 weekly);
- (6) six children - (3) three goes to school - (3) three small;
- Husband retired;
- Self pays school fees;
- wants Government to have Public transport system;
- No other business;
- Children cook after School;
- Grebo;
- Selling since long time;

HARPER MARKET - MARYLAND CO.

MARKET WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE

RICE SELLER:

- Buys from Lebanese merchants at \$24.00 and sells at 25¢ a cup;
- Buys with cash;
- Commerce put price on cup of rice;
- Sold kiss-me and got capital for market;
- Vai;
- No children but (9) nine of her brother's children in her charge;
- Wants Government to build storage, transport system, slaughterhouse and to expand market hall;
- Wants to go to school;
- All of the children living with her attend school;
- Has no husband;
- No other activity;
- Pays tuition, buys clothes, etc. with money;
- Saves in the Credit Union;
- Selling since long time;

CASSAVA SELLER:

- Buys from Gbenwan (weekly market) at 3 for 20¢ L/s;
3 for 10¢ S/s;
- Sells at 3 for 20¢ s/s;
3 for 30¢ L/s;
- Spoilage: Spoils when not sold. Stays for (3-4) three to four days;

FISH SELLER

- Buys from Fanti sellers - fresh - when not sold dries when almost spoiled;
- Buys at 40¢ a lb;
- Sells at 50¢ a lb (fresh) - Dire fish (45¢ a lb);
- Buys with cash;
- Member of SUSU (\$1.00 weekly);
- Want Government to employ her, give Public transport system Cold storage;
- Kru;
- (6) six children - (3) three attend school;
- Self pays tuition;
- Alone - not married;
- No other business;
- Self and children cook;

PEPPER SELLER (DRY) - GROUND NUTS:

- Buys from Ganta;
- Buys at \$180.00 a bag;
- Sells at \$1.25 per kankain;
- Pays \$10.00 + \$6.00 for transport groundpeas and pepper respectively;
- Transport fare - \$15.00 one way per person;
- Buys with Advance and extended credit facility;
- Pays duty - \$15.00 pepper a bag - \$12.00 ground peas;
- Price varies during seasons
 - Dry Season - \$220.00
 - Rainy Seasons - 180.00;
- Mandingo;
- (5) Five children - none go to school - help in market;
- Helps with Household budget;

132

PROBLEMS:

- Wants Market stalls and expanded market;
- Husband is a driver;
- No other Business activity;
- Self cooks;

FANTI COMMUNITY

- They are suffering because the Market is too small to expand their business;
- Many persons fish and have many boats;
- Catch fish irregularly;
- Only men go fishing;
- Men sell the fish;
- Women buy from men, dry and sell;
- Her children attend school;
- not married;

GBIDEH TULL - HEAD OF MARKET WOMEN ASSOCIATION

- Plenty members of Association;
- Does not pay to become member;
- All Market women are members;
- Been head of Marketing Association for (25) twenty five years;
- Tries to have meeting but it's hard;
- Wants Store-room, Transport System;

MR. WATKINGS: Employed as Market Supervisor by the Government

- Takes Market toll of 5¢ daily;
- Has (4) four Cleaners for Market;
- Cleans Market daily;
- People outside market shade pay toll;
- Dry goods seller pays \$1.50 monthly;
- 200 sellers;
- will as of now take care of parking;

134

PAYNESWARD MARKET - MONTSERRADO CO.

MARKET WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE

LOCATION OF MARKET:

The Paynesward Market is located opposite the Paynesward Supermarket on the main highway.

TYPE OF FACILITIES:

The Market has (2) two toilet facilities - (1) one for male and the other female. There is also a pump outside at the side of the building where Market Sellers can get water to drink. There are (3) three storage rooms for the sellers and a monthly fee of \$2.00 (Two Dollars) per person is paid (for those who use these rooms). There is no public garbage facility in this market and the city corp does not even assist in cleaning the garbage. As a result, the garbage is thrown over the fence in the swamp which is very close to the market. Cleaning outside is done by Robert Toe (Watchman) and inside by the women themselves.

AGE OF MARKET:

The Paynesward Market was built and dedicated in 1977, but was established had long before this date.

135

FREQUENCY OF MARKET:

The Market opens daily including Sundays. A fee of 5¢ (five cents) is paid by those inside the building and 10¢ (ten cents) by those in the front yard of the market.

NUMBER OF SELLERS:

There are 79 (Seventy nine) market tables in the Market place which accomodates an estimated number of (100) One hundred Sellers. The Sellers outside the market are estimated at (45-50) forty-five to fifty persons daily. One cannot quite estimate because these sellers are not stable. The total number of sellers is therefore estimated at (145 - 150) One hundred forty-five to one hundred and fifty a day.

COMMODITIES EXCHANGED:

All commodities listed on Schedule Number IC are sold in the Paynesward Market with the exception of cattle and poultry.

NUMBERS AND TYPES OF VEHICLES:

Vehicles serving this market do no stop at the front of the market. All vehicles have a spot at the Paynesward-Gardnersville junction where market sellers would meet them and buy whatever goods they

136

want. These vehicles include Pick-ups and Trucks that head from the direction of Kakata. The second stop of the vehicles is now at the Rally-Time Market or the General Market.

PRESENCE OF MARKETING ASSOCIATION:

There has for a long time been a Paynesward Marketing Association led by Miss Mary Gay who is paid by the City Government. Miss Gay is charged with the responsibility of collecting the daily toll of 5¢ and 10¢ from the market sellers on a monthly basis. This money is then reported to the City Government.

Miss Mary Gay acts as Judge in all cases from the Market place among sellers. These cases are called at the Town hall.

POPULATION SERVED:

The Paynesville market serves approximately (1,000 to 2,000) One Thousand to Two Thousand persons. This number include those living in Paynesward, Congotown and ELWA.

GBARNGA MARKETS - BONG COUNTY
MARKET WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE

Rev. K. Borsay Nyoma, the City Mayor of Gbarnga, was interviewed on Government regulations and policies pertaining to the licensing of market women.

Gbarnga has only one public market. The Government has neither regulations nor policies for licensing market sellers (both retailers and wholesalers or local produces) but the City Corporation is responsible for collecting market dues which is about 5¢ (Five cents) and 10¢ (Ten cents) per day and pertaining the market place. Sellers who sit within the market hall pay 10¢ (ten cents) while those who sell outside and on the ground pay 5¢ (Five cents).

The money collected is used for cleaning the market place, buying fuel oil and entertaining Guests. There are Government regulations concerning the establishment and building of a market hall and such is the responsibility of the City Corporation of Gbarnga. However, these regulations do not pertain to market sellers.

The lack of storage facilities and the absence of set tariffs for transporting commodities from local village markets to Gbarnga are few of the numerous problems faced by the women.

The only commodity which is being affected by price control is imported rice otherwise no such price control exists in the Gbarnga Market, because the prices of commodities depend on the wholesale price of the produces and the port cost.

THE MARKET:

The market is a concrete built hall with several surround in plank tables. Within the hall, the tables arranged at random. Gbarnga market is located between Junction and Progressive Streets. The Police Station is just adjacent to the market. There is one (1) three (3) rooms toilet house, one (1) butchery shop and (1) one slaughter house.

The market has been in existence since 1983 when Mr. Oscar Gray, the Commissioner, ordered that all market sellers from neighboring towns and villages should gathered on Saturday in Gbarnga (the present market place) to exchange produces. Sellers are present throughout the week including Sunday in Gbarnga market. The major function of this market is to exchange commodities between sellers and buyers.

The number of sellers was estimated at (600) six hundred persons by Mr. Nyomo, the City Mayor. This estimation was based on the number of tickets sold per day. With the exception of few commodities, all commodities listed in the market study are exchanged in the market.

The number of sellers was estimated at (600) six hundred persons by Mr. Nyomo, the City Mayor. This estimation was based on the number of tickets sold per day. With the exception of few commodities, all commodities listed in the market study are exchanged in the market.

The number of vehicles serving the Market is unknown and usually these pick-ups and trucks leave Gbarnga on market days of villages

such as Gbechon, Boltota, Douata, Gbeniquelleh, Gbosta, Gbonota, Suakoko, Zeonzue, Kolila, Folobla, Yolota (meat market), Jorwa (near the border of Guinea), Finutey (Meat market), Palala and so on and back to Gbarnga. Sometimes from Gbarnga some vehicles travel to Monrovia.

COMMODITIES:

Excluding imported goods such as Maggi cubes, sugar, soap, cigarettes, pig feet, imported rice, etc. nearly all market sellers in Gbarnga market know where and who produced local commodities listed in the marketing study.

These commodities, local rice, pepper, cassava, onions, okra, plantain, etc. are all produced on farms of the above mentioned villages by local farmers. Some market women purchase their goods from farmers and village market sellers while others get theirs from wholesalers who come in pick-ups or trucks from surrounding villages. Snails, coconut oil, crayfish, cold water and fresh ocean fish are not popular in the market. Women traders get pig's feet, frozen and dried fish, maggi cubes, sugar, soap, cigarettes, onions, imported tomatoes either from Lebanese traders in Gbarnga Town or Monrovia. Imported rice is purchased from LPMC.

The commodities of Schedule are available wholesale on the markets days of nearby villages and can be purchase by bag or kenjay and daily on retail basis: The transport costs of commodities bought

outside Gbarnga fall with in the range of 25¢ (twenty five cents) to \$9.50 (Nine Dollars fifty cents).

Cow meat was found to have the highest transport cost because the cows are usually purchased in Mali and transported by way of the Ivory Coast to Sanniquellie which cost about \$600.00 (Six Hundred Dollars).

From Sanniquellie to Gbarnga is \$140.00 (One Hundred Forty Dollars) transport cost. Sometimes produce such as EGGPLANT, CHARCOAL, CASSAVE LEAVES, POTATOES, GREENS, PLATO, PALM KERNEL OIL, COLA NUTS, BEANS AND ROASTED GROUNDNUTS ARE TRANSPORTED ON head to the market.

With the exception of rice, imported tomatoes, groundnuts, palm oil, palm kernel oil, oranges, chicken, pig's feet and greens all other commodities listed in the study are sold by piles.

The exceptions mentioned are sold by cup (such as rice, and groundnuts), by bunches (greens), in bottles (palm oil and palm kernel oil) and single (pig's feet, chicken and oranges).

MARKET WOMEN:

All the sellers interviewed in Gbarnga market reported that they pay cash always for the bulk producers. Only the women who sold cassava said that she got the cassava from her farm. The woman travel to Ganta, surrounding villages or stay in Gbarnga on market days to purchase goods.

141

Since sellers get most of their commodities from villages, Lebanese traders and farms, they usually purchase as much as they can afford without any restrictions. Moreover, they buy from various wholesalers and retailers. Most of them complained about the high transport dirvers. Only market women selling pig's feet, frozen fish, dried meat and groundnut did not grumbled about spoilage sometimes during transit (especially with pepper, cassava, etc.) and the rest when not sold.

The seasonality of the prices and quantities of commodities depends solely on the availability of these produces. When commodities are scarce prices go up and quantities are small, vice versa. Dried meat, chicken and pig's feet experiences fluctuations inprice but not quantity. And also the size of the piles or bunches are left to the discretion of the serllers which depends on the wholesale price of the commodities.

People in Gbarnga are in favor of price control and they also advised that the Government of Liberia should control Lebanese merchants and the local wholesalers prices. Most of the market sellers could not answer the question "Which commodities are best to sell? Why?"many said that they do not know because they have not "try" other commodities. Theose who answered the question said that rice, pig's feet, cola-nuts and onions are the best of sell because Consumers buy them often.

142

The Market women advised that if a person wants to start marketing, she must first be taught by an experienced seller and the cola nut seller said that such person must not listen to the abuses of the buyers. Secondly, the person should "try" many commodities so as to see which commodity is more profitable and she should get her own stall and sell in any market. Female children help their mothers in marketing by assisting in selling and bringing commodities to the market place.

There is no credit association and most of the sellers belong to the Kpelle and Mandingo ethnic groups. Market women have been selling in Gbarnga market from about (1) one year to more than ten (10) years and the major benefits accrued by them from marketing are transportation and spoilage problems and supporting children, relatives buy food and helping husbands respectively.

The majority of the sellers got into marketing either through the advice of their parents or relatives or through their own initiative. The women selling potatoes greens declared that she has to make market because her husband has been transferred to Sanjay farm.

To improve the market, many suggested an expansion of the present one with spaces between the tables to allow easy passage of buyers. Warehouse, flush toilets, pumps, laundry, etc. were some wanted facilities enumerated by the sellers. The only help they want from Government is to establish a sort of banking association where market women can credit money and pay back at a specified time.

143

An interesting aspect of the study is that most of the women do not want their daughters to continue in marketing. Since they manifested that knowing numbers would prevent them from being cheated by buyers, sending their daughters to school would also help them become better business women.

Most of the women learned marketing through their own efforts or were taught by their parents or relatives and the majority only depend on their marketing for subsistence. With only a few exceptions, the women in the Gbarnga market decide on how to spend the profit derived from their marketing. Women are assisted by daughters, mothers and other relatives in doing domestic chores.

* On the market women questionnaire, rice, cassava, pepper, potatoes greens, dried meat, pig's feet, groundnuts, palnuts, Bananas, palm oil, frozen fish and fufu sellers were interviewed.

GENERAL MARKET (WATERSIDE) AND
RALLY TIME MARKET
MARKET WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE

Some of the Commodities investigated are: Cassava, pepper, greens, bananas, oranges, meat, pig feet, crayfish, cold water fish, fufu, etc.

Usually traders buy bulk produce at various designations and are sold at various prices. The traders always make down payment with the exception of pig-feet which can sometimes be credited from Lebanese merchants. As for that of cold water fish, they are not bought in bulk because they are always in retail quantity. This is also with crayfish.

Most of these commodities are distributed on trucks in accordance to what one can afford to buy and there is nobody to determine this distribution. It is also not a routine procedure to always buy from the same truck or driver.

The problems of spoilage affects every commodity except pig-feet. During transit it affects Cassava, pepper, greens, oranges and fresh meat especially and also when not sold. Other losses could only occur when such commodities are stolen or auctioned by government officials.

There is a regular customers relationship between the wholesalers and retailers but this relationship is not regular with the transport drivers because most transport drivers do not have a fixed designation for travel. The relationship that exist between the wholesalers and the retailers are based on selling and buying commodities at a discount price.

It is very unusual for a market women to inquire for the owner of the transport vehicle.

There is no seasonal differences in the prices of these commodities but quantity can be changed whenever such commodities are scarce on the market.

In most cases, the market women decide on the size of the piles or bunches of their commodities against the background of the capital invested in the business and the principal used to purchase the commodities form the wholesalers.

Price controls are not always satisfactory, which is one of the major cries of the consumers.

Every commodities are best to sell if only they are in demands and can be bought by the Consumers. This is consensual affirmation of almost all market women. However, others go on to say that there is no profit in marketing now-a-day.

Both imported rice and local rice are better to sell. The only problem is that the local rice is sufficient on the market and as a result of its scarcity, and demands, the container for measuring the local rice is smaller than the container for measuring imported rice. Usually If a woman wants to start marketing, she begins with a single commodity at a time and she gets a stall by registering her name with the Marketing Association if any or by associating with friends or relatives who are already selling in the market. In Monrovia, any market would be better to start off with especially when the market is nearer to the Seller.

There is no best market in Monrovia. Whatever market that people buy from is considered the best.

Some women have children to help them in making their market but majority do not have children to help in their marketing. Those that have children to help in their marketing. Those that have children help them to transport their commodities at the market site and they sometimes help in doing the selling too.

If the children are not available, the market women some times pay "WHO WANT WORK" to transport their commodities for payment at the market site. This also goes with those who do not have children to help them.

There is no crediting association except for SUSU and the number of members varies and so also with the amount to be paid.

Men sell cucumbers and lettuce principally because most of the consumers are Lebanese people who do not usually go to the public market to buy except for on the roadside markets and also to Supermarkets. Many women do not have the time to go around stores and Supermarkets to sell them commodities.

The major problems in marketing are:

1. Transportation fare which is very high;
2. Problem of marketing space and facilities;
3. Lack of sufficient funds to expand the marketing commodities.

The only benefit in marketing for the Market women is to help subsidize the home and to carry out their expenses for those who have husbands. It is also the only means of support when the husband is not on job or when there is no husband.

Knowing how to read numbers would not be of substantial benefit to the market women. Government should build additional markets or renovate those that have already been built and supply them with modern facilities.

Therefore, going to school after leaving the market would mean an additional burden to most of the market women. One major reason is that most of the market women are able to count in their local dialects or even to count in English.

To improve marketing in Liberia, Government will have to initiate a crediting Association or Union form which the market women would be able to obtain money in order to expand their businesses under guarantee. The Government should also be able to provide transports for market women on the major highways and at a specified time.

If the Market is to be expanded the facilities that are needed would include:

Clinic or dispensary;

Pipe water;

Toilet facilities;

Parking lots;

Warehouses for storing both perishable goods and dried goods;

Possibly a school which idea is not shared by all market women.

The arrangement of selling tables could still remain the same especially with the ones at the Rally Time Market. The only requirements could be that the tables should be sufficient in order to accomodate all of the sellers at the particular market site so that one market seller cannot block the buyers way to the table of another seller.

Knowing how to read numbers in order to be accurate in marketing is not wholeheartedly welcomed by the market women.

Almost all of the market women want their children to go to school rather than coming back to the market to sell as they are doing except for those who do not have children, some of those who are very young and less responsibilities in the home and who still feel that they can be matriculated.

Most of the market women have a host of children or relatives children staying with them in the house. Another peculiar thing about the market women is that some of them have been married and divorced or separated but they still carry with them the children of the former husbands. Very few of them are widows and barely none that is not married or has not been married.

In most areas the market woman is that head of the household. However, there exist some exceptions.

Generally, only the husband earn money in the home beside the market woman whenever the husband is on job. There are only few exceptions wherein some members beside the husband earn money for the home.

Some women learn to make market by themselves and others were reared by parents or relatives who were already in marketing. Certain people choose single commodity because of the absence of funds or lack the experience to make market.

Many persons choose certain markets because these markets are nearer to them and therefore give them less transportation cost to reach the market site. Usually the selection of commodities sold at the markets varies with individuals and time. With regards to the first market chosen, this also varies with individual and place of residence.

Most of the market women do not have outside the salary of their husbands if he is on job. Not-with-standing, few of the women own a house with their husbands and some are under rent. Others have some parcel of land to build upon but none have a truck or a farm.

In many instances, the money gained from marketing is being used to support the home, children and whenever sufficient to help the husband to buy a land for the construction of a house.

In many cases, the husband and wife decide on how the money generated from the market should be spent. Some women decide for themselves especially those that do not have husbands.

Majority of the market women cook for their homes except for those that have bigger children or relatives or where there exist more than one wife to the husband; This also goes with domestic chores and the caring of children.

Comments:

There is no major differences between the market women at the General Market (Waterside) and the Market women at Rally Time Market. The only difference is that the market women are better organized than those at the General Market and also in terms of facilities provided. Another one is that most of the market women at the Rally Time Market obtain their goods at the General Market where the trucks come with goods.

Key Informants at the Rally Time Market:

1. Manley Leo, from Lofa County

Age: 49

Selling greens for about (15) fifteen years, has gotten an acre of land and plans to build a house and to be named "Green House".

2. Elizabeth Hoff, from Putu, Grand Gedeh County

Age: Unknown

Selling fish for ten (10) years

3. Cecelia Brent, from Grand Cess, Kru

Age: 48

Selling Fufu and cassava for (15) fifteen years

152

4. Elizabeth Ashare - Kru
Age: Not known
Commerce Supervisor
Sells bananas, pineapple

5. Mamy Barker

Key Informants at the General Market

1. Jeanet Massaquoi - Bong Company-Kpell
Age: Not known
Selling: Cassava from childhood
2. Willie Yarwor - Lofa Company - Kissi
Age: Not known
Selling: Pepper, greens, bitter balls, etc.
3. Annie Sando - Cape Mount - Dey
Age: Not known
Selling: Plantains and Bananas
4. Mr. Mohamed Sheriff
Age: Not known
Former Superintendent General Market

152

MARKET WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE

ZWEDRU MARKET

GRAND GEDEH COUNTY

RICE SELLER:

The rice seller in this market has a farm of her own and additionally sells rice bought from Lebanese Merchants. This rice is made by herself, husband and paid workers. The farm is at a \$2.00 distance from the market. She has to pay her own plus a fare for each bage of rice during the mid-dry and the dry seasons. Although, rice supply is limited during the rainy seasons, it is still sold at the price of 25¢ and 20¢ per cup of imported and local rice respectively.

Rice gets spoiled when wet or during storage before or after selling. Commerce Inspectors harrasses her at a time when rice is scarce and local rice is sold at 25¢ instead of 20¢. He insists that the price be reduced to 20¢ as when supply is high.

Because the citizenry prefers the locally produced rice, the seller sells it more often and makes more profit from it.

154

The initial capital for this market was given to the seller by her husband who is a Masoner. Together, they have eight (8) children, five (5) of whom are old enough and attending school. The other three (3) are small and are not yet of school age. Some of the children help in market after school hours.

The Seller is a Krahn and a member of a Susu. She has been selling for a long time in the market and wants Government to build a market hall, toilets and provide drinking water. She does not want to go to school but wants all of her children to be educated. She has no other business except a farm. Profit generated from market is used to pay workers, children school fees and assist in household budget. She cooks her on food after selling.

FUFU SELLER:

This seller has her own Cassava farm. The farm is at a \$2.50 distance away from the market. Fufu is available all year round and is sold at a fixed price of 25¢ a ball.

The Fufu does not spoil, but the cassava with which it is made can get spoiled easily when not attended to.

The Commerce Inspectors sometimes demand an increase in the size of the Fufu Balls, even though getting the cassava is sometimes hard - that is, during the rains.

The seller is a Krahn and is a Member of a SuSu. Her husband is a Soldier and together they have four (4) children. She wants all of her children to be educated and and is also willing to to school. She has not other business activity a part from the cassava farm.

With profit from the market, woerkers on the farm are paid, tuition for the children are paid and she is also building a house.

Her female children cooks.

CASSAVA SELLER:

The Cassava seller has her own Cassava farm. The farm is in a walking distance. She sells the cassava five or four pieces for 25¢ a pile. The cassava is available all year round and is sold at the same price.

After a long period of cassava not being sold, they can either be peeled and dried, made into farina or thrown away.

The Commerce Inspector, as with all other sellers, instructs price reduction after an arbitrary increase in same.

She is a Lorma mother of two children who are capable of helping her in the market. She has never been a member of Susu. She would like to become a member of one if the opportunity shows itself.

156

She got into marketing from farming, and uses profit now to help in household maintenance.

She would like the Government to expand the market by building shades and stalls, etc.

Her husband is a farmer and works on the farm along with father, self and other relatives.

She would like to have all of her children educated and would also like to go to school.

She has no other business activity. Her small sister cooks.

FISH SELLER:

This seller gets her fish from Cold Storage. The fish gets spoiled at \$33.00 L/S and \$23.00 S/S. The fish then is sold at various prices on the retail market.

157

There is no problem with the cold storage man and the Commerce Inspector. The only problem is with the Sanitary Inspector in charge of spoiled goods. Sometimes when the fish starts to smell, she is told not to sell it but rather dry it or throw it away.

There are about (15) fifteen Fish Mammies in Zwedru and they all get fish every morning without problems.

She is a Krahn - a mother of nine (9) children, all of whom are attending school. As for herself, she started school before but could not continue because of excessive hard work.

Her husband is a former Supervisor of Schools but is now retired. She has as other business, one house rented out and a farm at a \$1.50 distance. With profit, from the market and farm, she pays workers on the farm and tuition for her children. She cooks after marketing.

She wants Government to reduce the price of fish, expand the Cold Storage and build more market shades.

PEPPER SELLER:

This seller has a pepper farm of her own. The farm is at a \$2.00 distance. She works on the farm after her produce is sold out. Pepper gets spoiled when not sold especially during the dry season. The heat is a detrimental factor. The pepper is available in all seasons. There is a difference in the price between the two seasons.

The Commerce Inspector does not harrass her because her price is good. She is a Mandingo mother of five (5) children - none of whom goes to school. One is sick, two are drivers and two are small. Therefore, none can help her in the market.

She is not a member of a SUSU. She would not like to go to school but rather her children. Her oldest son's wife does the cooking.

Her husband died and therefore has no other business activity except the pepper and bitterball farm that is used to finance the household.

OIL SELLER:

The oil seller buys the oil around town or sometimes in the market from people who make it themselves. She buys it at \$200.00 for a 200 gallon drum. The oil does not spoil, only it gets wasted at time. All of such oil come from Ganta.

The price of oil varies during the rainy and dry seasons. During the rains, it is higher due to an increase in transportation fares which is also due to the bad condition of the road.

She is a Mandingo mother of (2) two children.

She is a member of a Susu. To start her market, she had to credit. Her husband is also a market seller.

She would like to have her two (2) daughters attend school and would also like to attend school herself if she had the opportunity.

She has no other business activity and cooks herself.

HEAD OF MARKETING ASSOCIATION:

This marketing association started long ago before "SHE CAME INTO PLAY". She does not know the number of members in the Association. She considers every market woman a member. There is no membership fee. Only fee paid is the daily toll of 5¢.

The head of the marketing association also acts as Marketing Supervisor and is therefore hired by Commerce. Her two (2) other Vice Presidents also help to supervise the Market in and out of her presence and she therefore wants Government to compensate them.

There is a normal relationship between the Mayor's office and the Marketing Association. All problems are easily resolved with the assistance of the Mayor.

She would like the Government to provide them with transportation or transportation fare. She also wants a better market with all the facilities any market should have.

The foregoing discussions, analyses and presentation on women's roles, status, and importance in the Liberian marketing system have presented the main framework within which it is possible to draw the essential features or a profile of Liberian women in marketing.

160

As explained in the methodological section of this work (See Appendix B), observational and key informants' inquiries were supplemented by a direct interviewing of market women themselves with a semi-structure questionnaire. This interview method was used to insure women's involvement in the process of identifying the factors that appear to affect their work conditions. One hundred forty five women were selected from 25 of the 46 markets visited by the team and these women were submitted to the open-ended questionnaire.

It must be noted however that the data obtained from the interviewin has some inherent limitations. First, the sample of women interviewed is not representative of the population studied, it is therefore doubtful whether any generalizations could be made on findings derived from such a sample.

Second non-sampled questionnaire forms are not designed for systematic statistical analysis. They are designed to provide qwualitative infomation on the population studied.

Despite these limitations, the market women questionnaire was designed in such a way that by using the method of restructuring the question, an given the specific nature of the study it was possible to profitably incorporate a method of analysis within data collected with a semi-structured instrument (See Methodology for more detail on the methods of data collection and analysis).

161

The statistical presentation of these data are displayed in Appendix "A" to portray the profile of Liberian women in marketing. These findings were supported by informational and field discussions data. It is useful to bear in mind the above mentioned limitations while examining the following profile of Liberian Market Women.

A PROFILE OF LIBERIAN MARKET WOMEN

From the study data, the following profile of women emerges:

A Liberian market women, according to the study results is more likely to:

- a. be married (76.3 percent) than not;
- b. have received her initial marketing capital from her husband and/or relatives (86.8 percent) than not;
- c. receive no help from children in marketing (55 percent);
- d. have received no formal Western type of education, strive for some form of Western type of education for both male and female children, be making too little profit in marketing;

e. suffer from:

- 1) non-participation indecisions pertaining to marketing;
and
- 2) lack of necessary facilities/technologies that would
facilitate marketing activities;

f. to be almost exclusively confined the sale of perishable
food commodities (71%); and

g. to be increasingly specializing in marketing at the expense
of the dual career of farmers and marketers.

The findings further show that for most Liberian, especially in the areas outside of Monrovia, marketing represents one of the most important avenues to enter, on an informal basis, the modern cash economy while moving out of the subsistence economy.

The findings provide useful insights on the direct shift of women's labor from the primary sector or economic production (agriculture) into the tertiary sector (trade and service) with no significant female labor input into the secondary sector of industry and transportation. During the field observations, a few women were seen processing some food items; however, this was done at a marginal level and, for the most part, only when food commodities were not sold and had to be processed for resale or used as family

food to prevent spoilage. In this respect, the data analysis shows that 39% of women experiencing product spoilage, reprocess their product for sale or personal consumption. The occurrence of this was found to be highest among fish, greens, and cassava sellers. The unsold fish must be dried for resale at generally a lower price. The unsold greens and cassava, on the other hand, were generally used for family food.

The foregoing suggests that (1) the retailing and selling of locally produced agricultural and imported processed food commodities are one of the major ways in which Liberian women participate in the modern money economy, (2) that the number of women who elect to specialize in the various forms of marketing is increasing at the expense of women farmers although the number of women farmers is still much larger than that of market women, (3) that the increased participation of women in the food distribution and the marketing systems are not being followed by any significant improvement of their marketing conditions, their participation in decisions affecting their marketing roles and status, and the choice of their national leaders in Monrovia. As a result, in many cases, most market places lack the basic facilities, or have inadequate ones, to cater to some of the basic needs of market women. (see Table 2, Appendix D).

While these facts were observed and documented in all the areas covered by the study, there exist regional variations which, in many

164

cases, overlap geographic and ethnic differentiations. Due to the general nature of the present study, no detail investigation could be done on these differentiations and variations. It was only possible to make an outline presentation on these variations. Special macro-studies and investigations are recommended on these important issues to provide a deeper insight on the functioning of the marketing system at the lower levels of marketing activities.

PART IX
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

166

C O N C L U S I O N S :

The direct conclusions to be derived from the present study are the following:

1. Women play crucial and determining roles in the food distribution and the marketing system in Liberia;
2. In playing these roles, women have come to control the food distribution system through which a large quantity and wide variety of both locally produced and imported foods commodities are quite efficiently distributed to the various groups in society, irrespective of their residential, social and economic status, and the period of the year;
3. Despite their control over and the importance of their roles in the food distribution system, women seem to continue to experience a deterioration in their marketing conditions relative to the general socio-economic development rate of the economy. This is best measured by the level and the diversity of constraints imposed upon their marketing and related conditions and the lack of essential marketing facilities.
4. The provision of adequate socio-economic parameters on women as a neglected group in society could prove to be the single most important step in helping to alleviate these constraints by appropriately indentifying priority areas where development reoursces could be directed to correct the biases in developoment plans and policies against women.

167

Men and women, through the domestic system, engage in various productive activities and obtain as a result, definite statuses. We need basic information on roles played by the different groups, the circumstances under which they perform these roles in order to adequately design alternatives ways of improving on both the conditions and the circumstances under which the roles are performed so as to ameliorate people's status.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY:

The results of the study suggest two (2) major implications which have direct ramifications for development planning and policy making:

FIRST: To recognize that development plans that ignore the importance of women's roles in socio-economic production in Third World Countries do miss their expected goals and objectives because the resource base of the society is basically misoriented and unequally distributed with a minority increasingly accumulating the wealth in its hands and the poor including the women, being overlooked and neglected in the process of development.

SECOND: That the involvement of women in the development process is not to be divorced from that of men's since in the Third World Countries men and women, in the process of social and economic production, are inextricably enmeshed into the domestic group which forms the basis of the social organization or production.

168

RECOMMENDATIONS:

On the basis of the study findings, two important recommendations may be made for immediate implementation by planning and development Agencies:

FIRST: The initiation and implementation of plans for the establishment of Financial Institutions, possibly in the form of Cooperatives, for the lending of adequate amounts of funds to marketeers as a way to, first increase their marketing capital, and second, establish their independence from the men (husbands, brothers, etc.) in acquiring their working capital. The loan and credit facilities to be extended to Market women should be tailored to their needs - i.e. being in line with the roles they play in the marketing system and the types of markets they sell in. Such programs already exist at the National Investment Commission. The NIC Programs could be extended to areas outside of Monrovia and redesigned to meet the needs of market women in capital acquisition and expansion.

The establishment of such financial institutions near the major marketing centers in the Country will also provide both local marketers and marketing Associations with the opportunity to receive needed credit and loan facilities to increase their marketing capabilities and implement their various mini-investment (such as in Tappita) and self-help projects.

Along with the Government programs at NIC, private Banking and Financial Institutions should be made to realize that market women constitute an important and significant socio-economic group in the Country's economy that needs to be considered in their loans and credits programs. In order to sensitize them of this necessity, results of studies such as this should be widely circulated to them along with Government's support for programs designed for this particular group in Society.

SECOND: The price control system should be revised in such a manner as to let the offer and demand mechanism operates as much as possible as the official economic system of a free enterprise system. Deregulating the price of locally produced food commodities may constitute important incentive for the Farmer to increase his output and prevent a situation in which the Farmer/Producer and also to some extent the marketer are subsidizing the price paid by the non-farming town/city dwellers for their various food items.

For the most important imported food commodity, rice, the Government has to subsidize the price for the same non-farming growing urban populations of Monrovia and later increasingly outside Monrovia.

The case of the imported non-food commodities which are mainly in the hands of men must be the object of further studies before an adequate recommendation could be made as to the revision of the current price control system applied to them.

The implementation of both or either of these two recommendations will have both immediate and long range noticeable effects on market women's conditions of work and status. The immediate effects will be an increased monetary circulation in the marketing system, therefore a further involvement of rural women into the money economy. This in turn may affect the supply of critical food commodities on the markets.

The long range effects pertain to the possibility of professional women breaking into the small-scale business area where training and higher profits are possible.

DISCRETE STUDIES:

The present work has provided a broad view or picture of the roles played by Liberian market women in the food distribution and the marketing systems. It has indicated the main reliefs of women's participation or non-participation in this area of the Country's economic development.

The next step, on the basis of the study's objective and recommendations, would be the identification of one or more discrete micro-studies to enable planning and development Agencies to design plans an/or policies for implementation.

As suggested by the two recommendations made above, it would seem appropriate at this point to undertake a detail study of the

171

marketing capital acquisition, formation and expansion by market women and analyze the possible constraints that such means impose on women's roles and status. Such a study will permit the identification of alternative ways of providing women with their initial capital establish for them an independent source of working capital and/or capital expansion.

Another micro-study could be designed, through direct experimentation to study the effects of the current price control system on the supply of some essential locally produced foodstuffs. Experimentally, a few areas of the marketing sytem may be declared "NO PRICE CONTROL" on those foods. Comparisons could be made with the other areas under price control.

Many other topics deserve detail studies but, due to obvious limitation of time and funds, these must be carried out through phases. Each phase enlightening more on the manners to go about doing the research. It is through such a stepwise progression that we are likely to increase substantially our scientific knowledge over our environment for a better control over it.

SIMPLE STATISTICAL COMPILATION OF VARIABLES
ON MARKET WOMEN'S QUESTIONNAIRE

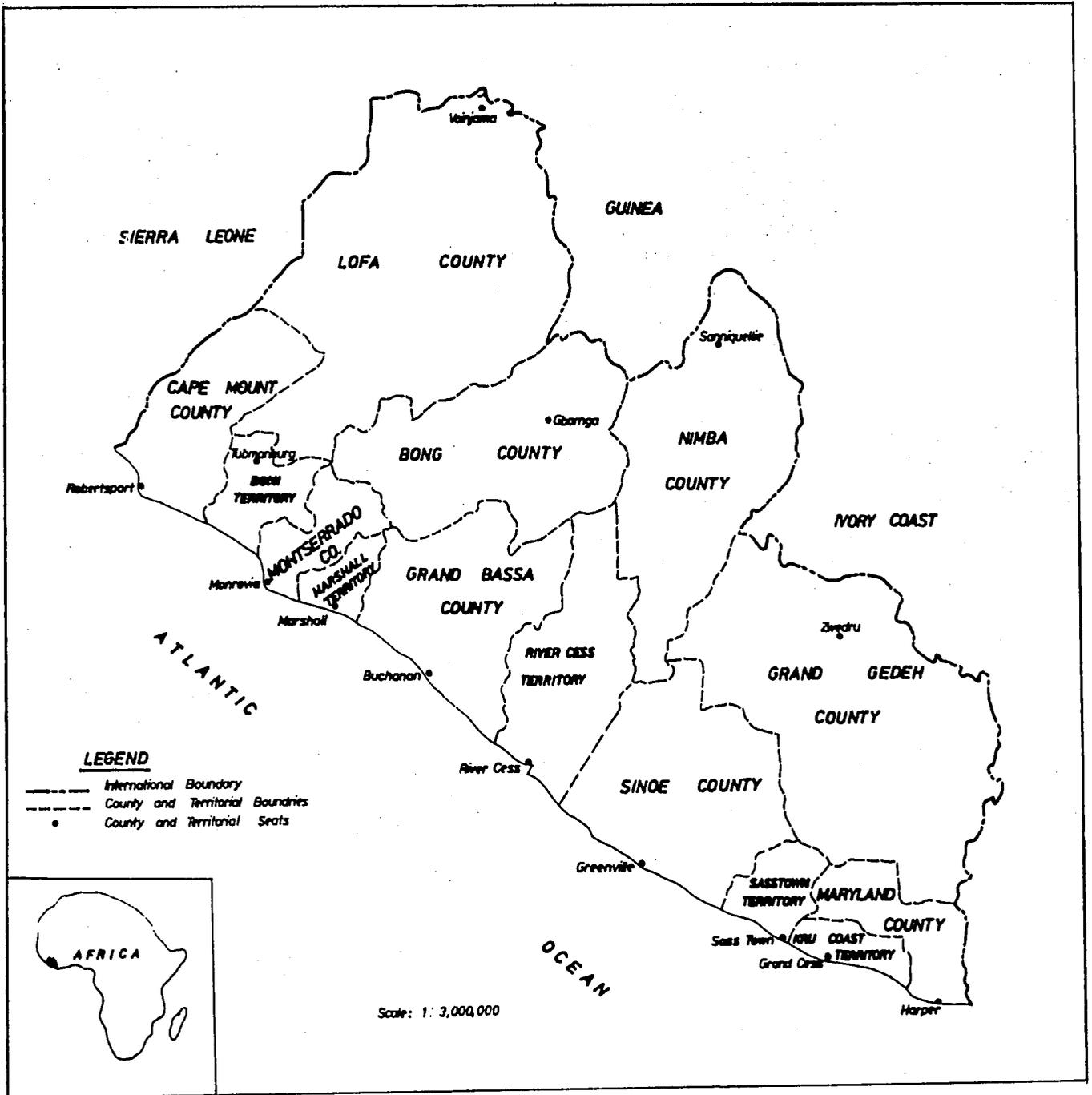
Question #	% of Respondents to Questions asked
1	9.3% of Respondents buy goods in barrels
	0.7% buy by bag
	2.9% buy by bucket
	5.6% buy by bunch
	38.6% buy by other means of produce goods themselves
2	5.5% get credit from wholesaler
	94.3% do not
3	71.9% have spoilage problem
	28.1% do not
4	When spoiled, 12.7% reproduce goods for sale
	60.9% throw it away
	26.4% others
5	65% experience price difference
	34.8% have constant price
6	69% have encounters with Commerce inspector
	31% have no problem with them
7	67.7% prefer to sell locally produced commodities
	32.3% prefer selling imported commodities
8	62.9% get money from husband or relatives to start marketing
	11.9% start marketing with gains from sale of farm products
	3.5% start with money credited
	21.7% other
9	6.8% have never been married
	3.4% are divorced
	.% are separated
	8.2% are widows
	80.8% are married
10	of those that are married, 87.3% live with their husbands
	10.3% do not
	2.4% other

Question #	of Respondents to Questions Asked
11	<p>The husband of 25% of the women work with government</p> <p>20.8% work with company</p> <p>9.4% are traders</p> <p>12.5% are farmers</p> <p>32.3% are retired, etc. (other)</p>
12	<p>26.2% of the women get help in the market from their children</p> <p>73.8% do not</p>
13	<p>41.5% of the women are members of susu</p> <p>58.5% are not members of susu</p>
14	<p>13.8% of sellers are Mandingo</p> <p>5.5% are Kru</p> <p>4.1% are Grebo</p> <p>5.9% are Vai</p> <p>4.1% are Khran</p> <p>9.7% are Loma</p> <p>2.1% are Fanti</p> <p>.7% are Gbandi</p> <p>6.9% are Kissi</p> <p>6.3% are Mano</p> <p>12.4% are Kpelle</p> <p>20% are Bassa</p> <p>4.8% are Gio</p> <p>.7% are Gola</p>
15	<p>24% have been selling for less than 5 years</p> <p>63.6% have been selling for more than 5 years</p> <p>21.1% do not know</p>
16	<p>53.4% have the problem of lack of facilities</p> <p>3.4% have the transportation</p> <p>7.5% have credit facilities</p> <p>35.6% other</p>
17	<p>62.2 would like to attend school</p> <p>37.8 do not want to attend school</p>

Question #	%o Respondents to Questions Asked
18	<u>13.7% want their daughters to be market women</u> <u>36.3% want their daughters to be office women and more.</u>
19	<u>13.0% have other business activities</u> <u>86.1% do not</u>
20	<u>30.6% have farms</u> <u>69.4% do not</u>
21	<u>of those with farms, 16.7% do the farm work themselves</u> <u>the husbands of 19% of the women work on the farms</u> <u>19% have paid workers</u> <u>23.8% have relatives on their farms</u> <u>21.4% others</u>
22	<u>with profit generated from market, 16.4% of women aid in household expenses</u> <u>10.3% pay school fees</u> <u>30.1% aid in house expenses and pay school fees</u> <u>43.2% other</u>
23	<u>51.7% do their own cooking</u> <u>17.2% have relatives to cook for them</u> <u>16.6% daughters do the cooking</u> <u>14.5% other</u>
24	<u>6.5% of women have no children</u> <u>5.2% have between 1 - 4</u> <u>40.3% have between 5 - 8</u> <u>5% have 9+</u>
25	<u>89.2% have grown children in schools</u> <u>10.8% children are not in school</u>

Figure 1

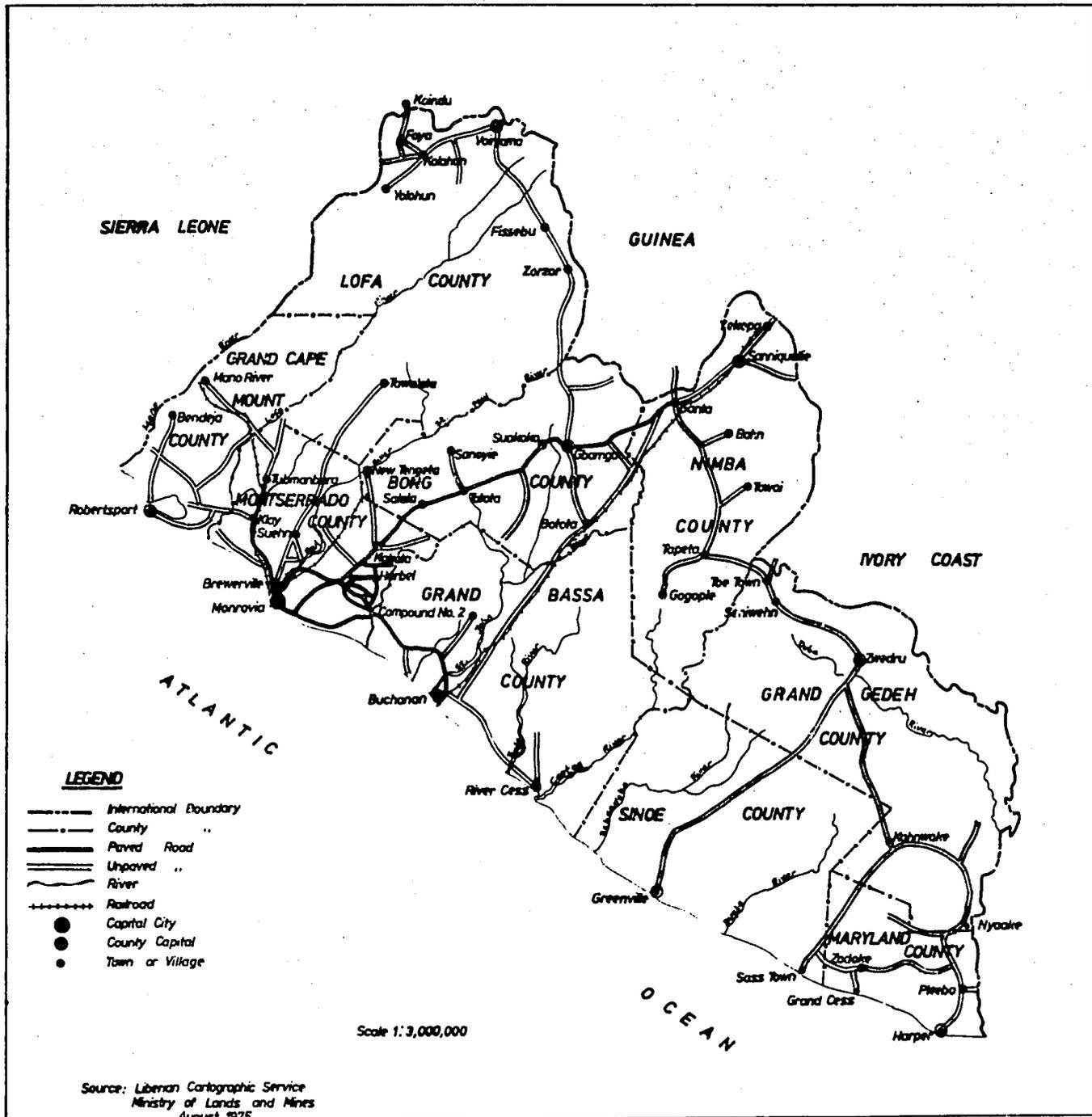
MAP OF LIBERIA SHOWING COUNTY AND TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES B 1
(1974 CENSUS)



176

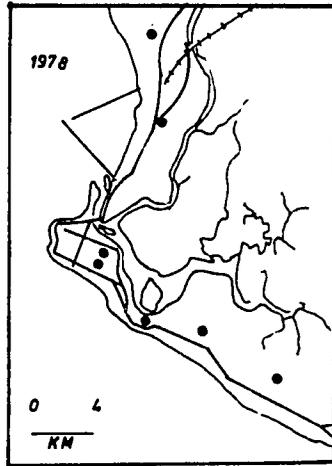
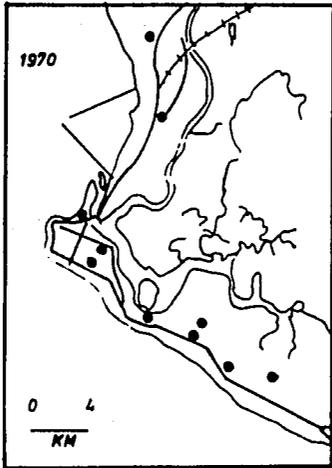
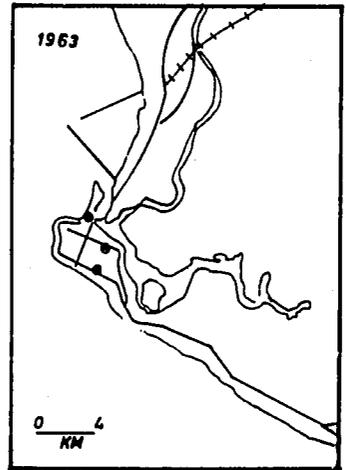
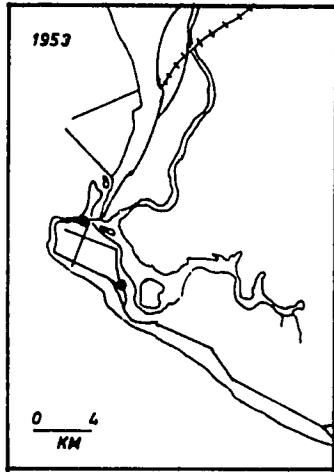
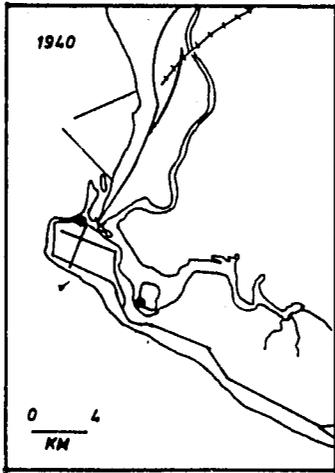
TRANSPORTATION MAP OF LIBERIA 82

Figure 2



177

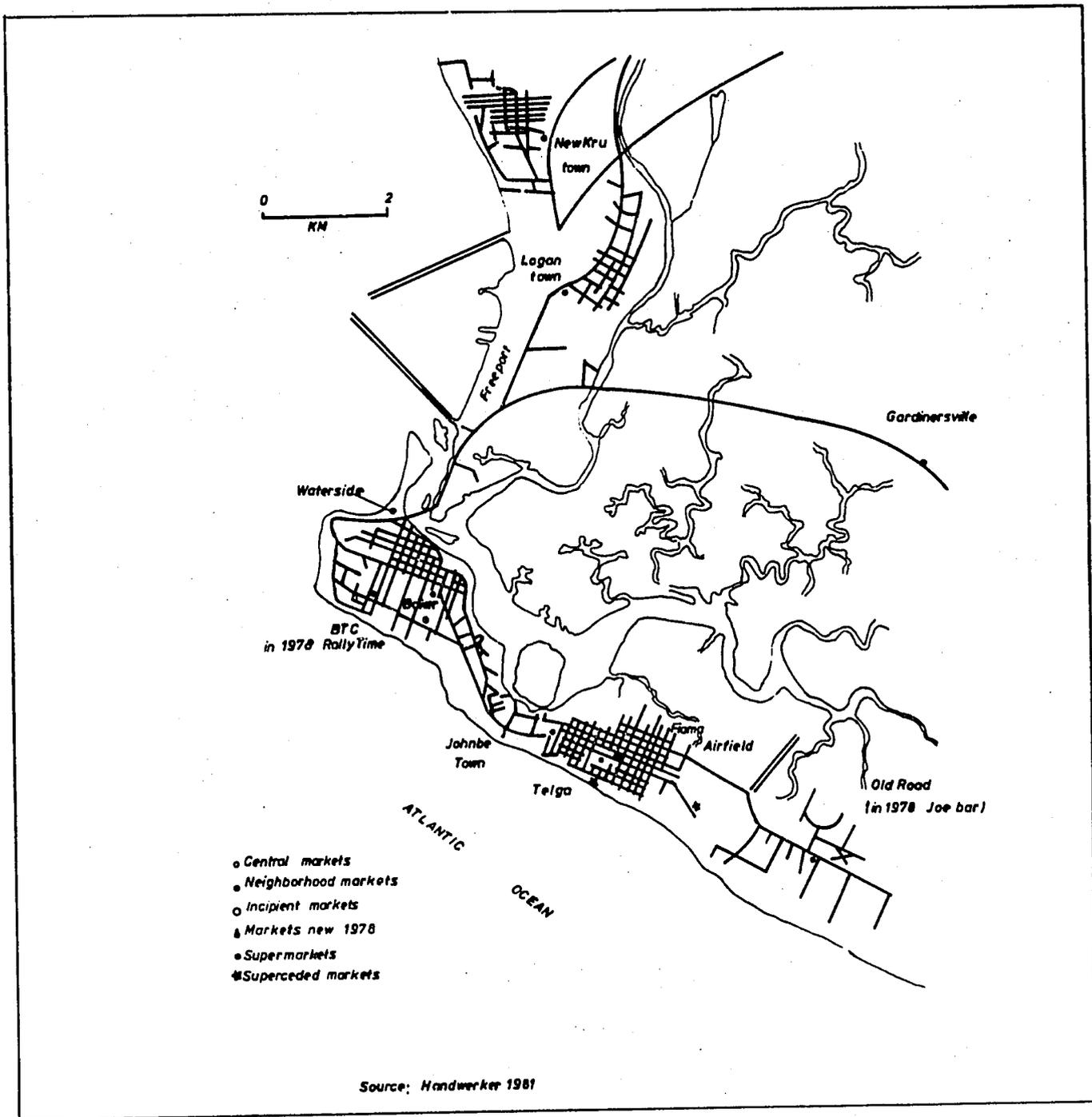
Figure 3: Historical growth and Dispersion of Market places in Monrovia (1940-1978) B 3



● Markets

Source: Handwerker (1971-1981)

Figure 4 Markets in Monrovia (1981) 14



179

METHODOLOGY

The empirical data for the present study were collected between December, 1980 and November 1981 through an intensive fieldwork carried out throughout the entire territory of Liberia nine (9) Counties and three (3) Territories), these are:

1. Montserrado County :Capital City - MONROVIA
2. Grand Cape Mount County :Capital City - ROBERTSPORT
3. Grand Bassa County :Capital City - BUCHANAN
4. Bong County :Capital City - GPARNGA
5. Nimba County :Capital City - SANNIQUELLIE
6. Lofa County :Capital City - VOINJAMA
7. Grand Gedeh County :Capital City - ZWEDRU(TCHIEN)
8. Maryland County :Capital City - HARPER
9. Sione County :Capital City - GREENVILLE
10. Gibi Territory :Capital City - KAKATA
11. Marshall Territory :Capital City - MARSHALL

12. Bomi Territory

:Capital City - TUBMANBURG

The intensive fieldwork team consisted essentially of the research project director assisted by a research assistnat. The logistics were provided by the local staff of the Ministry of Local Government and the local representatives of various government Ministries and Agencies. Special introductory letters were always given the team upon simple written request to enable the researchers to benefit from the local logistic support.

And other useful assistance from the local authorities. This assistance primarily consisted of such critical things as lodging, answering questions from Schedule B (see Questionnaire), and when necessary, akrranging for a meeting hall or place where to conduct the group discussions and interviewing with market women as called for in Schedule D. In effect, market places proved to be quite inappropriate for the conduct of either individual interviewing or group discussions. The noise level was found to be too high to allow for such interactions and market women's attention was constantly diverted from the discussions due to their marketing.

From time to time, in the course of the fieldwork, the services of one or two fieldworkers were contracted for. In a few occasions, the voluntary assistance of an Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Liberia was received (see breakdown of fieldwork activities at the end of this Appendix).

Three major approaches to field investigation were used for the purpose of obtaining the necessary information:

1. A systematic observation of followed by informal inquiries about selected daily and/or periodic market places in both the urban and the rural areas of the country. The other types of marketing sites were also similarly investigated (roadside, front of supermarket sites etc.). The factors investigated included age and history of market, capacity and size of market, types of facilities available, commodity flows at market and other exchange places, etc. Quantitative data on items investigated through this method were recorded.
2. An investigative coverage of major food commodities, mostly locally produced, in terms of such variables as place of origin wholesale and retail prices, packing procedures, seasonal variations in prices, commodity flows, etc.
3. The carrying out of a semi-structured interviewing of selected market women in 26 of the market covered by the field work pertaining to important socio economic variables and activities in marketing. In total, 146 market women were interviewed with an approved research instrument and all of them answered the questions with a reasonable level of satisfaction.

182

The questionnaire drafted for the field interviewing after testing it in the field, was later put into a structured questionnaire form to allow for systematic statistical analysis. Thus, a model of structured questionnaire was drawn from the selection of topics which were found relevant to the Liberian marketing system. The two models of questionnaire are attached to this Appendix.

The nature of the research instrument was such that the population could not be sampled properly for systematic data collection. In addition to this fact, to a great extent, the research proposal itself did not call for a research design with sampling procedures.

Interview data were gathered through informal conferences and meetings organized with the help of market women's associations and the local staff of the Ministry of Local Government and mostly in the market places.

In order to ascertain the reliability of the data collected from a non-sampled population, the tabulation of the information obtained from the interviewing (the 3rd major approach) was matched with a previous study made on similar population and context in 1978 by the principal investigator. An error margin of 20 percent was allowed. After allowing for this 20 percent error margin, there was a perfect match between the two sets of results.

123

- 181 -

Further, the teams' perception of research in an area where quantitative data collection is difficult and often impracticable is consistent with what was echoed recently by a team doing research in rural Liberia that:

This relative informal style (of information gathering) ... also allowed us to pursue in depth some unexpected but important points that emerged in the course of an interview, and to drop topics or indicators we had previously considered important, but later found were not useful. (Cobb et al. 1980:3).

It may be said that the interviews were structured in as much as they contained broad lines of inquiries to which the respondents were constantly directed (conditions of marketing, needs in marketing, problems faced by sellers, etc.).

An estimated 95% of all the respondents could make themselves understood in one or another form of the "Liberian English". In evaluating this percentage, one must bear in mind that there was a clear urban bias in the selection of the localities and respondents. Moreover, unlike other West African countries where "diula"¹ or similar languages serve as the trade lingua franca, "The Liberian English" often referred to as broken English due to the fact that it

1. The "diula" is a simplified form of the Mandingo language and is commonly used by traders in many West African countries (Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, Mali, the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, etc.).

184

pays no attention to the elementary syntactic and grammatical rules, is spoken by the overwhelming majority of the urban dwellers, especially marketers, traders and other merchants who cannot operate efficiently without some knowledge of this medium.

In addition to the above fact, the research team was composed of native Liberians of different ethnic backgrounds who could themselves understand each one or more of the many "dialects" spoken by market women.

This, greatly, facilitated the communication problems between the team members and the respondents. Finally, needed assistance in this area was often generously provided by the local agency of the Ministry of Local Government which, as mentioned earlier, provided the general logistic support to the team during the entire period of data collection.

Furthermore, in order to gain more control over these unsystematic data, additional information were gathered from other Liberian government agencies which deal with activities connected with marketing, as well as from individual key informants and market women. During the informal discussions held with government officials in charge with marketing and market women, the women were allowed to express their problems, needs and satisfactions or dissatisfactions concerning their present conditions and status. To a certain extent, they were also asked to indicate their expectations for the future.

The data were collected first during the dry season and second during the raining season to take into account possible variations in marketing activities and conditions between these two different seasons.

In summary, the data presented and analysed in this study were obtained through mostly an unsystematic form of data collection and on an informal basis. To gain some systematic sense of variation, several kinds of control mechanisms built into the research instrument were used to make comparisons possible and to get a sense of causation. These variations constitute the major subjects of the study and are analysed in the body of the text.

To give more detail on the method of data collection, the instruments used in the field are also presented as parts of this Appendix. It is, however, useful at this point to present the limitations and weaknesses of the methodology.

LIMITATIONS OF THE METHODOLOGY:

The methodology described above, naturally presents some limitations and weaknesses. Some of these are inherent to any such methodology which uses many different approaches to collect information on the same topic of study. Others pertain to the unavoidable biases of the principal researcher who may emphasize certain points over others. Often, it is impossible for the researcher to pin-point all the limitations and weaknesses of his own methodology. This paragraph is therefore an attempt at showing areas where additional checks may be needed in contemplating future studies on the same topic or of the same nature.

The two (2) main limitations emerge from the methodology:

1. Lack of specificity; and
2. The strong bias towards the urban zones in the coverage of the target population.

1. LACK OF SPECIFICITY:

as conducted, the study suffers from a lack of specificity in dealing with the various elements of women's roles in marketing. Questions on the inter-relationships between these elements could not be addressed due to the broad nature of the

187

subjects covered. The study, as such and because of this remains mainly a descriptive and illustrative instrument. But then, the research proposal did not actually call for any detail analysis of the topics to be covered. In this respect, therefore, the methodology, with its three approaches to field investigation fulfills, essentially the purpose of the study, i.e. - to provide a general picture of the present conditions and status of Liberian women.

2. URBAN BIAS:

The research instrument was unequally applied to the different regions and peoples of the Country, especially in terms of urban and rural localities. Thus, urban localities were more systematically investigated during the fieldtrips than the rural zones despite the emphasis put on rural women by the original research proposal. Thus, over eighty (80) percent of the urban marktes were covered by the research team as opposed to less than 30% for rural markets (sse Part VI).

The reason for this discrepancy is directly related to the conditions under which the research was carried out. In planning for the fieldtrips, it was discovered that the needed essential logistics facilities were inexistent in the country (access roads, previous experiences in the areas, absence of means of communication, etc.). In consequence, both because the research project did not have the adequate means of transportation and the ~~of~~ inexistent of reliable and safe

roads leading to the majority of the rural sites to be visited, the team was forced to limit its activities to areas that could be reached by road. In another instance, again during the rainy season, the team was caught up by heavy rains and got almost stranded in a rural village.

Further, the trips to village markets proved to be far more costly both in terms of time and money than those to town and cities on or near the motor roads. In effect, village markets meet only once a week which means that for each market, the team had to provide for (8) eight or more days in planning and executing the trip. The bad conditions of the roads, as noted in the text, are the primary cause for higher transportation fares. When the project vehicles were used on these roads, not only the gas consumption was higher than on the paved road (on bad roads, 4-wheel drive vehicles consumed more gas than on normal paved roads) but the maintenance cost also increased substantially.

Finally, the type of vehicle provided for the research project proved to be quite unsuitable for the Liberian non-paved rural roads.

The above constitute the main limitations of the methodology and the weaknesses of the data. As explained, there were sound reasons for these limitations. In spite of these limitations, however, the methodology, with its unique use of three different approaches designed to counter-check each other, enabled the team to assemble for the first time in the country a sizeable amount of data on a

major economic activity performed by one of the most neglected groups in the Liberian society, the women. This is indeed the first time that such a comprehensive data collection exercise has been conducted covering the entire country for the specific purpose of providing useful data and indicators to planning and development agencies. Given this purpose and the content of the work, one may argue that the methodology, despite its limitations, has been quite useful.

THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT AS ADOPTED

The data collection instrument for the marketing study was organized into four major schedules. This was necessitated by the nature and the method of the data collection.

SCHEDULE A

Informations were obtained from the Ministry of Commerce, the Monrovia Corporation and the national marketing association and include the following:

GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS AND POLICIES CONCERNING LICENSING OF MARKET

SELLERS:

1. License Fee: are these regulated by Commerce or at the local level?

2. Are wholesalers licensed in any way?
3. Are there Government regulations concerning the establishment of a market place? Building a Market Stall?
4. Who is responsible for maintenance of public market place in Monrovia?
5. Are there any storage facilities at the Monrovia markets?
6. What commodities are subject to price control? Are the prices the same for Monrovia and other Markets?
7. Are there any set tariffs for transporting commodities or are these tariffs left to the discretion of the driver?

8. Are there any mechanism (Supervisors) to enforce Commerce Ministry, City Corporation or Mayoral office regulations?
9. Who is in charge of collecting marketing dues?
10. Differences between Public and Private Markets?
11. How much does each market seller pay as fees per day?

SCHEUDLE B:

FOR EACH MARKET VISITED, THE FOLLOWING DATA WERE COLLECTED:

1. Location of market, type of facilities, age of market.
2. Frequency of Market.
3. Function of Market.
4. Number of Sellers.
5. Commodities exchanged.
6. Number and type of vehicles serving market, origin and destination of vehicles.

7. Presence of market association.
8. Geographical area and population served.

SCHEDULE C

COMMODITIES:

IN EACH MARKET IN WHICH THE COMMODITY IS SOLD, THE FOLLOWING
INFORMATION WERE OBTAINED:

1. Where produced?
2. Who produced?
3. From whom purchased?
4. Where purchased?
5. What days available (wholesale and retail)?
6. How produced bulked?
7. Transport costs?

193

8. Purchase price - wholesale?
9. Who sells?
10. How sold - piles, bunches, or cup?
11. Purchase price - retail?
12. Who buys?

The commodities which were systematically covered included the following:

Rice - local and imported,

Cassava,

Plantain,

Pepper - fresh and dried,

Onions - local and imported,

Okra,

Eggplant,

Bitterballs,

Collard greens,

Potato greens,

Cassava greens,

Plato (Palava)

Charcoal,

Firewood,

Groundnuts - raw and roasted,

Palmnuts,

Beans,

Bananas,

Tomatoes,

Oranges,

Pineapple,

195

Palm oil - topogi and regular,

Palm kernel oil,

Coconut oil,

Imported Goods: Bouillon cubes, sugar, soap, cigarettes, etc.

Dried meat

Fish - cold water

Chicken

- fresh water

Pig's feet

- frozen

Snails

- dried

crayfish

Fufu

SCHEDULE D:

The following were questions/lines of inquiry. These data were obtained either through group discussions with market women or by interviews with individual market women who, generally, had monopolies on some commodities. These data were obtained through a structured questionnaire.

196

1. How do traders buy bulk produce? Do they pay cash or do they buy on credit? How often do they buy?
2. How is produce distributed from the trucks? Who determines how much each woman gets from the trucks? Do women always buy from the same driver?
3. Is spoilage a problem? During transit? When not sold? Are there other losses?
4. What is the relationship between the wholesalers, Retailers, and transport Drivers? Who owns the Vehicles?
5. Are there seasonal differences in price? Does the price change or the quantity sold change?
6. How do people decide on the size of the piles or bunches?
7. How do people feel about price controls?
8. Which is the better to sell: Imported or Country Rice? Why?
9. Which commodities are the best to sell?
10. If a woman wants to start marketing, what must she do? Does she start with certain commodities first? How does she get a stall? Does she start at certain markets? In Monrovia, which market would she begin with?

197

11. Which is the best market in Monrovia to sell in?
12. Do women have children helping them in the market? How do they help? What would they do if the Children were not available?
13. Are there any credit associations in the market? If so, how many members and what amount is the contribution?
14. Why are the new crops such as cucumbers and lettuce sold primarily by men?
15. What is your ethnic background?
16. What is your age?
17. How long have you been selling?
18. How did you get into marketing?
19. What are the major problems in marketing? Major benefits?
20. What could be done to improve the markets? To improve marketing?
21. If a new market were to be built or this one expanded, what kinds of facilities would you like to see included? What kinds of special arrangements? What kinds of selling tables? Water, Toilet facilities, Parking lots, Schools?

22. Would like to see an area provided for children?
23. Would knowing how to read numbers help you in your Marketing?
24. Would you want your daughters to be market women? Do you think going to school would help them in marketing?.

The following questions can be pursued through individual interviews and regarded as case studies. The women interviewed should represent different age groups, different commodities, and wholesalers and retailers. Depending on time availability and willingness to talk, from 5 to 10 women can be interviewed in each market.

25. Who is the head of your household?
26. Do other members of the household earn money?
27. If you are the head of the household, who lives with you? Are you divorced, widowed, or never married?
28. How did you learn marketing? Did you alone decide to go into marketing? Who else was involved in the decision? Why did you choose to sell this commodity? Why did you choose this market? How long have you been marketing? What was the first commodity you sold? What was the first market?

3. Is spoilage a problem?

- a. YES
- b. NO

4. If spoiled, what do you with the produce?

- a. Reproduce it for sale
- b. Throw it away
- c. Other

5. Are there seasonal differences in prices?

- a. YES
- b. NO

6. Does the Commerce Inspector impose price control?

- a. YES
- b. NO

7. Which commodities are best to sell?

- a. YES
- b. NO

29. Do you get money from other activities? Do you own a taxi or truck or rent a house?
30. Do you have a farm? Where is the farm? Who does the the farm work?
31. How is the money you get from marketing spent? Who decides how the money will be spent? Is it yours alone?
32. Who looks for you? Who does other domestic chores such as laundry? Who takes care of your small children?

RESTRUCTURED MARKET WOMEN
QUESTIONNAIRE (SCHEDULE D)

1. How do you buy bulk produce?
 - a. Barrel
 - b. Bag
 - c. Bucket
 - d. Bunch
 - e. Other
2. Do you get any credit facility from the Wholesaler?
 - a. YES
 - b. NO

8. How does a woman start marketing?

- a. With money from husband or relative
- b. With money gained from sales of farm product
- c. With money credited
- d. Other

9. Marital Status:

- a. Never
- b. Divorced
- c. Separated
- d. Widow
- e. Married

10. If married, does your husband live with you?

- a. YES
- b. NO

11. What does your husband do?

- a. Work with Government
- b. Work with Company
- c. Trader
- d. Farmer

12. Do you have children helping you in the market?

- a. YES
- b. NO

13. Are you a member of a SUSU?

- a. YES
- b. NO

14. Which ethnic group are you from?

- a. Grebo, Krahn, Kru, Bassa
- b. Mano, Gio
- c. Lorma, Gbandi, Kissi
- d. Kpelle, Gola
- e. Vai, Mandingo, Mende
- f. Fanti

15. How long have you been selling?

- a. Less than (5) five years
- b. Five (5) years plus
- c. Don't know

203

16. What are the major problems in marketing?

- a. Lack of facilities (physical)
- b. Lack of transportation
- c. Lack of credit facilities
- d. Other

17. If there was an adult literacy School opened, would you like to attend?

- a. YES
- b. NO

18. Do you want your daughter to be a

- a. Market woman
- b. Office woman
- c. Other

19. Do you have any other business activity?

- a. YES
- b. NO

20. Do you have a farm?

- a. YES
- b. NO

21. If you have a farm, who does the work on the farm?

- a. Self
- b. Husband
- c. Paid workers
- d. Relative
- e. Other

22. What do you do with the profit generated from your market?

- a. Help in household expenses
- b. Pay School fees
- c. a + b
- d. Other

23. Who cooks for you?

- a. Self
- b. Relative
- c. Daughter
- d. Daughter-in-law
- e. Other

24. How many children do you have?

- a. None
- b. 1 - 4
- c. 5 - 8
- d. 9+

25. Are your grown up children going to school?

- a. Yes
- B. No

205

BREAKDOWN OF FIELD WORK ACTIVITIES FOR THE MARKETING STUDY

DECEMBER 10 - FEBRUARY 10, 1981

DRY SEASON

DATES OF TRIPS TAKEN FROM TO	LOCALITY	ACTIVITY	INVESTIGATOR(S)
DEC. 12 DEC.15'80	Ministry of Commerce, City Corporation and Superintendent of Markets	Schedule # IA	Joyce Smith & Varney Gray
DEC. 16,1980	Rally Time Market	Schedule # IB	B. Kaba ,B. Don J. Smith & V. Gray
DEC. 12, 1980	Joe Bar	Schedule # I Observation and Testing of Questionnaire	B. Kaba
DEC. 17,1980	Geokpen Town Market	# IB	J. Smith

NOTE: ABCD: These capital letters are assigned to the four (4) schedules into which the Field Data Collection was divided. They appear on the Research Instrument at the head of each Schedule.

902

<u>D A T E</u>	<u>L O C A L I T Y</u>	<u>A C T I V I T Y</u>	<u>I N V E S T I G A T O R (S)</u>
DECEMBER 17, 1980	General Market	Schedule # IB	B. Borley Dovee
DECEMBER 19, 1980	Abi Jaoudi Supermarket, road side market, and Sinkor Supermarket, road side market	Schedule # IB	B. Borley Dovee and V. Gray
DECEMBER 19, 1980	Paynesville to Gardnersville Market	Schedule #IB and Observat-ion	B. Kaba and Joyce Smith
DECEMBER 22-3, 1980	Duala, Logan Town Markets	Schedule # IC	Varney Gray
DECEMBER 22-4, 1980	General Market	Schedule # IC	J.B. Dovee

C-28

207

<u>D A T E</u>	<u>L O C A L I T Y</u>	<u>A C T I V I T Y</u>	<u>I N V E S T I G A T O R (S)</u>
JANUARY 26/27, 1981	U.L. Campus, TH.50	Seminar with research Assistants in preparation of field trip to Gibi Territory, Bong and Nimba Counties.	B. Kaba, J. Smith and Aminata Conteh
JANUARY 28, 1981	Gardnesville Market	OBSERVATION	B. Kaba, A. Conteh, B. Dovee and voluntary assistance of Dr. B. Fofana.
JANUARY 29, 1981 +	Kakata	Not carried out because of lack of lodging & returned same day upon advice of Mayor (total exp. \$ 35.00 on gas.	B. Caba & J. Smith
FEBRUARY 3-7, 1981	Gbarnga, Bong County	Schedule # 3 ABCD	Aminata Conteh & Porley Davee

208

<u>D A T E</u>	<u>L O C A L I T Y</u>	<u>A C T I V I T Y</u>	<u>I N V E S T I G A T O R (S)</u>
FEBRUARY 4-7, 1981	LAMCO, YEKEPA CAMP FOUR, NIMBA CO. AND GUINEA BORDER	Schedule # 6 A B C D	B. Kaba, J. Smith with voluntary assistance of Dr. B. Fofana
FEBRUARY 9 -12, 1981	GANTA, NIMBA CO.	Schedule # # 4 ABCD	Aminata Conteh and Borley Dovee
FEBRUARY 9 -12, 1981	SANIQUELLE, NIMBA COUNTY + IVORY COAST BORDER MAR- KET	Schedule # 5 A B C D	B. Kaba, J. Smith with voluntary assistance of Dr. B. Fofana
FEBRUARY 12, 1981	KAKATA	Not carried out because of lack of lodging Returned same day. Mayor & Su- perintend and Assistant absent	B. Kaba with voluntary assistance of DR. B. Fofana
FEBRUARY 3-4, 1981	JOE BAR MARKET OLD ROAD, SINKOR	SCHEDULE # IC	V. GRAY

C-30

Vol.

<u>D A T E</u>	<u>L O C A L I T Y</u>	<u>A C T I V I T Y</u>	<u>I N V E S T I G A T O R (S)</u>
DECEMBER 22-4, 1980	Buchanan Market	Schedule # 2 ABCD	Smith & Kaba
DECEMBER 29-31, 1980	Duala & Joe Bar Markets	Schedule # IC	Varney Gray
DECEMBER 29-31, 1981	General Market & Raillu Time Market	Schedule # IC and D	J. Borley Dovee
JANUARY 23/26/27/28, 1981	General Market	Schedule #IC including 6 a.m. for Schedule B # 6	J. Borley Dovee and Varney Gray
JANUARY 23/26/27, 1981	Joe Bar Market	Schedule # B - observation	B.D. Kaba

C-31

012

<u>DATE</u>	<u>LOCALITY</u>	<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>INVESTIGATOR(S)</u>
FEBRUARY 5, 1981	Duala Market	SCHEDULE # IC	V. GRAY
FEBRUARY 6, 1981	Logantown Market	schedule # I C	V. GRAY
FEBRUARY 9, 1981	Gardnesville Market	schedule # I C	V. GRAY
FEBRUARY 10, 1981	Sinkor Supermarket Roadside Market	schedule # I C	V. GRAY
FEBRUARY 12 1981	Sinkor Supermaker Roadside market	schedule # I C	V. GRAY
FEBRUARY 19, 1981	Paynesville Market	schedule # IC	J. Smith and V. Gray
FEBRUARY 18-19, 1981	Cape Mounty County	schedule # 7 ABCD	B. KABA and B. DOVFE

C-52

211

R A I N I N G S E A S O N ¹

BREAKDOWN OF FIELD WORK ACTIVITIES FOR THE MARKETING STUDY

JUNE - NOVEMBER, 1981

<u>DATE OF TRIP</u>	<u>LOCALITY/MARKET</u>	<u>ACTIVITIES</u>	<u>INVESTIGATOR(S)</u>
JUNE 11 - 12	GENERAL MARKET	AD	KABA/SMITH
JUNE 15 - 19	GARDNERSVILLE/ PAYNSVILLE	AD	KABA/SMITH/DOVEE
JUNE 22 - 24	RALLY TIME/JOE BAR	AD	J. SMITH
JUNE 30	CLAY ASHLAND	(NO MARKET)	KABA/SMITH/CONTEH ²
JULY 3	HARBEL	ABCD	KABA/SMITH(FOFANA) ²
JULY 6	LLOYDSVILLE/ OWENGR.ETC.	ABCD	KABA/SMITH
JULY 10	TUBMANBURG	ABCD	KABA/SMITH
JULY 15	BONG MINES	ABCD	KABA/SMITH(FOFANA) ²
JULY 20 - 25	LAMCO	AD	KABA/SMITH/MENDSCOLE FOFANA) ²
JULY 26 - 28	SANNIQUELLI	AD	KABA/SMITH(FOFANA) ²
JULY 29 - 8/01	GBARNGA/SUAKOKO, etc.	ABCD	KABA/SMITH(FOFANA) ²
AUG. 20 - 23	GREENVILLE	ABCD	KABA/SMITH
AUG. 26 - 28	VOINJAMA	AD	KABA/SMITH
SEP. 15 - 22	MONROVIA	A	KABA/SMITH
OCT. 29 - 11/5	MONROVIA	ABCD	KABA/GRAY

1 The Rainy Season field trips was designed to visit a few of the areas already covered during the dry season field investigation. This explains the limitation in its coverage of the markets as compared to the rainy season activities.

2 Bengally Fofana, an Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Liberia participated voluntarily in these activities. He provided the team with valuable insight into the economic dimension of some of the factors investigated.

ABCD: These capital letters are assigned to the four schedules into which the field data collection was divided. They appear on the Research instrument at the head of each schedule.

218

C-33

TABLE I : - LIBERIAN MARKETS & LOCALITIES

COUNTIES	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	2 UNKNOWN MARKET DAYS
L O F A	NIKEBORZU(w) KOINDU(d,w)* (S.Leone)	LAWALAZU(w) KOLAHUN(d,w)* BAI (w)	Bakedu(w)*	BANDANIE(w) ZWEDEMEM(w) BOLONKOLLIEDU (w) FOYA AIR- FIELD (d) *	HAMAKONIEDU(w) (GUINEA BORDER) JOHNY TOWN (w) DUOGAMA (w)	VOINJAMA (d,w)	FOYA (w)* BOKAZA(w) BOLAHUN (w)	HANGALA (w) BOPOLU (w) BORKEIFAR(w) ZAWPRDAMA(w) VALEZAYALA(w) NYANDIMONLAHUN(w) POPALAHUN (w) SARSAVOI.YE(w)
N I M B A	LAMCO GENE- RAL MARKET (w,d) *	LOILA(d,w) GBLAIYI(w) CAMP FOUR (d,w)*	KEMU (w) GBINDA(w) (IVORY COAST BORDER)	BAYTONWAIN(w) KANPLAY(w)* TAPPITA(d,w)*	GANTA(d,w)* BORNI(w)	KINO (w) BITUO(w) LAMCO- YEKEPA AREA F (GUINEA BORDER)	SANNI- QUELLI (d,w)* JUBWE(w)	
B O N G	BONG MINES (d) *	SANIPILETA (w)*		DAVIDTOWN(w)	GBALORKPA (w)* PALALA (w) COCOYA	SUAKOKO (w)* GBAUTA(w) JAWENTA(w)	Yolota(w)	GBECHION (w) BOLTOTA (w) DOBATA (w) GBENIQUELLEH(w) GBOATA (w) GBONOTA (w) ZEANFUE (w) KOLILA (w) FOLOBLA (w) JORWA (w) FINUTEY (w) GBONKOLININA(d)

612

COUNTIES	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	UNKNOWN MARKET DAYS
GRAND GEDEH	JANZON(w)		B'HAI(w)	TOETOWN (d, w)			ZWEDRU (d,w) ZLEH-TOWN(w)	
GRAND BASSA	OWENS GROVE ^I	LLOYDS-VILLE(w)* MEITOWN(w) PAYWAY-TOWN (w)	MANAWA-BLEEN(w) FRAZER(w)*	FETUA(w)* GORBLEE(d)*	CIAH (w) DUEWENTON (w)	YAFUNATOWN (w)	BUCHANAN (d,w)*	Number 3 BRIDGE(w)
GRAND CAPE MOUNT	ROBERTSPORT (d)*							MEDINA (d) BORHBOYA (w) JUNCTION TREWOR (w) TIENI (d)
MARYLAND			Harper(d, w)*			BARAKE(d, w)*	PLEEBO (d,w)* KAWAKEN (w)	
MONTSERRADO			GENERAL MARKET(d)* RALLY-TIME(d)* JOE BAR(d)* JOGBETOWN(d)* PAYNES-VILLE(d)* GARDNERS-VILLE(d)* DUALA (d)* NEKRU ... (d)* ... JAUDI(d)*	CLAY ASHLAND (O)* OAU BRIDGE(d)*				

D-2

h1c

Best Available Document

COUNTIES	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	UNKNOWN MARKET
MARSHALL TERRITORY			Harbel(d)*					
SINOE			GREENVILLE (d) w					
BOMI TERRITORY			Tubmanburg Market (d)*					
GIBI TERRITORY			KAKATA MARKET (d)*					

- 1 = Market is non-functional
- 2 = Markets identified through lists submitted by Local Government Officer
- * = Market site visited by Team
- d = Daily Market
- w = Weekly Market
- 0 = No Marketing

Note: Only approximately 100 of the estimated 120 Liberian markets were enumerated during the field trip. These markets are listed in Table 1.

215

TABLE 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF MARKETS VISITED¹

MARKETS	COUNTY CITY	WEEKLY/DAILY	PUBLIC/PRIVATE	ESTIMATED # SELLERS	PRESENCE MARKETING ASSOCIATION	F A C I L I T I E S									
						T O I L E T			L I G H T		W A T E R			S T O R A G E	
						PRESENT	OUT OF ORDER	ABSENT	YES	NO	PIPE	HAND PUMP	NO	YES	NO
RALLY TIME	MONTERRADO MONROVIA	d.	pub.	2,500-3,500	YES	x			x		x				x
GOBLEE MARKET	G. BASSA GOBLEE	d.	pub.	100- 200	NO			x		x		x			x
BARKEDEU MARKET	LOFA COUNTY BARKEDEU	w.	pub.	100 - 200	NO			x		x			x		x
TAPPITA MARKET	NIMBA CO. TAPPITA	d.	pub.	200 - 400	YES	x				x			x		x
LAMCO MARKET	NIMBA CO. YEKEPA	d.	prv.	200 - 500	YES	x			x		x				x
GANTA MARKET	NIMBA CO. GOMPA	d.	pub.	500 -1,000	YES	x				x			x		x
KAKATA MARKET	GIBI TERR. KAKATA	d.	pub.	300 - 500	YES	x			x	x				x	
SANNIPLE-TA MARKET	BONG CO.	w.	pub.	100 - 200	NO			x	x			x			x

1 = weekly; pub. = public; prv. = private

NOTE: Most daily markets visited were found to be over crowded, especially in Monrovia, Lofa, Bassa, Bng Counties, and Marshall Territory.

2/10

D-4

MARKETS	COUNTY/ CITY	WEEKLY/ DAILY	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	ESTIMATED # SELLERS	PRESENCE MARKETING ASSOCIA- TION	F A C I L I T I E S								
						T O I L E T PRESENT	OUT AB OF SE ORD NT ER	LIGHT YES NO	WATER PIPE PUMP	NO	STORAGE YES NO	NO		
BARAKE	MARYL.	w.	pub.	100	yes			x					x	
GARDNES.	MONT.	d.	prv.	100-150	yes			x					x	
NEW KRUT.	MONT.	presently	not	functional										
SINKCR SHOPPING CENTER	MONT.	d	prv.	20 - 50	NO			x		x			x	
VOINJAMA	LOFA	d	pub.	300 -600	YES					x			x	
FOYA/KAHARA	LOFA	w.	pub.	1000 -2000	YES	YES				x			x	
BUCHANAN	BASSA	w.	pub.	2000	YES		x			x			x	
FETUA	BASSA	w.	pub.	100 -200	NO			x		x			x	
FRAZER	BASSA	w.	pub.	50 -100	NO			x		x			x	
FOYA KAKATA	LOFA G.TERR.	d. d.	pub. pub.	50 -75 300 -500	YES YES	YES		x		x			x	
SANNI- PLETA	BONG	w.	pub.	100 -200	NO			x		x			x	

w = weekly; pub. = public; prv. private

217

MARKETS	COUNTY/ CITY	WEEKLY/ DAILY	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	ESTIMATED # OF SELLERS	PRESENCE OF MARKETING AS SOCIATION	F A C I L I T I E S								
						T O I L E T		L I G H T		W A T E R		S T O R A G E		
						PRESENT	OUT OF ORDER ABS.	YES	NO	PIPE	HAND PUMP	NO	YES	NO
TUBMAN BURG	BOMI TERR.	d.	pub.	100-150	yes		x		x			x		x
HAPRER CITY MT.	MARY- LAND	d.	pub.	100-200	yes	x			x			x		x
ZWEDRU CITY MT.	GRAND GEDEH	d.	pub.	400-600	yes		x		x			x		x
GENERAL MARKET	MONROVIA MONT. CO.	d.	pub.	5000-10000	yes		x		x		x			x
PAYNES VILLE	PAYNES- VILLE MONT. CO.	d.	pub.	100-200	yes	x			x		x		x	
KOINDU MARKET	SIERRA LEONE/ LOFA CO. BORDER	d/w	pub.	1000-2000	no			x		x			x	x
ABI- JAUDI MARKET	MONROVIA MONT. CO.	D.	PUB.	20-50	no			x		x			x	x
GBARNGA	BONG CO.	d.	pub.	250-400	yes		x		x				x	x

TABLE # 3

RETAIL PRICES FOR TEN MAJOR COMMODITIES IN
TWENTY FIVE MAJOR MARKETS (EARLY 1981)

MARKET	RICE ² CUP OR 1 POUND	CASSAVA PER 2 POUNDS	DRIED PEPPER PILE(½ -LB)	F I S H 3 PIECES OR 1 LB	PIGFEET 1 PIECE OR ½ LB	PALM OIL 1 LITER BOTTLE	IMPORTED ONIONS 1 PIECE	CASSAVA GREENS ½ POUND	FUFU 1 LB.	DRIED MEAT 2 LBS
GANTA	25c	25c	3c	\$ 1.20	60c	\$1.25	15c	20c	60c	4.00
GBARHGA	25c	25c	4c	1.20	60c	1.25	15c	20c	60c	4.00
GENERAL MARKET	25c	25c	5c	1.00	40c	1.25	10c	25c	40c	6.00
YEKEPA	25c	30c	5c	1.30	60c	1.25	20c	30c	60c	6.00
BUCHANAN	25c	30c	5c	.90	50c	1.25	20c	20c	40c	7.00
SANIQUELLIE	25c	25c	4c	1.20	60c	1.25	15c	20c	60c	5.00
TAPPITA	25c	25c	4c	1.20	60c	1.50	15c	25c	60c	3.00
HARPER	25c	25c	10c	.60	60c	1.50	20c	30c	60c	6.00
DUALA	25c	25c	5c	1.00	40c	1.25	10c	25c	50c	6.00
JOE BAR	25c	25c	5c	1.00	40c	1.25	10c	25c	50c	6.00

D-7

- 1 The ten commodities concerned are listed according to their importance in the marketing system as measured by their value to consumers. This was determined by the frequency with which each commodity was found in the markets covered.
- 2 Only imported "PUSAVA RICE" is concerned here. Locally produced or country rice is not only seasonal, but not found in all markets.

b/c

M A R K E T	RICE	CASSAVA	PEPPER	FISH	PIGFEET	PALM OIL	ONIONS	CASSAVA GREENS	F U F U	DRIED MEAT
PAYNESVILLE	25c	25c	5c	1.00	40c	1.30	10c	30c	50c	6.00
VOINJAMA	25c	25c	3c	1.20	60c	1.00	15c	10c	50c	7.00
BONG MINES	25c	25c	5c	1.20	50c	1.30	15c	25c	50c	6.00
HARBEL	25c	25c	5c	1.20	40c	1.30	15c	30c	50c	6.00
TUBMANBURG	25c	25c	5c	1.20	40c	1.30	15c	30c	50c	6.00
GARDERSVILLE	25c	25c	5c	1.00	40c	1.25	10c	25c	50c	7.00
SUAKOKO	25c	25c	5c	1.00	50c	1.25	10c	25c	50c	6.00
GBENDA	25c	25c	3c	-	-	1.25	20c	10c	-	-
KAMARA FOYA	25c	25c	2c	1.20	60c	1.00	15c	10c	50c	7.00
ROBERTSPORT	25c	25c	8c	.60	50c	1.50	15c	30c	60c	-
GREENVILLE	25c	25c	10c	.70	50c	1.50	20c	20c	50c	-
BONG MINES	25c	25c	5c	-	-	1.25	15c	20c	-	-
FETUA	-	-	5c	-	-	1.25	15c	15c	50c	-
ABI-JAOUDI	-	-	-	-	-	-	10c	-	-	-

2020

Table 4: Market Site Hierarchy in Liberia (1970)

Level	Designation	Number of Sellers	Number of Commodities	Size of Trade Area
1.	Central Daily Market ^a	600-1,000	200-300	10-20,000 sq. feet
2. ^A	Neighborhood Daily Market ^a	50-300	30-100	800-2,500
2. ^B	Town Daily Market	15-150	25-100	500-5,000
2. ^C	Village Periodic Market	50-250	50-150	500-2,500
3.	Clusters of Sellers	5-10	10-20	50-150
4.	House Seller	1-2	1-10	10-25

^aThe Central and Neighborhood Daily Markets form a unit, the Central markets serving a metropolitan community, the neighborhood daily markets serving neighborhood areas within that metropolitan community. The only such markets investigated systematically were in Monrovia. However, the Parhel Market of the Firestone Plantations Company appeared to serve similar functions as the Central Monrovia Markets, each outlying labor camp having clusters of sellers functioning in much the same way -- if not strictly market places as the Neighborhood Markets in Monrovia. A similar organization of market places appears to be found in other cities in West Africa, for instance, Abidjan, Ivory Coast.

A,B,C, are sub-categories for the second category in the hierarchy.

Source: Handwerker 1971:222

Table 5: Market Site Hierarchy in Liberia (1981)

Level	Designation	Number of Sellers	Number of Commodities	Size of trading Area
1.	Central Daily Markets	600-10,000	300-500	10,000-50,000 Sq. ft
2.	Neighborhood Daily Markets	50-400	100-200	3,000-10,000
3.	Town Daily Markets	100-2,000	150-350	5,000-25,000
4.	Village Weekly Markets	50-500	10-50	1,000-3,000
5.	Clusters of Sellers	25-50	10-20	250-1,000
6.	House Sellers	1-2	1-10	House fronts

Note: The figures presented here are all rough estimates on the three dimensions of the hierarchy. In only a few cases was the research provided with such things as the size of the market under roofing. In no instance was the team able to get an accurate figure on the number of sellers or the number of commodities displayed for sale from the various authorities in charge of the market halls.

Table 6: Urban-Rural Differentials and Marketing in Liberia (1981)

Market Types	Number	Total Marketing Population	Location	% of total Marketers (females)	Cumulative
1. Metropolitan (a) Central	2	13,500	Metropolitan Zone (Monrovia)	36%	
2. (b) Neighborhood	0 ¹	2,800	Metropolitan Zone (Monrovia and suburbs)	8%	44%
2. Daily Markets	26	9,720	Towns and cities (urban zones of over 2,000 inhabitants)	28%	72%
3. Weekly	66	9,636	villages (rural zones)	27.8%	99.8%
Total	103 ³	35,656		99.8% ⁴	

1. Two of the neighborhood markets were not functional at the time of the fieldtrip; the Duala and the Barnesville market⁵.
2. The definition of urban zone follows the 1974 enumeration techniques.
3. The Owensgrove market, a weekly market which was found non functional, is not included.
4. The percentages do not add to 100% due to rounding.

223

TABLE 7:

RATIO OF TRANSPORT OVER TOTAL COSTS OF SELECTED
COMMODITIES FOR 4 DIFFERENT LOCATIONS IN LIBERIA

(1 9 8 1)

<u>TRANSPORT</u>	<u>COMMODITY</u>	<u>WHOLESALE PRICE</u>	<u>COMMODITY FARE</u>	<u>MARKETER'S FARE</u>	<u>INCIDENTALS (ESTIMATES)</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT PRICE</u>	<u>AVERAGE PROFIT</u>
MONROVIA - YEKEPA	RICE(300 BAGS)	19.25	2.00	8.00	10.00	21.25	22.00	\$ 0.69
GBAKEDU - MONROVIA	BITTERBALLS (360 BAGS)	6.00	4.50	9.00	10.00	10.55	11 - 12.00	.40 - 1.25
FOYA - KOINDU	PLANTAIN	.75 - 1.25	.50	1.00	10.00	1.25 - 1.75	NONE (4.00)	2.25
PLEEBO -	CASSAVA	4.00	1.00	2.00	10.00	5.50	6.00	.50

NOTE: Because of time and eventual budgetary constraints, it was not possible to extend this form of analysis to a wider range of products and to more locations with the transport system. The present presentation may serve as a model for further studies at the micro-levels on the Food Distribution System and its linkages to the transportation system.

HCC

TABLE

PRINCIPAL ACTIVITY OF THE POPULATION, 10 YRS. OF AGE & OVER BY SEX - 1974WORKING POPULATION 10 YEARS +

<u>AREA</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>EMPLOYEE</u>	<u>EMPLOYER</u>	<u>SELF EMPLOYED</u>	<u>UNPAID FAMILY WORKER</u>
LIBERIA	432.871*	128.625	2221	223.233	78.792
MALE	316.847	118.512	1767	166.742	29.826
FEMALE	116.024	10.113	454	56.491	48.966
BONI	18.157	72.49	54	8.368	2.486
MALE	14.955	70.15	42	6.402	1.496
FEMALE	3.202	2.34	12	1.966	.990
BONG	58.832	10.770	140	34.440	13.482
MALE	41.133	10.022	111	25.226	5.774
FEMALE	17.699	.748	29	9.214	7.708
GRAND BASSA	36.472	8.179	207	21.509	6.577
MALE	26.247	7.625	159	16.188	2.275
FEMALE	10.225	.554	48	5.321	4.302
GRAND CAPE MOUNT	21.064	4.157	119	10.886	5.902
MALE	14.408	3.901	55	8.814	1.638
FEMALE	6.656	.256	64	2.072	4.264
GRAND GFEDEH	20.969	2.809	41	11.518	6.601
MALE	12.779	2.695	40	8.761	1.283
FEMALE	8.190	.114	1	2.757	5.318
KRU COAST	10.568	.406	6	6.844	3.292
MALE	3.118	.357	2	4.050	.709
FEMALE	5.450	.049	4	2.814	2.583

LOFA	62.469	7.266	303	40.218	14.682
MALE	39.358	6.855	231	27.321	4.951
FEMALE	23.111	.41	72	12.897	9.731
MARSHALL	5.157	2.768	49	2.046	.294
MALE	4.661	2.653	46	1.806	.151
FEMALE	.496	.110	3	.240	.143
MARYLAND	12.136	4.341	71	6.515	1.209
MALE	19.253	3.884	65	5.647	
FEMALE	1.883	.457	6	.868	
MONTSERRADO	92.538	64.562	658	22.315	4.903
MALE	79.212	58.445	558	17.379	2.830
FEMALE	13.326	6.217	100	4.936	2.073
NINBA	71.717	11.730	483	45.367	14.137
MALE	50.000	11.093	378	33.559	4.970
FEMALE	21.717	.637	105	11.808	9.167
RIVERCESS	5.892	.329	34	4.063	1.466
MALE	5.189	.280	30	3.840	1.039
FEMALE	.703	.49	4	.223	.427
SASSTOWN	2.133	.228	6	1.483	.516
MALE	1.655	.214	6	1.327	.108
FEMALE	.478	.14	-	.156	.308
SINOE	14.767	3.731	50	7.641	3.345
MALE	11.879	3.468	44	6.422	1.954
FEMALE	2.888	.263	6	1.219	1.400

D-14

OF PAID EMPLOYEES - MALES = 92%; FEMALES = 8%
 SELF EMPLOYED - MALES = 75%; FEMALES = 25%
 UNPAID FAMILY WORKERS-MALES=39.9%; FEMALES =62.1%

STUDENTS - MALES = 68.5%; FEMALES = 31.5%
 OTHERS - MALES = 45.6%; FEMALES = 54.4%

source; Compiled from Tables 22 & 29, 1974
 Population & Housing Census PC-1, R.L.

* All periods on Page 1 of this table should be read as commas.

22/2/76

Table 9 Development of the road network (1964-1980)¹

Types of road	m i l e a g e			
	1964	1971	1974	1980
<u>A. Public Roads:</u>	1,750	2,901	3,148	3,348
Primary	810	1,144	1,176	1,276
(Asphalt)	(160)	(203)	(208)	(308)
(Laterite)	(650)	(941)	(968)	(308)
Secondary	940	1,757	1,972	na
(laterite	(330)	(448)	(707)	na
(dry-weather)	(610)	(1,270)	(1,365)	na
<u>B. Private Roads:</u>	530	1,270	1,304	na
Asphalt	(30)	(86)	na	na
laterite	(500)	(1,184)	na	na

1. These figures do not include some farm-to-market roads or feeder roads
2. the 1980 figures are estimates. All the other figures are culled from National Socio-Economic Development Plan -1976-1980, p.14.

Table 10: Road Densities in Selected West African Countries (1976)

Country	miles of road per square mile ²
Ghana	0.233
Nigeria	0.155
Sierra-Leone	0.149
Gambia	0.129
Liberia	0.046

From: National Socio-Economic Development Plan
1976-1980, p. 42

1. The density of the Ivory Coast, a neighboring country, is reported to be higher than that of Liberia and of a better quality. However, the Guinean road density and quality may be similar to those of Liberia. Liberia, Sierra-Leone and Guinea form the membership of the Mano River Union, a sub-regional economic and trade organization
2. This road density table can however be misleading as there is no link to population densities of these various countries. A World Development Report made in 1981 by the World Bank indicates that Liberia has comparable miles of road for its population with Ghana, Sierra-Leone, the Gambia, and Nigeria.

Best Available Document

228

- Ahmed, Zubeida - Comment Ameliorer le sort des femmes de la Campagne - Revue Internationale de Finance, vol: 119, No. 4, Juillet - Aout 1980 .
- 1980
- Amegashie, Austin Kwaku - Liberian agricultural programs: The theory and practice of marketing and food distribution systems - Ph.D. Thesis - University of Liberia
- 1978
- Akerele, Olubanke - Women and the fishing industry in Liberia: Measures of women's participation - United Nations economic commission for Africa.
- 1979
- American Association for the Advancement of Science - Women and Development recommendations: AAAS - Political 79 - R.S.
- 1979
- Bah, Mohammad Alpha - Fulbe migration, Islam and trade in the development of Koindu, a Kissi town located along the Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea Border. Unpublished manuscript, University of Liberia, Howard University.
- 1981
- Benneh, George - Small-scale farming systems in Ghana Vol: 43, No. 2.
- 1973
- Blamo, John - Nation Building in Liberia as revealed by symbol analysis. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Boston University.
- 1969
- Bledsoe, Caroline - Women and marriage in Kpelle society. Ph.D. Thesis, Standord University.
- 1976
- Boserup, Esther - Women Roles in Economic Development. St. Martin Press, New York.
- 1970
- Bropleh, Patrick - Rural resources and Liberian economic development. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Duke University.
- 1974
- Brown, Mary A. - Education and national development in Liberia 1800 - 1900. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cornell University.
- 1967

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- Brysibm, Judy
1979 - Women and economic development in Camerom. Report prepared under contract NO. RDO 78/8 with Usaid/Yaounde.
- Carter, Jeanette
1970 - Household organization and the money economy in a Loma community, Liberia. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Oregon
- Clignet, Remi
1972 - Quelques remarques sur le role des femmes africaines en milieu urbain: le cas du Cameroun. Canadian Journal of African studies. Vol: VI, No. 2.
- Cobb, Richard et al
1980 - Liberia: rural roads. Agency for International Development, project impact evaluation no. 6.
- Consortium for International Development
1978 - Proceedings and Papers of the International Conference on Women and Food. Vol. 2, University of Arizona.
- Conteh, Al-Hassan
1980 - The dynamics of migration to Monrovia: patterns and determinents. Unpublished M.Phil. Thesis, Cairo Demographic Center.
- Delancey, Virginia
1978 - Women at the Cameroon Development Corporation: How their money works. Rural africana, No 2, Fall.
- Duvignaud, Jean
1970 - Change at Shebika. New York: Vintage.
- Dworkin, Daniel
1980 - Kenya rural water supply: Programs, progress, prospects. U.S. Agency for International development, project impact evaluation No. 5.
- Goody, Jack
1976 - Production and Reproduction: a comparative Study of the Domestic Domain. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Government of Liberia
1976 - Annual report of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs, Monrovia, December 27, 1976.
- 1974 - Census of population and Housing - population bulletin# 1, Monrovia, December 26, 1975.
- 1977 - Economic Survey of Liberia, Monrovia, Liberia, July, 1973.

- Handwerker, Winston
1971 - The Liberian internal market system. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Oregon.
- 1979 - Daily markets and urban economic development. Human organization. Vol. 38, No. 4.
- 1980 - Market places, travelling traders and shops: commercial structural variation in the Liberian interior prior to 1940. African Economic History, No. 9.
- 1981 - Productivity, marketing efficiency and price support program: alternative paths to rural development in Liberia. Human organization, vol. 40, No. 1.
- Hasselman, Kar-Heinz
1975 - Marketing in Gbarnga - Department of Geography University of Liberia - occasional papers No. 7 Monrovia, 1975.
- International Center
for Research on Women
1980 - Policy and program recommendations for enhancing women's employment in developing countries AID/OTR/C - Washington, D.C.
- 1980 - Limits to productivity: Improving women's access to technology and credit (draft)
- 1980 - Bringing women in towards a new direction in occupational skills training for women (draft).
- 1980 - The productivity of women in developing countries: Measurement issues and recommendations (draft).
- Jacquette, Jame (ed)
1974 - Women in Politics. NewYork: Wiley.
- Johnson, Charles et al
1979 - Kitale maize: the limits of success. U.S. Agency for International Development, project impact evaluation No. 2.
- Kaba, Brahim
1978 - Relationship between women's economic activities and their family behaviour and expectations in Liberia. Paper presented at the 9th World Congress of Sociology, U.N.Sala, 14-19 August.

232

- Kaye, James
1977
Sanniquelli: A historical and developmental study. Occasional research paper No. 14. Department of Geography, University of Liberia
- Little, Kenneth
1973
African Women in Towns - Cambridge University Press.
- McCaffrey, Kathleen
n.d.
Images of women in the literature of selected development countries (Ghana, Senegal, Haiti, Jamaica). Pacific Consultants.
- McEvoy, Frederick
1971
History, tradition and kinship as factors in modern sabo labor. Part 1 and 2. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Oregon.
- Pala, Achola
1976
African women in rural development: Research trends and priorities. Overseas Liaison Committee, Paper No. 12.
- Republic of Liberia
1970
Demographic Annual of the Population Growth Survey 1970 Patterns of Natality. n - 1. Department of Planning and Economic Affairs.
- 1973
An Act Adopting a new Domestic relations law. Ministry of Foreign affairs.
- 1974
Population and Housing Census: Final population results for Liberia and major political divisions PC -1. Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs.
- 1979
Liberia Trade Directory - basic trade, information, exporters and importers. Ministry of Commerce, Industry and transportation.
- 1980
Liberia's Agricultural Development: Policy and organizational structure. Ministry of Agriculture.
- 1980
National Socio-economic Development Plan July 1976 - June 1980. National Planning Council.
- Robertson, Claire
1979
The impact of formal education on marketing skills among central Accra girls. Paper presented at the Conference on women and work in Africa, University of Illinois.

- Sawyer, Amos
1973
Social stratification and orientation to national development in Liberia. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Northwestern University.
- Simmons, Emmy
1975
The small scale rural food-processing industry in northern Nigeria. Food Research Institute Studies, Vol: XIV, No. 2.
- 1976
Economic research on women in rural development in Northern Nigeria. Overseas Liaison Committee No. 10.
- Steineberg, David et al
1980
Phillippine small scale investigation. U.S. Agency for International Development; project impact evaluation no. 4.
- United Nations,
Commission on the
Status of Women
1972
Report on the twenty fourth session. Economic and Social Council official records: Fifty second session. Supplement No. 6.
- United Nations - Economic commission for Africa
1975
National Commissions on Women and Development and Womens Bureaux. 1975 report. ECA training and Research Center for Women.
- 1976
Report of a workshop for trainers and planners in programmes to improve the quality of rural life Axim, Ghana.
- 1977
Rapport du seminaire sur l'amelioration des conditions de vie en milieu rural Nouatchock, Republique Islamique de Mauritanie.
- 1977
Rapport du seminaire sur la femme et les cooperatives Yaounde, Republique unie du Cameroun.
- 1977
Le Nouvel Ordre Economique International: quels sont les roles reserves aux femmes ?
- 1976-1977
National Commissions and Women's Bureaux. Report 1976 - 1977. African training and research center for women.
- 1977
Origine et revolution du Centre Africain de Recherche et de Formation pour la Femme.
- 1978
Appropriate technology for African women by Marilyn Carr. African Training and Research Center for women.

- 1978 Rapport du seminaire de formation aux techniques d'elaboration et d'execution des projets, Yaounde. African Training and Research Center for Women.
- 1979 Mechanisms Nationaux, sous-regionaux et regionaux pour l'integration de la femme. Rapport et repertoire. African Training and Research Center for Women.
- United Nations
- 1980 Programme of action for the second half of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, development and peace.
- 1980 Resolution and decisions adopted by the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, development and peace.
- 1980 World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: The effects of apartheid on the status of women in southern Africa.
- United States Agency for International Development
- 1978 Report on Women in Development submitted to the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.
- United States Department of Commerce
- 1980 Illustrative statistics on women in selected developing countries. Bureau of Census.
- Wellesley, Editorial Committee
- 1977 Women and National Development: the Complexities of Change. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- World Bank
- 1981 World Development Report, 1981
- Wright, Sonia
- 1979 Quantitative Methods and Statistics: A guide to Social Research. Beverley Hills: Sage Publications.